

“Such Friends”

by

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Dublin City University

To

my own primary, informal,  
non task group  
who have been

“Such Friends”

“You that would judge me, do not judge alone  
This book or that, come to this hallowed place  
Where my friends’ portraits hang and look thereon;  
Ireland’s history in their lineaments trace;

*Think where man’s glory most begins and ends,  
And say my glory was I had such friends”*

--William Butler Yeats  
“The Municipal Gallery Revisited”

**“Such Friends”:**

**Effects of Extensive Cluster Group Interaction on the**

**Development of Creative Writers**

**submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the**

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**in the**

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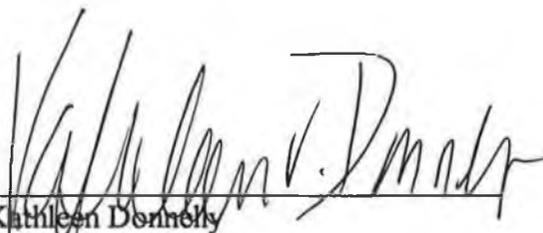
**by Kathleen V. Donnelly**

**Supervisor, Dr. Bill Dorris**

## DECLARATION

I, Kathleen Donnelly, being a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy as awarded by Dublin City University, declare that while registered as a candidate for the above degree I have not been a registered candidate for an award at another university. Secondly, that none of the material contained in this thesis has been used in any other submission for any other award. Further, that the contents of this thesis are the sole work of the author except where an acknowledgement has been made for assistance received.

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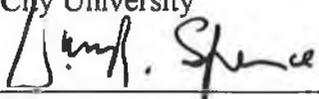
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# “Such Friends”: Effect of Extensive Cluster Group Interaction on the Development of Creative Writers

by Kathleen V. Donnelly

Four writers and their associated cluster groups were studied through content analysis of numerous biographies. These include W. B. Yeats and the Irish Literary Renaissance (1897-1906), Virginia Woolf and the Bloomsbury Group (1907-1915), Gertrude Stein and the American Expatriates in Paris (1921-1930), and Dorothy Parker and the Algonquin Round Table (1919-1928).

The groups were analysed with reference to the social psychological research on group roles, structure, and interaction patterns; climate, goals and values; and cohesiveness. The writers' development was analysed with reference to identity, differentiation, productivity and risk-taking.

The analyses of all four groups--despite their diversity of membership, nationality and location--revealed remarkably similar structuring of roles and interaction patterns. The core of each group consisted of the writer and a co-dependent who hosted the group and supported the writer. Closely associated with these two roles were three others, each of which was crucial to both the task and socio-emotional functioning of the group. These included the “Irritant,” whose behavior served to focus tensions and stimulate periodic realignments within the group; the “Angel” who served to pull the group together and allow members to affirm their commonalities; and the “Sponsor” whose lack of social skills, which allowed other members to affirm their own normality, was compensated by his ability to marshal the resources to create outlets for the others' work.

Finally each group contained three additional roles which served crucial bridging functions between the group and the wider world. These included the “Odd One Out,” who had both close supportive ties to the core of the group and strong connections to other groups; the “Link,” who used his personal ties within the cultural and political establishment to promote the careers of group members; and the “Bridge” who raised sociological, political and cultural issues crucial to the core values of the group and the writings of its members.

The shared values, goals and complementary patterning of roles allowed each of the groups to sustain an inordinately high and lengthy level of cohesiveness for an informal cluster group.

The sizeable benefits which accrued to the four writers at the core of these groups included: (1) greatly enhanced organization and structure in both personal and professional life; (2) enhanced self-concept and public visibility as writers; and (3) increased differentiation and productivity in their writing.

## I. Introduction and Purpose

My personal interest in writers as creative people became formal research in my thesis for my master's degree in business administration when I looked in detail at the effect of the work of Scribner's editor Maxwell Perkins on three of his most creative writers, Ernest Hemingway, F. Scott Fitzgerald and Thomas Wolfe. Wishing to explore this area of creativity more fully, and from the communications as opposed to business standpoint, I decided to begin with the group of creative people Hemingway and Fitzgerald socialized with in Paris, and expand my research to include three other groups of early twentieth century creative writers--the Irish Literary Renaissance, the Bloomsbury Group and the Algonquin Round Table.

Most of existing research on creativity in groups deals with task groups solving a problem or completing a project, such as an ad campaign, or scientific exploration. My interest was in the informal group, the friends that got together just because they liked each other. What effect did this have on their creativity?

Many sources have explored the different influences on the creativity of individuals. Could Yeats have written his most lyrical poems without Maude Gonne's refusals of his marriage proposals? Could Virginia Woolf have written The Waves without Roger Fry's paintings? Could Gertrude Stein have written Three Lives without the Cezanne hanging in front of her? All these questions have been discussed, if not answered. But could Dorothy Parker have written "Big Blonde" without the exposure to a different point of view she received by taking her seat in the center of the boys at the Round Table? That was the question that interested me.

So after defining our terminology and explaining the methodology used, 100 years and one month exactly after the key members of the Irish Literary Renaissance began socializing with each other, we will look in detail at these four groups of creative people, the roles each group member played, describe the origins, environment, structure and cohesiveness of the groups. Our objective in this will be to analyse what effect this experience had on the four key persons, William Butler Yeats, Virginia Woolf, Gertrude Stein and Dorothy Parker, the validation of the values they had in common with the other group members, and the development of their own self-concept as writers.

## II. Methodology

### A. Definitions

Before looking at these four groups, we need to define some terms and concepts that apply to groups in general and these four specifically. What is communication? What is a group? For most of them we will rely on Everett M. Rogers and D. Lawrence Kincaid's study of communication networks in Korean villages, Communication Networks: Toward a New Paradigm for Research. All page references in this section are to this book, unless otherwise indicated.

Rogers and Kincaid define communication as "a process in which the participants create and share information with one another in order to reach a mutual understanding," based on the original meaning of the Latin root, *communico*, to "share" (p. 63). They see "mutual understanding and mutual agreement" as the primary goals of human communication: "The immediate purpose for which information is shared by individuals is to reach mutual understanding, a prerequisite for the successful achievement of other human purposes" p. 69).

Groups have been defined many different ways, but one of the most common definitions is used by M. E. Shaw, "two or more people who are interacting with one another in such a manner that each person influences, and is influenced by, each other person" (in Schultz, p. 4). Rogers and Kincaid also pose the important question, "where does a system stop?" (p. 104). We are defining the membership of these groups by their seven or eight primary members, listed in Appendix A.

The groups that we are looking at are primary, informal, non-task groups, formed naturally. They are not formally structured, but come together voluntarily with no written rules imposed on them by an outside force or institution. Instead, in Wilson's words, "expectations are unwritten, often not verbalized, are determined by the members themselves and are easily changed...The expectations emerge spontaneously as the members associate with one another over time" (p. 17). He cites Charles Horton Cooley's characteristics of primary groups including "intimate face to face association and cooperation...fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual...A

fusion of individualities in a common whole, so that one's very self...is the common life and purpose of the group...It is a 'we'" (p. 18).

At a most basic level, these four groups function as reference groups for the members, which Secord and Backman define as

"a social unit which the individual sees as holding interests, attitudes and values in common with his own, and which he takes as a basis for self-evaluation and attitude formation...[It is] usually a group whose acceptance and approval is desired...They may establish various levels of credibility for the communicator, thereby creating selective exposure, and they may provide social support for the individual's attitudes. This social support often takes the form of providing a frame of reference or a context within which the communication is received and interpreted" (p. 143-4).

They claim that these groups can either serve a "*normative* function, setting and enforcing standards of conduct and belief," or a "*comparison* function, serving as a standard of comparison point against which persons measure themselves and others" (p. 144, emphasis theirs). We shall see that these four groups serve both functions for the members.

Secord and Backman also point out that for a reference group to have an effect on a member's attitudes, it has to be "made salient" for the member, or relevant to the particular communication. As these groups are closely related to the members' work, we will see that they have a particular salience for them, relative to the effect on their individual creative achievements.

Even though we all belong to many voluntary groups--both at work and at home--Helen Jennings, cited in Secord and Backman, found that people choose different types of friends to work or live with than they do to spend leisure time with. Although some of our group members lived or worked together, when meeting in their groups they were spending leisure time. Jennings found that when choosing for this purpose, people based their choices on their "ability to satisfy their social-emotional needs, such as the need for support for one's self-conception, for consensual validation about the world, etc." These "psychogroups," as she called them, are "characterized by higher mutuality" than other groups, meaning that the members' choices of each other are "more frequently reciprocated...[and] more evenly distributed." In other words, "fewer persons received a large number of choices, and more persons received at least one choice" (p. 240). We will see this pattern in our groups, in the sections analysing their structure and cohesion.

There have been many different methods used over the years to study and analyse communication in groups. Rogers and Kincaid looked at communication networks, defined as “interconnected individuals who are linked by patterned communication flows” (p. 82). They advocate studying a system or network (they use the terms interchangeably) “as a total unit, not as separated parts” (p. 46). Their study and approach is based on “communication network analysis,” which they define as

“a method of research for identifying the communication structure in a system, in which relational data about communication flows are analysed by using some type of interpersonal relationships as the units of analysis. This analytical approach is particularly valuable to social researchers because it allows them to trace specific message flows in a system, and then to compare this communication structure with the social structure of the system in order to determine how this social structure is interrelated with the communication network. The communication flow data bring life to the otherwise static nature of the social structural variables” (p. 82).

Their analysis describes the connections “created by the sharing of information, and their interrelationships” (p. 82), which is what we shall attempt to do in this study. Rogers and Kincaid do point out that in this type of analysis there is a certain amount of “arbitrariness in identifying clique boundaries, and thus in assigning individuals to communication roles in the communication structure” (p. 330). By using multiple secondary sources of information, a method endorsed by Rogers and Kincaid, we are able to overcome, to some degree, this drawback.

The most common method of gathering data about communication networks is sociometry, or “obtaining and analysing quantitative data about communication patterns among the individuals in a system by asking each respondent to whom he or she is linked” (p. 97). Obviously, in this case we do not have that luxury available to us as all the participants are dead. However, by relying on many independent, secondary sources, we can infer the relationships among the members.

While not directly anticipating the content analysis method used for this study, described in detail below, Rogers and Kincaid do sanction such “unobtrusive methods” of collecting data on networks. They define these as ones that “directly remove the observer from the events” (p. 113). They specifically point out that such methods, especially those that use archival records,

“have the advantage of providing network data about individuals or organizations that are not available in surveys or to observation: [including] persons who are dead....A special advantage of network data from archival records is that such information is often recorded at distinct intervals of time,...thus facilitating study of network stability over time” (p. 115).

In their recommendations for future study they specifically “advocate much greater use of multimeasurement designs in future communication research, where various types of observations and of unobtrusive measurements are incorporated with improved sociometric study of network links” (p. 330).

One of the primary ways that the research in this paper differs from most group research is that we are dealing with natural groups, that is groups in their natural state, as opposed to those created in a laboratory specifically for the purposes of a study. While this is an advantage when it comes to describing reality, there is the disadvantage of the limitations on the use of any type of statistical, or even quantitative, analysis. But, as Rogers and Kincaid point out, the types of samples used for network analysis “provide (1) less basis for using statistical inference to generalize the research results to a larger population, but (2) a greater capacity to understand the nature of communication structure” (p. 103). In their summary they urge greater respect for this type of study:

“Network analysts may eventually decide that in many researches the *social* significance of their research results, provided by an in-depth analysis of relational data, outweighs the use of *statistical* significance tests in generalizing from a random sample to a larger population...The correctness of a research methodology is relative, not absolute, resting solely on its appropriateness to the objectives of an investigation” (p. 330; emphasis theirs).

## B. Units of Analysis

Rogers and Kincaid also recommend using any of five different units of analysis:

systems,  
cliques,  
dyads,  
personal communication networks, or  
individuals (p. 123).

At some point we will look at each one of these in relation to our groups. The *individuals* we will focus are the key ones in each group--Yeats, Woolf, Stein and Parker. However, we will also analyse their own *personal communication networks*, which Rogers and Kincaid define as "those interconnected individuals who are linked by patterned communication flows to a focal individual...It is each person's private communication environment" (p. 134-5). They also lament the lack of studies which use this network as the unit of analysis.

Within these networks we will also analyse specific *dyads*, or the relationship that the focal individual had with one key group member--Lady Augusta Gregory, Vanessa Bell, Alice B. Toklas and Robert Benchley. Although it would also be possible to analyse the focal individuals' relationships with each of the other group members--and even all the possible dyads--this is beyond the scope of the study.

Margaret Clark and Judson Mills distinguish between exchange and communal relationships. Whereas in exchange relationships "the people involved are concerned about making sure that some sort of equity is achieved," in the communal relationships that we are interested in here,

"Neither one of the partners is keeping score. Rather a person will be inclined to give of herself or himself in response to the other's need and will readily receive when he or she is feeling needy. While the partners in a communal relationship are not totally unconcerned about achieving a rough kind of equity, they are relaxed about it and have faith that, over the long haul, some semblance of equity will fall into place. The closer and more intimate the relationship, the more communal it becomes" (in Aronson, p. 392).

These four groups can also be viewed as *cliques* within the larger society in which they functioned. But to treat the clique-within-a-system as the unit of analysis would involve a more detailed examination of their interrelatedness to the larger systems--early twentieth century Ireland, London before the First World War, the expatriate community in Paris in the twenties, and mid-town Manhattan in the twenties--and is also beyond the scope of this work. For the purposes of this paper, the cliques will be analysed as *systems* or networks themselves, as the unit of analysis.

### *1. Networks or systems*

Rogers and Kincaid identify the clique as “a more precise predictor of individual behavior than the larger network of which the clique is a part. The individual is directly tied to the clique (by definition) through communication links, and may only be indirectly connected to the network” or larger system (p. 139). Their criteria for the creation of cliques are as follows:

- “1. Each clique must be composed of at least three members.
2. Each clique member must have at least 50 percent of her links within the clique.
3. All members of a clique must be directly or indirectly connected by a path, that is, by a continuous chain of dyadic links lying entirely within the clique” (p. 169).

Although it would be impossible to measure number two, the other criteria are met easily by these four groups. They each had seven or eight members, and, as we shall see in the discussion of structure, all the members were linked directly to each other during their time in the groups.

By using the network--or clique in this case--as the basis of the study, as Rogers and Kincaid point out, “the unit of analysis shifts from the individual...member to the communication relationship between two or more individuals” (p. 76). They describe their network approach as using three types of data: “(1) the units of analysis (individuals or their relationships), (2) variables, and (3) time” (p. 79). We will be using the relationships as the unit of analysis, the four key members’ creative development as the variable, and the years they were in the group together as the time dimension. Rogers and Kincaid also

describe the following three research procedures as usually comprising communication network analysis:

“1. Identifying cliques with the total system...” We have done this as an initiation point for the study, and treated each clique as a system to be analysed.

“2. Identifying certain specialized communication roles such as liaisons, bridges, and isolates.” This will be done in the section on “Roles.”

“3. Measuring various communication structural indexes (like communication connectedness, for example) for individuals, dyads, personal networks, cliques or entire systems.” This will be done in the sections on “Structure” and “Cohesiveness” (p. 83).

Rogers and Kincaid comment on the dearth of studies comparing more than one group by using the system as the unit of analysis. They cite three reasons for this:

“1. A considerable amount of research resources are needed...”

“2. The statistical analysis of such data...is greatly complicated by the different levels of units of analyses that are possible.

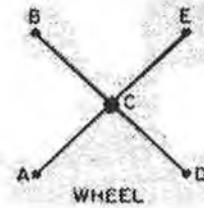
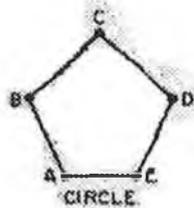
“3....Most social scientists have not thought of indexing the communication structure of the group/system as one type of variable. They fail to look past the individual as their unit of analysis” (p. 257).

This study overcomes these three obstacles.

Why look at the relationships and systems and not just the individuals? For the purposes of this study, it can be argued that most of the members--and particularly Yeats, Woolf, Stein and Parker--have been analysed as individuals *ad nauseum*.. Although all of these analyses contain discussions of the groups they socialized with during a large part of their creative years, no systematic study has been made of the effect these groups had on their creativity. Rogers and Kincaid have found that “network variables are approximately as important as individual characteristics” (p. 226) in explaining the variable under study, in this case, creative development. In citing another study, by Pasqual Dean Chavers, they have narrowed down the “best single predictors” of innovativeness among teachers to be “*individual connectedness* and *clique integration*, with the *stability* “of individual relationships found to also be of some importance, three factors we will look at in detail. They conclude that communication connections “act as a mediating influence in determining how particular antecedents affect behavior change” (p. 230; emphasis added).

In looking at the structure of the group as a basic unit of analysis, different patterns have been put forth by other researchers that apply to different degrees to these groups.

Leavitt, for example, contrasts the wheel--where one leader is in the center communicating with the others--and the circle where each one is connected to two others (see Diagram 1). The wheel "is less active, has a distinct leader, is well and stably organized, is less erratic, and yet is unsatisfying to most of its members." The circle, however, is more like our informal groups: "active, leaderless, unorganized, erratic and yet is enjoyed by its members" (p. 237).



**Diagram 1**

Macy adds a structure even more like the pattern we see in our informal groups--the pinwheel (see Diagram 2), where each member communicates with every other member.

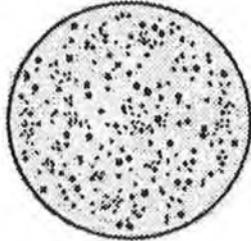


**Diagram 2**

In this case and the circle, "either the entire group [will] establish a common code, or each pair or trio of persons [will arrive] at its own private code" (p. 293).

But Handy comes closest when describing the "person culture" and its structure within most organizations:

“In this culture the individual is the central point. If there is a structure, or an organization it exists only to serve and assist the individuals within it. If a group of individuals decide that it is in their own interests to band together in order the better to follow their own bents, to do their own thing, and that...a space,...would help, then the resulting organization would have a person culture. It would exist only for the people in it without any super-ordinate objective. Barristers’ chambers, architects’ partnerships, hippie communes, social groups, families and, some small consultancy firms, often have this ‘person’ orientation. Its structure is as minimal as possible, a *cluster* is the best word for it, or perhaps a galaxy of individual stars:



Dionysus is its patron deity, the god of the self-oriented individual, the first existentialist.

“Clearly, not many organizations can exist with this sort of culture, since organizations tend to have objectives over and above the collective objectives of those who comprise them. Furthermore control mechanisms, or even management hierarchies, are impossible in these cultures except by mutual consent. The psychological contract [in cluster groups] states that the organization is subordinate to the individual and depends on the individual for its existence. The individual can leave the organization but the organization seldom has the power to evict the individual. Influence is shared and the power-base, if needed, is usually expert; that is, individuals do what they are good at and are listened to on appropriate topics...

“The kibbutz, the commune, the co-operative, are all striving after the person culture in organizational form. On the whole, only their original creators achieve any success. Too soon the organization achieves its own identity and begins to impose on its individuals. It becomes, at best, a task culture” (p. 183-4).

Indeed, we will see that in effect success is what killed our groups; once the artists had achieved a certain level of creative development, they were able to move on and the group expired. Despite attempts by second generations, such as the Bloomsberries’ children, the groups did not outlast their original creators.

Handy goes on to discuss the effect on the individual within these cluster groups:

“But although it would be rare to find an organization where the personal culture predominated, you will often encounter individuals whose personal preference is for this type of culture but who find themselves operating in a more typical organization...

“Individuals with this orientation are not easy to manage. There is little influence that can be brought to bear on them. Being specialists alternative employment is often easy to obtain, or they have protected themselves by tenure” (p. 184-5).

The author's original research, mentioned above, was in exactly this area, Manager as Muse: A Case Study in the Management of Creative People. This analysis of the work of the Scribner's editor, Maxwell Perkins, with three authors (the first two are also considered in this study), Ernest Hemingway, F. Scott Fitzgerald and Thomas Wolfe, resulted in at least one major finding that is pertinent here. Perkins' work as a manager with these three was compared with a prevailing management theory of his time, the principles promulgated by French industrialist by Henri Fayol.

Without digressing into the details of Fayol's theory or Perkins' style, the most outstanding result relates directly to Handy's description of the cluster groups. The author found that Perkins indeed followed Fayol's principles for the most part (unknowingly, of course) with one unique exception: Whereas Fayol recommended that the individual's needs be subordinated to that of the organization, Perkins put the creative person's needs ahead of that of the publisher, to the benefit of both, stated by the author as a "Perkins Principle": "The creative person is more likely to be motivated by subordinating all interests to the overriding one of improving the work rather than improving the bottom line or profits of an organization" (p. VII-3).

"Make this change and the novel will be better." "Take out those words and the reader will not become distracted." Or, "There is nothing so great as a book can be," as Perkins told Wolfe. For a creative person, these motivations mean much more than the suggestion that they do something "for the good of the organization." Perkins was able to satisfy his writer's needs and to get their best work out of them. The cluster groups that these writers created were, by the "psychological contract" that Handy describes, subordinated to their interests. Their creative talents came first, not the group. This is one reason why they were successful.

## *2. Relationships*

Using the group members' relationships as a unit of analysis, "who-to-whom communication," as Rogers and Kincaid describe it, helps with the identification "(1) of cliques within the total system and how such structural subgroupings affected behavior, and (2) of specialized communication roles such as liaisons, bridges, and isolates" (p. 124-5).

All of these will be identified through the analysis of their relationships. Some concepts used to analyse these relationships need to be explained more fully first.

Each communication relationship between two units forms a connection. These relationships, “not individuals, should be the fundamental unit,” say Rogers and Kincaid. They also point out that three methods of measuring connections have been used--sociometry, observation, and unobtrusive methods. We have already seen that the first two are unavailable to us, but the third is the most appropriate to our study.

Connections are created by choice, one member choosing another, so Rogers and Kincaid “view the selection of other individuals as communication partners in a network as a decision-making process on the part of both individuals in a network link, choice-making that is affected by social structural factors.” They quote Claude S. Fischer as saying, “people seek and keep associates whom they find more rewarding than others” (p. 297), and elsewhere, “individuals create their networks but must build them within limits. People are constantly choosing which of several possible relations to pursue and how to behave in them, but they are choosing from among a small set of socially-structured alternatives” (p. 306). These limits can be imposed by spatial or social distance, or other factors, which we will examine.

Rogers and Kincaid also maintain that some connections “provide a channel for the flow of more than one kind of content,” or, as they term them, “multiplex” (p. 133) connections. The more multiplex the connections, as they are in these cluster groups where we will see the members valued different types of creativity, the less the members “are able to withdraw from one another, and so the potential degree of influence or control of each individual over the other is greater” (p. 134). “Multiplexity is important because it provides stability to a network” (p. 299), Rogers and Kincaid assert. Even if our group members came together because of one topic of conversation--writing, for example--“there is a tendency for single-stranded [uniplex] relations to become many-stranded [multiplex] if they persist over time, and for many-stranded relations to be stronger than single-stranded ones,” as they quote Jeremy Boissevain (p. 322).

The other characteristic of relationships that affects a group is their distance, or “the number of links or stops in the shortest path joining two individuals” (p. 148). This can be

determined by whether the individuals communicate directly and or through other individuals. The evidence shows that all our members, with one minor exception, communicated directly during their times in the groups. From the evidence in the given sources, Virgil Thomson and Robert McAlmon only had two recorded interactions while Thomson was still in the group but McAlmon had left. Other than that, there is evidence that each group member interacted directly with each other, while they were both members.

Each relationship creates a dyad, “the minimal unit of analysis...whose members are linked in some manner through the exchange of information. From dyads, the researcher can extend his analysis to the participant’s personal networks and to cliques and to large, intact networks” (p. 66). We will particularly look at the relationship between the focal individual and his or her “partner,” and then to the larger networks.

One of the major questions researchers ask when focusing on relationships is how much the members of the dyad are “similar in certain attributes, such as beliefs, values, education, social status, and the like,” called “homophily,” or how much they are different in these aspects, called “heterophily”:

“The most fundamental principle of human communication is that *the exchange of ideas most frequently occurs between transceivers who are homophilous*. Why does homophily happen so frequently? Because *more effective communication occurs when the transceivers are homophilous*. When two individuals share a set of similar characteristics, common meanings, and a mutual value position, communication between them is likely to be effective, which is rewarding, thus encouraging homophilous communication” (p. 127; emphasis theirs).

Homophily within cliques mostly happens through “initial selection of members-- ‘birds of a feather’ banded together” (p. 316). The limitation on the choices we have of people to spend leisure time with that was discussed above leads to “pressure toward greater homophily” (p. 306-7). We choose people who are nearby and usually of similar socio-economic status. In friendships that are kept up “over moderate or large distances,” for example, “additional similarities in social class must be present” (p. 310). But some homophily in groups also comes from “pressuring their members toward conforming behavior” (p. 317). We will see that the homophily in our groups came from both forces.

However, one of the key factors that will appear in the success of these groups is the importance of a degree of heterophily as well. In a group this is also described by Rogers

and Kincaid as “individual diversity...the degree to which the members of an individual’s personal communication network are heterogeneous in some variable” (p. 180). When there is “greater social heterophily” in a relationship it means it will require “more effort to overcome the imbalances that are likely to result in the communication between such dissimilar individuals. The greater informational payoff must be evident to the individuals involved, or else they will not maintain such heterophilous contacts” (p. 312). In our groups this would mean that members who are different from the others are probably getting more out of the relationships--and perhaps that the group is also benefitting more from their presence.

Sometimes extra effort is also required--and heterophily is created--by low proximity connections, and Rogers and Kincaid advise that these relationships “are often ignored, which is unfortunate because they make a unique contribution to the nature of the communication structure that is obtained in network analysis” (p. 100).

These connections over a greater distance mean less frequent contact, less integrated relationships, less connectedness, but they are “informationally stronger. Again, we encounter the basic paradox of human communication networks: more informationally valuable links require more effort to form and maintain...Cost and effectiveness of network links are inversely related” (p. 312). We will see that the most distant members of these groups provide the most information.

Rogers and Kincaid refer to this phenomenon as “The Strength of Weak Ties”: “The ‘strength’ is informational, and the ‘weak’ ties are heterophilous” (p. 128). Homophilous communication may be easier, but also

“dysfunctional for the diffusion of new ideas...As a result, one might think of a kind of ‘optimal heterophily’ in which information-seeking dyads connect individuals of somewhat dissimilar status (but yet similar enough to facilitate effective communication). Numerous researchers suggest the generalization that *for new ideas to diffuse, dyadic communication must connect individuals who are somewhat heterophilous*. Thus, human communication typically entails a balance between similarity and dissimilarity, between familiarity and novelty” (p. 128; emphasis theirs).

They conclude that less proximity in a dyad means more information; but more proximity “has a greater potential for changing...behavior” (p. 131).

Rogers and Kincaid also conclude that a degree of heterophily is definitely a desired state in a personal communication network:

“Be a heterophile, rather than a homophile: to develop links with dissimilar others, to make friends who are friends of friends, to seek diversity in one’s information relationships. Such efforts toward heterophily require greater social costs, but they should pay greater returns in information” (p. 345).

Our groups created situations that reduced the costs of getting this benefit.

### *3. Measuring Relationships and Networks*

There are some other concepts that are also used to measure relationships and networks: reciprocity, integration, connectedness, proximity and openness from Rogers and Kincaid, and solidarity from Wilson.

*Reciprocity* of dyads merely refers to “relationships in which the partners choose one another” (p. 248). Based on how we are measuring the dyads, all of these are reciprocal.

Individual *integration*, according to Rogers and Kincaid is “the degree to which the members of an individual’s personal communication network are linked to each other” (p. 179); in other words, do the key persons’ friends communicate with each other. For all of our groups the answer is a uniform “yes.” The authors distinguish between an individual’s personal communication network that is “radial”--meaning he talks to A, B, and C who do not interact with each other--or “interlocking”--meaning that the individual interacts with dyadic partners who interact with each other (p. 135-6). All of our key persons interact with group members who interact with each other, meaning that their personal communication networks are interlocking and extremely integrated.

Despite the lack of statistical significance for most quantitative analysis using these research methods, there are ways to construct an index for integration in a network, which will be detailed in the section on “Cohesion.” Using the index that Rogers and Kincaid calculated, they state that “the individual integration score for an individual in a completely interlocking network is 1.0” (p. 179), which is true of all of our groups. The more integrated a network, the more influence it has on the focal individual’s behavior because they “form a consensus on norms and exert a consistent informal pressure on each other to conform to these norms” (p. 226).

Rogers and Kincaid specifically focus on the effect of integration on the adoption of new ideas in a network: "The uncertainty that surrounds the evaluation of a new idea by an individual means that the individual's perception of the innovation is influenced not only by the concrete, material aspects of the innovation but also by the individual's peers, especially if they have already adopted the new idea" (p. 228). Therefore, being surrounded by a group of people experimenting with new creative ideas in literature and art makes the individual more ready to accept these new ideas, or "an individual is more likely to adopt an innovation if more of the individuals in her personal network have adopted previously" (p. 233).

However, this strong integration is not without its disadvantages. The authors state, "when the individuals in a personal network are highly linked with each other, there is a higher frequency of information-exchange among them, they are more likely to possess the same information, and so any given message is more likely to be redundant" (p. 180). This tends to reduce the rate of innovativeness in adopting new ideas. However, we will see that the amount of heterophily among our group members overcomes this obstacle.

Related to the concept of integration is *connectedness*, or the "degree to which a focal individual is linked to other individuals in the system" (p. 225). This differs from integration, which measures the connectedness of the individual's friends. Rogers and Kincaid calculate an "average clique connectedness" index to measure "the degree to which the average member of a clique is linked to other individuals in a clique." They found that the highest degree of connectedness was found for work groups of seven to ten people--the size of our non-task groups--showing that "clique connectedness is inversely related to clique size" (p. 139). We will see that the key persons in each group are indeed the most connected.

*Proximity* is "the relative nearness of a pair of individuals to each other in a communication sense" (p. 147). The actual physical distance that group members have among them also affects the group, as

"individuals tend to be linked to others who are close to them in physical distance and who are relatively homophilous in social characteristics. Both spatial and social proximity can be interpreted as indicators of 'least effort.' Everything else equal, individuals form network links that require the least effort and that are most rewarding" (p. 298).

The disadvantages of only interacting with similar people who are easy to find and the advantages of interacting with different--or heterophilous--people who are harder to find can be resolved by proximity, or as Rogers and Kincaid say, "the least-effort involved in the spatially contiguous links more than overcame the greater effort involved in socially heterophilous communication" (p. 311). We will look at the physical distance among the members, and how their moves away from their main place of meeting together adversely affected the cohesion, and ultimate dissolution of the groups.

Another important measure of networks is their degree of *openness*. Closely integrated groups with a high degree of homophily are not considered to be very open--to new ideas, to their environment. "Clique openness," which Rogers and Kincaid measure, is "the degree to which members of a clique are linked to others external to the clique...Most new information enters a clique from external sources, so a more open clique is expected to be more innovative" (p. 182). We are not able to quantitatively measure our members' connections to other groups, but we will see that even though they are highly integrated, they have enough heterophily and weak links to bring in new ideas and innovations.

One of the other ways of measuring the strength of a group is by its solidarity, which Wilson defines as the degree to which "the behavior of one member influences and affects that of others and vice versa" (p. 26). Wilson measures this across six dimensions: interaction, norms, status structure, goals and cohesiveness (p. 51). We will look at each of these in the "Analysis" section to see how our groups measure up.

## C. Outcomes

But what is the result? However our groups rate on these various measures, what does it mean for the development of creativity in our group members? Why look at these factors unless the groups, or key persons, accomplished anything?

One outcome that is often looked for in groups is effectiveness. How effective is the group at achieving their individual and group goals and how can we measure this? Rogers and Kincaid have looked at “the communication structure of a network as one measure of the groups’ innovativeness and performance, using connectedness as a measure...[They advocate a] more appropriate research design...the comparative analysis of two systems” (p. 256-7). We are able to do this in this study, using four effective networks as units of analysis and examining what characteristics they had in common that contributed to their successes.

Effective groups are more stable over time. Stability “provides regularity and predictability to behavior in a system” (p. 299). Stability over the time dimension allows for better network analysis and is influenced by the principle of “least-effort” mentioned above; that is, relationships “that are relatively easier to maintain and/or relatively more rewarding, are more stable. We shall conclude that spatially proximate links, reciprocated links, more homophilous links, and ties based on ascribed relationships (like kin) are relatively more stable” (p. 299). With no stability, “each connection representing only a will-o’-the-wisp, here-today-gone-tomorrow quality, no communication structure would exist, other than at a fleeting slice in time,” and there would in fact be no group (p. 312-3). Complete stability does not exist either, as networks always change.

Since we are able to look at data on our groups as they met over a period of time, the structures we identify will have more “predictive value” (p. 313). Relationships tend to stabilize as “individuals cease to acquire new information about each other” (p. 319), their rate of interaction levels off and then decreases. In the sections on “Structure” and “Cohesion” we will look at how the frequency of interaction among the members changed over time, and in the “Epilogue” at how they dissolved when they were no longer acquiring a lot of new information about each other.

Kincaid found in his own study of immigrants in Mexico City slums, that

*“Communication networks based on instrumental content are more stable than networks based on friendship...Perhaps the instrumental networks were perceived as more rewarding (by the participants in these links) than were friendship networks thus justifying the greater effort required for their stability”* (p. 322; emphasis theirs).

Since our group members were not only friends but also fellow artists exchanging information about their work, their networks lasted longer, between eight and nine years, and were more stable than groups brought together for purely social reasons.

What we are really interested in is the effect these characteristics of groups had on our four key persons' creative development, which would be akin to the behavior change that researchers traditionally measure in groups.

Rogers and Kincaid make the assumption that “the behavior of an individual is partly a function of the communication networks in which the individual is a member” (p. 221). They refer to the work of Georg Simmel who felt that “an individual's behavior could be understood if one knew his/her communication links to various others,” and also quote Boissevain who said the personal communication networks form “a social environment from and through which pressure is exerted to influence [an individual's] behavior” (p. 226).

Rogers and Kincaid looked at six different network variables and how they affected behavior in the Korean villages: isolates vs. nonisolates, personal communication networks, effects of cliques, system effects, the strength of weak ties, and threshold effects (p. 220). They formed three propositions: that individual connectedness, individual integration and individual diversity are all “positively related to individual behavioral change” (p. 226).

Connectedness is particularly related to the acceptance of new ideas--isolates tend to be less innovative (p. 228)--and we will see that our members score high on this measure. In general, Rogers and Kincaid conclude that

“most individuals do not decide to adopt an innovation on the basis of their evaluation of the technical qualities and performance of the new idea. Instead, they depend on the subjective experience with the innovation of others like themselves, conveyed through peer networks, to give meaning to the new idea. Even scientists in an invisible college depend on the communication structure of this community of scholars to cope with the uncertainty of what research topics to pursue and what scientific methods to utilize” (p. 344).

Homophilous dyads within personal communication networks are better able to influence each other, according to Rogers and Kincaid: “An individual is more likely to adopt an innovation if more of the individuals in her personal network have adopted previously” (p. 233).

For the groups to have a positive effect on the creativity of their members, they must value creativity, making the groups more salient to the members, and be highly integrated, with very connected members, but with enough heterophily to introduce the creative ideas into the system. Given this definition of what we are looking for in our groups, how will we set about finding it?

## D. Data Collection

First it is necessary to look at how the data for this research study was collected.

After the initial topic of analysing creative people, particularly writers, who socialized in groups, was decided upon, the four groups--the Irish Literary Renaissance, the Bloomsbury Group, the American Expatriates in Paris, and the Algonquin Round Table--were chosen arbitrarily, based on general information. It was not known at that time if all four of these would be suitable subjects. Further analysis revealed that they would.

It appeared at first that each group had a woman at its center--Lady Gregory, Woolf, Stein and Parker. However, preliminary readings showed that it made more sense to treat the chief literary figure as the center of the group, switching the emphasis on the Irish group from Lady Gregory to Yeats.

Before any reading began, a plan of how to go about gathering information from secondary sources, primarily biographies, was decided upon. Autobiographies, memoirs and compilations of letters were automatically eliminated as being too subjective. In addition, these are works which are usually liberally quoted in biographies, so we would in effect allow the biographers to choose which subjective information was relevant. One notable exception was made for The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas by Stein, much of which describes in detail the exact time period of concern and the interaction of the two key members.

At least two biographies of each of the two key persons were identified, preferably including the "standard." In some cases, a book was also identified which dealt specifically with the relationship between the geniuses at the center and another group member, and this was included as well. Each book was read through once, purely for informational purposes, and then gone through again while notes were taken pertaining to their creative lives as well as any mentions of their relationships with other members of the group or characteristics of the group as whole. It is important to remember that at this point, since it was not clear which information (or even which group members) would prove to be important in the future, an attempt was made to capture *any* information which could be relevant.

By the time these books were read, the basic outlines of each group and information about the other group members was beginning to become clear.

Next, a standard work about each group was identified--Ulick O'Connor's Celtic Dawn: A Portrait of the Irish Literary Renaissance, Leon Edel's Bloomsbury: House of Lions, James R. Mellows' Charmed Circle: Gertrude Stein & Co., and James R. Gaines, Wit's End: Days and Nights of the Algonquin Round Table, read, and notes were taken.

At this point, a list of the members of each group to be focused on was compiled. Certain patterns were already beginning to emerge: Each group had an "obnoxious" person. They all had city and country meeting places. They lasted roughly eight to nine years and had seven to nine members each. Also, most of the basic factual information about the four groups had been collected by this time because of the overlap among the books.

Therefore, a matrix for collecting information was decided upon. Three matrices were created for each group (as a whole) and for each group member--one for information pertaining to their lives before entry into the group ("Pre"), one for information relating to their time "During" the group, and one for information concerning their lives "After."

"Pre" matrices had sections for information about the person's birth, parents, and then, by years, "Major Events" of their life as well as "Creative Accomplishments." This was done to separate out anything related to their creative lives so that the effect of the group and the relationships on their creativity could be better isolated. There was also a section entitled "Other Relationships" which was really a catch-all for information that didn't fit into a particular year, especially quotations and descriptions. The "During" matrix began with a section, "Entry," describing each individual's entry into the group, and ended with an "Exit" section describing how he or she ultimately left the group. In-between were the "Other Relationships," "Major Events" (by year), and "Creative Accomplishments" (by year). For the matrices relating to each group as a whole, the formation of the group was included under "Entry" and the dissolution of the group under "Exit." The "After" matrix contained only the "Other Relationships," "Major Events" (by year) and "Creative Accomplishments" (by year) sections.

Now one biography for each group member was read and then pertinent information was inserted in the appropriate section of the matrix. In only a few cases (Clive Bell, FPA), no standard biography exists.

Once these matrices were complete, all of the information was transferred to files in MS Word, and a data base was created. At that point additional information--longer quotes that didn't fit into matrices, information from articles that the author had come across or that had been brought to her attention--were added to the appropriate places in each matrix.

Certain biases are inevitable. All of it is at best second hand information, filtered through the perspective each individual biographer. Some people and incidents are more interesting than others and therefore are mentioned more often. Those who did well later--Hemingway--tend to be mentioned more than those who went on to less public pursuits--McAlmon, for example.

Attempts to minimize these biases include the quantity of information generated by using so many different secondary sources. In addition, extensive editing was done to resolve obvious discrepancies, reconcile contradictions, eliminate duplications, etc. For example, the data bases were printed out and edited within each group to discover other points of contact between group members that weren't necessarily pointed out in any one book. If it was noted that Benchley had visited Parker as her ship was about to leave for France, and also (in another source) that Marc Connelly was at her bon voyage party aboard her ship for France that year, this puts Parker, Benchley, and Connelly together in one spot.

The editing was facilitated by (1) referring to each member by the same name, consistently, which was printed in boldface; and (2) referring to places and organizations closely identified with a specific member by that person's name. For example: Lady Gregory's Coole, Vanessa Bell's Charleston, Stein and Toklas' 27 rue de Fleurus, and Harold Ross' New Yorker. The assumption was made that any event that involved one of these places or organizations, Coole or The New Yorker, for example, would also involve that person--Lady Gregory would be there, Ross would have some hand in anything going on at his magazine in those years. For a complete list of these, see the beginning of each "During" chronology in Appendix B.

This information is crucial because any time two or more group members were mentioned in one situation, this created an "interaction." As the basic unit of analysis for this work is the relationships between and among members, these interactions form the most basic units which will be deciphered in the "Analysis" section. Although the disadvantage of the use of secondary sources is that these interactions are not based on first hand reports, the advantage is that each interaction involves something that was worthy of note and therefore mentioned in at least one source.

Through careful editing, care was taken to insure that any interaction that mentioned two group members appeared on each member's matrix, although it might be a "Major Event" for one and a "Creative Accomplishment" for the other. Any interaction that included three or more members was moved to the group matrix. If it mentioned a "Creative Accomplishment" of any one of them, it was included in that section on the group matrix. These criterion give the matrixes consistency and makes it easier to locate information, and the interactions between three or more members, indicating an event or situation that was most likely related to the group, are the only units of analysis used in the quantitative "Analysis" section. For the completed "During" matrixes for each group, see Appendix B.

After this copious editing and checking was completed, the data base was printed out again and this time was edited across years for all four groups to pick up any information that might have been collected outside of "its" group.

Although interactions *among* these four groups are not pertinent to this analysis, this final edit unearthed interesting information about group members and their whereabouts at certain times. For example, the Bells and Roger Fry of the Bloomsberries visited Paris quite often and met Stein and Toklas. Some information about these visits was not found in any of the Bloomsbury references, but was in the Paris sources. Similarly, some members of the Paris group interacted quite a bit with members of the Algonquin Round Table, particularly on the French Riviera. Cross referencing these sources served as a good check to the activities of group members during this time and added additional information not available in their original sources.

By this time many patterns, including clear cut roles in each group, were becoming obvious. A decision was made to drop Robert Sherwood from the Algonquin group, as it was apparent he did not have a clear cut role beyond the initial formation of the group. This gave each group two partners and six other members, although Lady Gregory fills two roles in the Irish group.

During this time period, based on insights gathered from the reading and editing this large quantity of information, as well as from other sources concerning research into the formation and structure of informal non-task groups, an outline was developed. This outline forms the structure of this work.

The next step was to take the information in the database and put it in its appropriate place in the outline. For example, any interactions which revealed a group member's or the whole group's values, was copied to the "Values" section of the outline. While the original databases were retained in their matrix format, all the information was reordered into the major outline headings to allow for better analysis.

## E. Analysis

The analysis then undertaken was basically a variation on content analysis, with the content gleaned from many secondary sources. It is best to think of the entire data base as a mosaic--or four mosaics--with each interaction, each piece of information, forming one tile of the pattern. This analysis is of course primarily qualitative, with one exception. As alluded to above in Rogers and Kincaid's creation of indices to measure characteristics of groups, tallies were made of the numbers of interactions among members, from the group "During" matrices. This could be done easily because of the previous editing to each matrix, and the format used. This quantitative analysis will be explained in more detail and reported in the "Structure" section of the paper.

By using large quantities of information to minimize biases, by constructing the databases to emphasize the interactions among members, by doing minimum quantitative analysis on the interactions among the members in each group, and then subjecting this material to the network approach to communication that Rogers and Kincaid advocate, along with material from other researchers, the author feels that we can arrive at comprehensive understanding of how these groups affected the creative development of their key members.

### III. Description

#### A. Background

##### *1. Of the Groups*

All four groups were composed primarily of writers in English. We shall see that each group has at least one person who became known for his expertise in a non-literary field, but he was also a published writer. The Bloomsbury group also included quite a few painters, but indeed, most of the group members were creative, and valued creativity, in many fields. No group had more than two women, and the women were always one or both of the key persons in their groups.

Two of the groups--the Irish and the British--met just before World War I, and two--the Americans in Paris and in New York--just after. All members were born in the late nineteenth century; the two oldest, Lady Augusta Gregory and George Moore, in 1852, and the youngest, Ernest Hemingway, in 1899. Virgil Thomson, the only one whom the author met in person, was the last one to die, in 1989. The time span of this paper, then, goes from 1852 to 1989, but with the emphasis on the years between 1897, when the Irish group began to meet, to 1930, when the Paris group broke up. Although the Irish group's beginning predates the twentieth century, they can all be considered early twentieth century artists.

The average age of someone when he or she first started socializing with the others was 32--with a low of 23 for Duncan Grant and Hemingway, and a high of 47 for Moore and Stein. However, we will see that each group had at least one member who served as a "Link" to the larger establishment and was older--usually the oldest--one in the group. When they entered the group, these older members were usually in their mid-forties, except for FPA who was 38, but a good deal older than the other Round Tablers. If we remove this person from each group, it only changes the average ages by a year or two. In general, we can conclude that the peak time for creative artists to begin socializing in one of these groups is in their late twenties or early thirties, when they have discovered what their talent is but have not yet peaked as artists.

Only the Bloomsbury group contained members who were legally married to each other. Although the artists will always be referred to by their last names throughout the paper, when speaking of the two Woolfs (Virginia and Leonard) and the two Bells (Vanessa and Clive), first names will be used.

The total time each group spent together lasted eight or nine years. But since every group except the Algonquin Round Table had members who came late and/or left early, the average time a member spent in each group was about seven and a half years (eight for the Irish, seven for the British, six for the Americans in Paris and nine for the Algonquinites). The oldest member at break up was Stein who was 56. The youngest ones when their groups broke up were thirty--Grant and Robert McAlmon. The Irish, in a sense, was the oldest group, meeting when they were between 36 and 45. The Bloomsberries were the youngest, spanning the average ages of 29 through 36.

Virtually all of them continued their creative careers at least for some time after the groups broke up. Douglas Hyde and Heywood Broun became more involved with politics, but both also wrote on political topics. Hyde eventually was named the first President of Ireland and Broun became a union organizer, while still being well-known as a political columnist. Maynard Keynes left the Bloomsbury group when he took a top job with the Treasury Department, but he also kept writing about economics throughout his life. Alice B. Toklas actually became a publisher when the group broke up, and began a writing career after Stein's death. McAlmon fell on hard times and went into sales with his brother's company for a while, but continued to write as well.

Most lived fairly long and healthy lives, with only John Millington Synge dying before the age of forty. F. Scott Fitzgerald died at 44, but both Grant and Thomson lived to the ripe old ages of 93 and were both working at the time of their deaths. The average age at death for any group member was 71.

Not all of the members reached the level of critical acclaim that Yeats, Virginia, Stein and Parker did. However, none later went into careers totally unrelated to their art. Therefore, their time in the groups should not be seen as an aberration--a fling with Bohemia before settling down to be an accountant or housewife, for example. We can therefore make an assumption that these groups were successful in helping the members to

develop their creative talents at a time in their careers when they had already determined what they wanted to do, but had not yet reached their most creative heights. We cannot know what these people would have been like if they had done something different at this time in their lives; but we can look at what they did accomplish.

## *2. Of the Broader Context*

The era covered by the groups' meetings--from 1897 until 1930--was an incredible time to be creative in any field. Before we enter this period, however, we need to take a more detailed look at what the creative world, and our future group members, were doing before they began socializing, and at the specific time when each group was formed.

This encompasses the "Broader Context" which Dorris (1987) defines as

"those background factors which do not directly affect the specific creative problem at hand, but influences both the characteristics of the person and the Immediate Context...The Broader Context includes the larger economic, political, and cultural forces which affect both the Immediate Context and the person over a much longer period of time, e.g., years, than is typically relevant to the study of particular instances on an individual's (or group's) creativity" (p. 3).

The aspects of the Immediate Context which he considers, the "Social Roles...and types of problems, human and physical resources (or lack thereof) associated with them" (p. 3) will be considered in future sections.

Dorris (1993) also discusses his concepts of "Doors" and "Scores," or "how this person got from 'nowhere to somewhere'" (p. 1). Doors are defined as

"Points of entry into positions which affect the person's acquisition (and at times loss) of power. The key thing here is that by 'going through the door' ('getting the ticket'), the person's position changes--i.e., his role, work/living arrangements, social connections, etc.--and this change is sustained for a long enough period of time for the person to benefit from the changes--i.e., to learn new things, acquire new contacts, improve their self-concept, etc." (p. 2).

Beginning to socialize regularly with these groups of people became very important "Doors" for all the group members, so it is important to define as closely as we can the time when each group officially "formed." We will require all three of the following elements to align:

- (1) The two key persons come together for the first in a series of get togethers,
- (2) with at least one other group member,
- (3) in the place where the group would have most of their time together.

In most cases two or more of the members were already acquainted with each other--or, in the case of the Bloomsberries, were related--and in *all* cases at least one of the key persons and one or two other group members had at least one creative "interaction" before the group formed. Sometimes this was just one's acknowledgement of another's work, or a later mention of three of them in the same context of the time, but it does show that at least three of them were aware of each other's work before they began socializing.

Although different sources place the starting point for the groups at different times, for our purposes we will stick to this three-part definition for the "Door" each group.

### Ireland before the Formation of the Literary Renaissance in June 1897

In the 45 years between 1852--Lady Gregory and Moore's birth--and the beginning of the Irish group, Charles Darwin's Origin of Species (Jeffares) and Sir James Fraser's The Golden Bough (Ellman) were published.

Irish nationalism had been a strong theme in Irish literature long before any of our writers were even born. In the years that they were growing up in Dublin and the west of Ireland, and finding their talents, the Ossianic Society was founded to publish Fenian literature (Dunleavy), and one of the first lectures on "Early Irish Literature" was held at Newman College (Ulick O'Connor). Poet Matthew Arnold lectured on Celtic literature in 1863 (Dunleavy).

In the mid-seventies, Charles Dowden, a friend of Yeats' father who hated the Irish language, became the first professor of English in the English-speaking world. He taught at Trinity College (Ulick O'Connor), which only two years before had allowed Catholics to take positions in the administration, except in the Divinity School (Greene). By the end of the decade, the first Irish grammar was published as was the first volume of O'Grady's

History of Ireland, by Lady Gregory's cousin, "the fuse which exploded the long-awaited Literary Revival," according to Dunleavy.

Charles Stewart Parnell became the leader of the Irish Party in the British Parliament in 1880, and the next year was imprisoned by Prime Minister William Gladstone. The passage of the Lands Acts lead to revolts against landlords (Ulick O'Connor), which were dying down by the late eighties (Gwynn) when Parnell was vindicated in the Phoenix Park murders (Ulick O'Connor).

Two years later, the same year Irish Home Rule was "expected" (Dunleavy) but defeated (Kohfeldt), the new Dublin University Review published an article, "Irish Language and Literature," urging a native literature in Irish (Dunleavy).

At the beginning of the nineties Horace Plunkett was touring the county recruiting organizers for his Irish Agricultural Organization, designed to give more autonomy to farmers (Ulick O'Connor).

Besides nationalism, the occult was also a big topic (Jeffares); in the mid-eighties Madame Blavatsky had brought her brand of philosophy, known as Theosophy, to London, attacking both religion and science.

Parnell died in 1891, and the future Irish "La Passionara," Maude Gonne, was on the ferry that brought his coffin back to Dublin (Ulick O'Connor), and Yeats was waiting for her at the dock (Jeffares).

The Irish who knew each other before the group formed had opportunities to give each other visibility early in their relationships. In 1893 Yeats included one of AE's poems in his Celtic Twilight. When AE's first book of poems came out in 1894, Homeward: Songs by the Way, Yeats gave it a glowing review in Bookman, and AE returned the favor reviewing Yeats' Poems in Independent Review. By the time they got together with the other members, Yeats had dedicated The Secret Rose to AE and AE his The Earth Breath to Yeats. When Yeats reviewed the book dedicated to him in The Sketch and The Daily Express that year it was the first time AE was brought to the attention of a broader public (Kuch).

Moore and Martyn helped each other as well. Moore wrote an introduction to Martyn's Maeve (Gwynn) and The Heather Field (Ulick O'Connor) to help him get them published and produced.

Yeats' Celtic Twilight, "in the folklore tradition" and Hyde's Love Songs of Connacht, "in the lyrical tradition," published in the same year, served as catalysts for the Irish renaissance (Coxhead), as well as a creative interaction involving them and Lady Gregory. Years later, she remembered her reactions on first reading them both:

"This beginning of knowledge was a great excitement for me, for though I had heard all my life some talk of the faeries and the banshee (having indeed some reason to believe in this last), I had never thought of giving heed to what I, in common with my class, looked on as fancy or superstition... This discovery, this disclosure of the folk-learning, the folk-poetry, was the small beginning of a weighty change...My own imagination was aroused. I was becoming conscious of a world close to me and that I had been ignorant of'...[It wasn't new knowledge] but a new attitude to what she knew already...The next step was to meet her heroes, and their followers who were thinking along the same lines as herself...She could not go into the clubs and bars of that man's country, where the movement was being made...They must be inveighed into coming to her, either in London or at Coole" (Coxhead, p. 40-3).

A subject of discussion at the time among Edward Martyn and his cousin Moore in the west of Ireland was the Gaelic League, recently founded by Hyde, to preserve a language, deemed by the British to be dead, then spoken by 80% of the population of Galway and Aran (Thornton).

In 1896 Yeats and AE worked with Hyde on a project to establish a Castle of Heroes in a tower Hyde's father had lived in at Lough Key (Kuch). That same year, Martyn invited Yeats and his friend Arthur Symons to Tullira, and Moore was there (Ulick O'Connor). Although that incident brings three future group members together, since they weren't at nearby Coole with Lady Gregory at that time, we set June of 1897 as the beginning of the group, right after the Dublin riots surrounding Queen Victoria's Jubilee. Yeats and Symons were again staying with Martyn at Tullira; Lady Gregory came to call and invited them all back to Coole for tea. Jeffares dates this as the time when "the curtain had fallen on the first act of [Yeats'] drama."

According to Hazard Adams' version, Yeats and Martyn visited his cousin, Count de Basterot, at Duras, and found Lady Gregory there. This is her recollection of the first meeting, described in her memoirs:

“On one of those days at Duras...Edward [Martyn], my neighbor, came to see the Count, bringing with him Mr. Yeats, whom I did not then know very well, though I cared for his work very much and had already, through his directions, been gathering folklore...Though I had never been at all interested in theatres, our talk turned on plays...I said it was a pity we had no Irish theatre where such plays [as Martyn's] could be given. Mr. Yeats said that it had always been a dream of his, but he had of late thought it an impossible one, for it could not at first pay its way, and there was no money to be found for such a thing in Ireland.... We went on talking about it, and things seemed to grow possible as we talked, and before the end of the afternoon we had made our plan” (p. 31)

Symons soon went back to London and Lady Gregory invited Yeats to spend the rest of the vacation at Coole (Ulick O'Connor), his first of their many summers there over the next nine years.

### Britain before the Formation of “Bloomsbury” in March 1907

In the years 1866 to 1907, when the Bloomsberries were growing up in and around London, Queen Victoria ended the Victorian Age by neatly dying in the first year of the new century (Skidelsky I). Her son Edward VII was crowned (Holroyd I), Britain embarked on the Boer War (Hone), and the Liberals gained power for awhile (Skidelsky I). The modern bicycle was invented, Coca-Cola was introduced, and performing for the first time in London were Barnum and Bailey at Olympia Hall and Harry Houdini at Scotland Yard (Carnegie).

King's College at Cambridge opened its doors to students from all schools, not just Eton, and religious tests were abolished for both Oxford and Cambridge (Spalding, 1980). At Cambridge at the turn of the century, “no one can fail to be impressed by the overall picture of sheer intellectual dynamism which it presents. To look at the names which repeatedly recur in biographies and memoirs of the time is to be made immediately aware of a galaxy of intellects seldom rivalled in any university” (Crabtree, p. 3).

Societies, discussion groups and salons were common at Cambridge, and as described by Henry Sidgwick, were dominated by

“the spirit of the pursuit of truth with absolute devotion and unreserve by a group of intimate friends, who were perfectly frank with each other, and indulged in any amount of humorous sarcasm and playful banter, and yet each respects the other, and when he discourses tries to learn from him and see what he sees. Absolute candor was the only duty that the tradition of the society enforced. No consistency was demanded with opinions previously held--truth as we saw it then and there was what we had to embrace and maintain” (in Spater, p. 30).

Bertrand Russell confirmed this: “It was a principle in discussion that there were to be no *taboos*, no limitations, nothing considered shocking, no barriers to absolute freedom of speculation” (in Spater, p. 30).

Just before the turn of the century, the Stephens’ older and adored brother, Thoby, followed in his father’s footsteps by entering Trinity College, Cambridge (Bell I). He quickly got to know the flamboyant Strachey, and found “Lytton’s new friend Leonard interesting and Clive companionable” (Bell I, p. 40). The other Stephens visited him often there, and his friend Leonard met Thoby’s sisters when they came chaperoned in 1901 (Spater). Two years later, Strachey and Leonard called on a new student at King’s they had heard about, Maynard Keynes, and took him to meet their idol, G E Moore (Edel). Thoby and Clive met Strachey’s cousin, Duncan Grant, when he visited the same year (Shone, 1976).

The future Bloomsberries at Cambridge were members of the “secret” group, The Apostles. Strachey, Leonard and Clive (not an Apostle) founded the Midnight Society with Thoby (Edel), which eventually became the “X Society” for play-reading (Holroyd I).

Russell published Principles of Mathematics in 1903, and the Fabian Society in Cambridge--the first undergraduate society to be open to both males and females--started up again three years later (Skidelsky I).

Impressionism was also born and growing up during this time (Spalding, 1980), and art nouveau predominated for a while. The Arts and Crafts Society held its first London exhibition (Carnegie) while James Whistler was exhibiting and judging for the New England Art Club. He died in 1903 (Spalding, 1980), the same year an article in Studio described in detail the life of “lady art students” in Paris, a new trend (Tickner). Two other icons of British painting, Furse and Watts, died (Spalding, 1983) only a few years after a Cezanne was shown for the first time in London. By 1905, French Impressionism made its

first public appearance there (Spalding, 1980), and the autumn salon in Paris, where Picasso had just moved, featured “Les Fauves” (Mellow). This was soon followed by the furor over Matisse’s work at the Salon des Independents (Shone, 1976).

Strachey, Leonard and Clive published a volume of ridiculous poetry, Euphrosyne, together in 1905, a creative interaction they regretted later. But the first time one of the key persons was involved was Vanessa’s Friday Club, which she founded with her brother’s friend and now her persistent suitor, Clive. Virginia attended the Friday Club shows, but they were held at Clifford Inn’s Hall (Shone, 1976), not in Gordon Square. She described it in a letter at the end of that same year: “Old Vanessa goes ahead and slashes about her and manages all the business and rejects all her friends’ pictures and don’t mind a bit” (in Spalding, 1983, p. 56).

Vanessa met Grant for the first time at a Club meeting that year, in what became one of their two regular spots, the Stephens’ Gordon Square house. But there is no indication that Virginia was present at that meeting or that it was the beginning of regular get togethers with Grant, who really didn’t enter the group until the end of 1908. Virginia would sometimes join Vanessa when she went to visit Clive’s family at Cleeve House, but this was never a regular meeting place for the group.

Back home with his sisters in Gordon Square, the newly-graduated Thoby decided to continue the Cambridge “salon” tradition and announced that he would be “at-home” on Thursday evenings to receive friends. On February 16, 1905, Saxon Sydney-Turner arrived at the door. It is he who

“will go down in history as the ‘inaugurating’ guest of [early] Bloomsbury. On the first Thursday he was the sole visitor. He sat in silence most of the evening (we are told), although we must remind ourselves that Virginia tended to sketch these memories as caricature...[She maintained that] they had sat all evening and looked at the floor” (Edel, p. 125).

Indeed, as Spalding (1983) points out, the evenings were not always “a success. There could be awkward silences or conversation that obsessed two people in one corner of the room which made it difficult for talk to flourish elsewhere” (p. 50).

Clive soon began attending (Bell I). By the end of March there could be nine present—including Virginia, Vanessa, Clive and Strachey, who came “and stayed till one” by Virginia’s recollection (Spater). The evenings usually began at nine, and so there was no

food; "the sole entertainment was talk which went on until late into the night" (Spalding, 1983, p. 50).

At these early sessions, which set the state for the main Bloomsbury group we will focus on, "the atmosphere...was abstract in the extreme...the young men criticizing [the women's] arguments as severely as their own" (Spater, p. 38). This atmosphere was so different from the Virginia's childhood home at Hyde Park Gate, it was infectious. Her nephew (Bell I) later captured the feeling:

"In a young establishment, unsupervised, unchaperoned, tired of the conventions that made Hyde Park Gate so tedious and so painful, all kinds of possibilities began to present themselves. Why dress for dinner? Why tolerate bores? Why bother about 'society'? Why not make friends with people who would talk about art and literature, religion and love without humbug? Everything seemed possible" (p. 96).

Then the impossible happened. Big, strapping, healthy Thoby was diagnosed and treated for malaria after a trip they all took to Turkey. But in reality he was suffering from typhoid, and he died on November 20, 1906, not yet thirty.

Two days later, Vanessa gave in to Clive's persistent proposals of marriage (Malcolm, 1995). We date the formation of the group right after Vanessa and Clive's wedding in late March 1907 when they settled into Gordon Square and Virginia and her brother Adrian moved to new rooms in nearby Fitzroy Square. These two houses became the focal points for the Bloomsbury gatherings for the next few years. Although Bell (Vol. I) states that the Thursday evening gatherings were started up again at Fitzroy Square in the fall, once we have Virginia, Vanessa and Clive in the two main Bloomsbury houses, we can consider the group together. At this time, according to Bell, these young creative people "enthusiastically slammed the door against old friends and relations" (Vol. I, p. 121).

## Americans and Paris before the Formation of Stein's Writers' Salons in Early Summer, 1921

Stein was the chronologically oldest member of the Americans in Paris, so in the time between her birth in Pennsylvania in 1874 and the groups' first get-together in Paris 1921, a lot happened to the country where the writers were growing up and to their adopted city.

In 1879, J. J. Hill began building the Great Northern Railroad Co. in Minneapolis, Fitzgerald's home (LeVot). Seven years later Sears and Roebuck started business in Chicago, and by the nineties, the city that Sherwood Anderson and Hemingway grew up in and near had a population of over one million and John D Rockefeller started a University there with a grant of \$35 million (Townsend). The World's Fair (Howe) and the Columbia Exposition were held there, and the Art Institute opened (Townsend). But in the national "economic panic" of 1893 (Kunkel, p. 18), 24 local banks failed (Townsend), and Kansas City, Missouri, three years before Thomson was born there, "was a commercial and artistic rival of Chicago" (Wittke). Within the next few years Henry Ford produced the first automobile in Dearborn, Michigan, and the first American football game was played in Latrobe, Pennsylvania (Carnegie).

Two years before Man Ray was born, George Eastmann had developed a box camera, and by 1893 the first color photographs were produced (Schwarz). Tchaikovsky's ballet, The Nutcracker, made its debut, and Ubu Roi premiered in Paris, leading Yeats, in the audience, to exclaim, "After the savage god!" (Brinnin).

By the end of the century, when Hemingway was born in Oak Park (Donnelly), the Chicago "Loop" was finished. The Spanish American War began (Townsend), and a young Ray copied the pictures of the sinking of the *USS Maine* out of the newspaper in Brooklyn (Baldwin). In 1900 at the start of the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, where the Fitzgerald family was living, President William McKinley was assassinated (LeVot), and Chicago had gone from being "a mudhole to a human swamp" in the words of architect Lewis Sullivan (Townsend).

In the fall of 1902 the World Series was fixed (LeVot), and soon the Russians and Japanese waged a war (Kunkel).

In Paris at this time, Picasso made his first visit (Mellow), James Joyce moved there (Greene), and H. P. Roche was buying art for Lady Gregory's American friend, John Quinn (Mellow). When the Impressionists were first appearing in London (Spalding, 1980) in 1905, the 291 Gallery was founded in New York by Alfred Steiglitz and Edward Steichen (Schwarz), and a teenage Ray was a frequent visitor (Baldwin).

Stein had moved to Paris two years before to live with her brother Leo and found

“an ancient, enlightened city, alive in the deepest meaning of sophistication...[Artists were exploring] often unknowingly supported by scientists...Individual works that artists were writing or painting or composing would soon emerge as living illustrations of what seemed then to be the far-removed theories and investigations pursued by such men as Albert Einstein, Henri Bergson, Sigmund Freud” (Brinnin, p. 48-9).

On April 18th, 1906, while the Steins were in Paris and Toklas was sleeping in her family home in San Francisco, the earth moved. The city was rocked by an earthquake when the Metropolitan Opera Company was visiting for the first time, and tenor Enrico Caruso “was seen wandering in the streets in a bathrobe” (Souhami, p. 77). Four years later Halley's Comet made an appearance, and Mark Twain (Turnbull) and William James died (Souhami). Woodrow Wilson, the president of Princeton College, moved on to become President of the United States (LeVot); soon a Federal Income Tax law was passed (Goodell), and the Ford Motor Co. developed the first assembly line (Carnegie).

While Matisse's work was causing a furor at the Salon des Independents (Shone, 1976), he met Picasso at the Steins' early painters' salon at 27 rue de Fleurus. When the Spaniard began painting Demoiselles d'Avignon. Leo stopped supporting him (Mellow). Critic Max Jacob called this time “the heroic age of cubism” (Autobiography, p. 10). Concurrently, the Bloomsbury group was meeting, Matisse was painting The Dance (Spalding, 1980), and AE published “The Post Impressionists: Art and Barbarism ” in the Irish Times (Summerfield). The Ashcan School had their first exhibit in New York (Baldwin), and the Futurists published their manifesto in Italy (Carnegie).

The artists and collectors continued to come to visit the first salons hosted by the two Steins, with Toklas taking part, and back in New York, Marcel Duchamp put a bicycle wheel on a stool (Schwarz), and Frank Crowninshield had a tremendous success with Vanity Fair (Meade), which printed an article in French “tacitly presuming its readers to be

cosmopolitan polyglots” (Keats, p. 33). That same year Duchamp’s Nude Descending the Staircase and all those Picassos appeared at the Armory Show (Carnegie).

The major innovation in American literature up until this time had been Twain’s Adventures of Huckleberry Finn back in 1894 (Carnegie). But by 1911 the Chicago Evening Post Literary Review was starting to publish contemporary writers, and two years later Harriet Monroe started Poetry (Howe), publishing H. D. (aka Hilda Doolittle), Amy Lowell, Marianne Moore and William Carlos Williams (Baldwin). Margaret Anderson began the Little Review, and Wyndham Lewis’ Blast showed up at Fleurus courtesy of British publisher John Lane (Autobiography). Arensberg and Alfred Kreymbourg started Others, with “a staunch avowal that they’d not be beholden to any unifying principle or special interest” (Baldwin), and Gilbert Seldes’ Seven Arts began (Townsend).

In these years before World War I, salons spread on New York’s Upper West Side too, hosted by artists Florine Stettheimer, the Arensbergs, and Mabel Dodge (Hughes), Stein’s friend and publicist. Vernon and Irene Castle were popularizing the fox trot while W C Handy was playing St. Louis Blues (LeVot), Stravinsky’s Le Sacre du Printemps premiered to riots in Paris (Mellow), and the tango swept America and Europe (Carnegie).

Then the earth shook again on June 28, 1914, when the Archduke Ferdinand was assassinated in Sarajevo. One month later Austria declared war on Serbia (Samuel Hopkins Adams), and

“the shock to complacency, the very awareness that the world, ostensibly so well ordered before 1914, could blow up without rational cause, was evidenced in all directions: in the acceptance of new forms in the arts that had begun to develop in Europe even before the war, in the questioning ....of received attitudes toward labor and the structure of society, and in the new frankness with which...sex [was] discussed in public and between the sexes” (Goldstein, p. 51).

The *Lusitania* was sunk (Gwynn) and within a few years German submarine warfare was at its height (Baker). The Battle of Chateau-Thierry was fought in June of 1918 (Samuel Hopkins Adams). During the war, “in direct response to the violent conditions...a group of European artists, writers, poets and performers founded the Dada movement and declared that ‘art is dead’” (Carnegie). Surrealism formed at the Cabaret Voltaire in Zurich (Baldwin), and Picabia told Arensberg’s salon about it the following year. Back in Paris, Picasso was working with Erik Satie on the ballet Parade (Mellow).

During the war, Vanity Fair was one of the first magazines to recognize black artists and introduced its readers to painter Marie Laurencin, e e cummings, D H Lawrence, T S Eliot, Picasso, Matisse, and Stein (Keats). Elsewhere in the States, the Original Dixieland Band premiered in New Orleans (LeVot), and Thomson was publishing his own magazine, Pans, at his junior college in Kansas City with his group of friends the Pansophists. It was described later by Wittke as “arrogantly immature” but

“based on the same concept of the now-famous American and European ‘little magazines’ of that period--Transition, Criterion, the Little Review, Broom, etc. Virgil’s...band of little warriors also deemed it their mission to foster and promulgate the avant-garde for the benefit of humankind. They of course had no James Joyce, Gertrude Stein, Ezra Pound, T S Eliot, or Hemingway on their rostrum. Virgil’s...provincial little magazine was only a student periodical of prewar America, but it was searching for the same kind of literary material that sophisticated people in the outer world, far from Kansas City, were looking for and published and of whose existence [he] was probably unaware” (p. 2-3).

By October of 1918 the conflict was all over (Bell II). Although Wilson arrived in Paris with his Fourteen Points at the end of that year (Edel), Benito Mussolini established the Fascist movement in Italy during the next. Walter Gropius started the Bauhaus school for architecture and industrial design in Europe, and most of the world lived through an influenza epidemic (Carnegie).

Sylvia Beach and then her lover Adrienne Monnier opened bookstores across the rue de l’Odeon from each other in Paris in 1919, and they became “the nexus for literary life...A few blocks from the cafes in which writers sought solace or inspiration--the Dome, the Rotunde, the Coupole--it was a meeting place and a home away from home for many newcomers” (Simon, p. 112). Ezra Pound moved into the neighborhood (Baldwin) as did Janet Flanner (Mellow).

When the new decade of the twenties dawned, “the race to be first in everything reached manic proportions,” according to Baldwin (p. 98). As Reynolds describes them, “this generation, which later would be called ‘Lost,’ thoroughly enjoyed irritating their staid, sober, conservative elders whose eyes still turned moist to a martial air as they continued to elect conservative Republicans throughout the twenties” (p. 238).

Fitzgerald’s This Side of Paradise was published as the “Roaring Twenties” began and Stein reported later that at the time she was “very much impressed” with it: “She read it

when it came out and before she knew any of the young American writers. She said that it was this book that really created for the public the new generation. She has never changed her opinion about this" (Autobiography, p. 236).

The Post Office banned the Little Review for carrying installments of Joyce's Ulysses, and when the ubiquitous Quinn defended the magazine in 1921, the same year the group of American writers in Paris formed, the publication was fined \$100 (Mellow).

By the time the writers began to arrive at their door, Stein and Toklas were

"both well settled in Paris long before the international community arrived there in the twenties and thirties. They were at the cultural heart of Paris life for four decades: through [art exhibits], the struggles of the innovative magazines of the twenties, [and] the aspirations of the expatriate writers between the two world wars" (Souhami, p. 15).

Sometime between May and July of 1921 (Brinnin and Townsend), Anderson came to the City of Lights and went straight to Beach at Shakespeare & Co. According to Townsend, Beach found him looking in the window and he told her of his admiration for Stein's work. Hobhouse claims that even in those early days a "presentation" to Stein "was not a straightforward matter...There were certain channels for approaching the 'Sybil of Montparnasse,'" and one of these was a letter from Beach. This letter was "not, however, mere flattery. 'He is so anxious to know you,' she wrote, 'for he says you have influenced him ever so much and that you stand as such a great master of words'" (p. 114).

In the Autobiography Stein remembers that Beach had sent word "that Anderson had come to Paris and wanted to see Gertrude Stein and might he come. Gertrude Stein sent back word that she would be very pleased and he came with his wife and Rosenfeld, the musical critic" (p. 212-3).

Brinnin reports that Beach went with Anderson, his wife Tennessee, and his patron Paul Rosenfeld, on the first visit. Toklas was out that afternoon, "some domestic complication in all probability" (Autobiography, p. 212), but it is clear that she met him soon after and "when she did meet him, she approved immediately...He was, besides, very sweet. He had published four very well-received books, and at 44 seemed more sure and settled than many of the younger writers Gertrude was meeting" (Simon, p. 114).

As Brinnin describes the first get-together:

“Before Gertrude Stein had become the mother of all the sad young men, a momentous event in her life was the first visit of Anderson...Like almost everyone else who came to Paris, he went to Sylvia Beach’s shop, expressed his desire to meet Gertrude, and was shortly escorted to ‘27’...’Imagine a strong woman with legs like stone pillars sitting in a room hung with Picassos,’ he wrote in his notebook. ‘The woman is the very symbol of health and strength. She laughs. She smokes cigarettes. She tells stories with an American shrewdness in getting the tang and the kick into the telling’...While the geniality of her *salon* accommodated everyone, as far as Gertrude and Sherwood were concerned the occasion was theirs alone” (p. 235-6).

When Toklas returned to Fleurus later that day,

“Gertrude Stein was moved and pleased [by Anderson’s visit] as she has very rarely been...Gertrude Stein was in those days a little bitter, all her unpublished manuscripts, and no hope of publication or serious recognition. Anderson came and quite simply and directly as is his way told her what he thought of her work and what it had meant to him in his development. He told it to her then and what was even rarer he told it in print immediately after...Gertrude Stein and Anderson have always been the best of friends but I do not believe even he realizes how much his visit meant to her” (Autobiography, p. 212-3).

## New York before the Formation of Algonquin Round Table in June 1919

From 1881 until 1919, when the writers of the Algonquin Round Table were growing up in Boston, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Colorado, they were affected by the same changes that the Americans who left for Paris felt. But their Broader Context was centered around New York City and the publishing and entertainment businesses.

Five years after Franklin P. Adams (FPA) was born, the Statue of Liberty was built in New York harbor and Edison invented the phonograph (Carnegie). In the nineties, the States went crazy for bicycles (Townsend) and ragtime and movies came to Manhattan (Carnegie).

In 1896, Adolph Ochs bought the New York Times to make it “the newspaper of record” (Goldstein), so William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer launched their own and The Yellow Kid cartoon strip appeared (LeVot). Hearst took a hand in starting the Spanish-American War (Townsend), and right after the turn of the century, FPA started his column “Always in Good Humor” in the Evening Mail (Meade). This became the first

outlet for future Round Table members' work, as Kaufman had his first poem published there in 1909 (Gaines),

The year after the Wright Brothers flew off the ground in Kitty Hawk, 1903, the subway opened under ground in New York City (Carnegie). A few years later, the first nickelodeon theatre opened in Pittsburgh, hometown to Stein, George S. Kaufman and Marc Connelly (Carnegie), and Alexander's Ragtime Band was a big hit all over the United States (Turnbull).

By 1909 there were 2,600 dailies in the United States (Meade) and the theatre business was also on a steady uphill climb. As far back as 1891 the Society of American Dramatists and Composers was founded to stop the prevailing literary piracy (Goldstein), but it wasn't until 1912 that the Dramatists Guild was begun, followed soon after by Actor's Equity (Meserve), the Author's League of America (Goldstein), and the Theatre Guild (Hobhouse).

At the outbreak of World War I in Europe there were thirty legitimate theatres in New York City (Samuel Hopkins Adams), and Mrs. Patrick Campbell was appearing on Broadway in George Bernard Shaw's Pygmalion (Goldstein). That same year Yeats toured America, and stayed at the Algonquin Hotel (Jeffares), then twelve years old (Frewin).

FPA moved to the Tribune in 1914, renaming his column "The Conning Tower" (Goldstein). Parker sent pieces (Frewin), and the earliest creative contact between three future Round Table members was FPA ensuring that his protege Kaufman got his job back as Heywood Broun's assistant on the Tribune when the Evening Mail was sold out from under them to a pro-German syndicate in 1915 (Goldstein). Around the same time, Benchley, draft exempt because of his new wife and baby (Rosmond), moved to New York for the reporter's job FPA found for him (Benchley).

When FPA noticed Benchley's pieces in Vanity Fair (Rosmond), and heard about him from a mutual friend, he hired him for the Tribune. That year he spoke at FPA's annual "Contributor's Dinner" honoring those who had sent things to his column, and two other contributors--Connelly and Kaufman--were also there (Gaines), but not yet at the Algonquin Hotel.

As war was sweeping Europe, architect Hugh Ferriss designed the first skyscraper, allowing “sunlight to reach the streets below while still maximizing space in accordance with New York’s zoning laws” (Carnegie). The US entered the European conflict one year later (Kunkel), just before the Russians started their own revolution (Carnegie).

During the war, theatre and publishing in America flourished. Maude Adams played Peter Pan (Gaines), and playwright Eugene O’Neill joined the Provincetown Players (Meserve). As Dada was born in Europe (Carnegie), the number of productions in New York theatres increased to 126 (Gaines). Vanity Fair was “publishing’s most fabulous success story...[with] more advertising than any other monthly” (Meade, p. 43), the first Pulitzer Prize for reporting was awarded to Herbert Bayard Swope (Meade), and General Pershing approved a new idea for his troops, a daily newspaper called The Stars and Stripes (Kunkel).

Some of the members of the Algonquin group had the advantage of working on an outlet together before all of them began to lunch. Ross, Woollcott, FPA worked on The Stars and Stripes, the Army’s daily newspaper in Paris. Although it could be argued that this wasn’t an outlet they created for themselves--the Army did it for them--Ross was one of the very first editors of this unique publication, and he in a sense created it, using it as an outlet for his friends. Ross’ “greatest value was in generating ideas...an uncanny sense of what enlisted men would and wouldn’t read” (Kunkel, p. 53), and he thrived on Stars (Gaines).

General Pershing approved the idea of Stars at the end of 1917 and ordered Capt. Guy Viskniskki to do it. The initial circulation was 30,000 and the price was ten cents, which was more than the other English language newspapers available to the Americans in France. Every Friday the eight pages appeared, and “the tone was soldier to soldier” (Kunkel, p. 51).

In February of 1918 Ross left his unit to go to Paris to work on the paper (Kunkel). Soon after, the editorial director was reassigned and the staff elected Ross to his position. He savored his anonymity so much that he removed the masthead from the magazine (Gaines).

Woollcott arrived in France around that time and requested to be assigned to the paper. Worried that his colonel would deny his request, he forged a “yes” answer and took off for Paris (Samuel Hopkins Adams). He and Ross both traveled to the front together often (Kunkel), and profiles that Woollcott did of Brigadier General Douglas MacArthur and Lt. Col. Wild Bill Donovan helped to establish their legendary reputations (Samuel Hopkins Adams).

FPA came to Stars in 1918 at the rank of Captain. Ross gave him the opportunity to translate his “Conning Tower” column to the new publication, but editor Ross gave it a good chance and then cancelled it. FPA was transferred to censoring letters of enlisted men (Gaines).

Ross was constantly at odds with his superiors, but supported by his staff. Or as Samuel Hopkins Adams says, “several harsh and lengthy battles were fought over editorial policy and on several occasions Pvt. Ross was placed under arrest by Capt. Viskniskki” (p. 91), including one time when the New York Herald beat them on a story (Kunkel).

By the end of 1918, when the war was over, the publication had increased circulation to 500,000. There was a big farewell banquet the next year before they all departed for the States, and collections such as Yanks, which was a reprint of Stars’ poetry that Woollcott sent as a Christmas present the next year, and The Command Is Forward, Woollcott’s articles from the newspaper, appeared soon after (Samuel Hopkins Adams). Woollcott has accurately described Stars and Stripes as “the first successful use of a newspaper as a weapon in modern war” (Gaines, p. 9).

While working hard on Stars by day, they all socialized with another New York reporter in Paris, Broun and his new wife Ruth Hale (Samuel Hopkins Adams). Woollcott brought another female reporter, Jane Grant, to Mini’s one night to meet his friend Ross, and they married soon after they were stateside (Kunkel).

When the war was over, the United States established Daylight Savings Time (Carnegie), the women’s right to vote (Goldstein), and Prohibition (Carnegie). Two aspiring playwrights from western Pennsylvania attended the Jerome Kern musical, She’s a Good Fellow, and met for the first time, which Kaufman described later:

“Marc [Connelly] ‘was the most distinguished person in the audience; by laughing...louder than anyone else he unquestionably distinguished himself’...Marc and George would lounge side-by-side behind the orchestra seats and frequently they would walk uptown together after [writing their reviews]...Tall, lean, thick-haired Kaufman and the even taller, rounded, balding Connelly soon became friends...approved of the same plays, hailed from the same part of the country,...[and were] eager for theatrical success” (in Goldstein, p. 53-4).

Soon they collaborated on their first play, Miss Moonshine, which was never produced, but they found they made a perfect couple: “Kaufman was able to enliven [Connelly, and]...It seemed reasonable that they should try to write together...[But] not for a moment did it occur to either to spend their time on drama with a serious message” (Goldstein, p. 54-6).

Before he even left France Ross was asked by Butterick to start a publication for the returning veterans, and “the moment Harold stepped off that freighter from Marseilles, he threw himself into Home Sector” (Kunkel, p. 68), hiring Woollcott to write for it before they left France (Gaines). The first issue came out in the fall of 1919 with the slogan, “By the Same Bunch, For the Same Bunch and in the Same Space” (Kunkel, p. 69). It contained many “precursors” of The New Yorker, but, as Kunkel describes it,

“There was a musty whiff about [it]...for the first and perhaps only time in his life, Ross’ instinct was trailing his audience, not leading it. The five million American vets had undeniably warm feelings for Stars and Stripes, but it belonged to a part of their lives that was now thankfully behind them” (p. 69)

In May of the same year, 1919, Benchley went to work at Vanity Fair as managing editor (Frewin) and had to share an office with Parker (Meade). Woollcott arrived home from France on June 3rd (Samuel Hopkins Adams), and soon after, a press agent, John Peter Toohey, was stuck for a way to promote one of his clients, up and coming playwright O’Neill. He called a mutual friend, Murdock Pemberton, to set up a lunch with him and the Times drama critic, Woollcott (Kunkel) at the convenient Algonquin Hotel. Seeing this as an opportunity to get some publicity out of welcoming Woollcott back, either he, or Pemberton, or Toohey decided as a stunt to invite other well-known critics as well (Meade). “Nearly all of New York’s newspapers were represented at the Algonquin that day” (Gaines, p. 25), and there were twelve dailies in Manhattan and five in Brooklyn at the time (Carnegie).

Frank Case, the hotel manager, gave them a round table in the back of the dining room (Meade) as 35 people showed up. Parker was invited as the drama critic at Vanity Fair, and she “insisted” (Hoffman, p. 59) that her co-workers Benchley and Sherwood come.

Broun, who “had yet to reach his peak popularity” (Kunkel) and his wife Ruth Hale were there. Parker had met him, a vague acquaintance of her sister, “one summer long ago at the shore” (Meade, p. 60). FPA was invited as a “personal friend” of Woolcott (Meade), who weighed only 195 for the last time in his life (Gaines). The older man was “much the best known” (Goldstein, p. 64), and as “the only genuine celebrity and serious wage earner, [was] thus the informal dean” (Goldstein, p. 77) of the group.

Connelly and Kaufman were not there the first day, but Kunkel lists Ross as a “founder” (p. 77-8). However, many things about that inaugural lunch are vague. Either Pemberton (Frewin), or Toohey (Gaines) or “somebody” (Meade) said, “Why don’t we do this every day?” And so they did, for the next nine years.

## B. Early Creative Development of the Members

### *1. Development of the Key Persons*

Against this Broader Context of the times, we can look at all 31 artists and what stage they were at in their creative lives when they met and went through that important “Door.” First we will look at each of our four key persons--Yeats, Virginia, Stein and Parker--in detail to see how their creativity and their careers had developed by this time, when they first met up with the others and began socializing and communicating. Then we will examine the values that the other group members held as they came in to the groups as well.

There are some similarities among the four. They valued creativity and culture strongly and had made friends with other creative people already; Stein had even held a salon, but with painters. Although all four wrote primarily in English, they had an interest in other languages early on. All had started writing early.

Even before they began socializing with other artists, Yeats, Virginia and Stein had either learned about art and/or gotten to know painters. These three had had friendships with other contemporary artists, and supported their work when few others did.

These three also socialized in other salons before they met up with their primary groups. Play--partying, food, dressing up (or down)--were important to varying degrees for them. Parker was fascinated with high fashion, and Yeats and Stein, for example, used fashion--high and low--as a way of setting themselves apart as artists even before they entered the groups.

Analysing their experiences with language and literature before they entered the groups shows that virtually all of them had embarked on the early stages of their careers; they knew that they were writers.

### William Butler Yeats (1865-1939)

Rodgers describes Yeats as “reared between the ebb of Victorian faith and the flow of skepticism...and out of that dramatic clash was fashioned a character which still excites debate amongst Dubliners” (p. 1). Born in suburban Dublin (Jeffares), Yeats was the first

child of Susan Pollexfen Yeats, of County Sligo, and John Butler Yeats, a graduate of Trinity Law School (Ellman).

When he was only two, his lawyer-father gave up his middle class occupation to go to art school, taking the whole family with him to London (Jeffares) at the height of pre-Raphaelism (Ellman). Oscar Wilde later gave Mr. Yeats' "decision artistic form, telling how he announced at breakfast to his children that he was tired of the law and would become a painter. To the question, 'Could he paint?' Wilde would reply, 'Not in the least, that was the beauty of it'" (Jeffares, p. 4).

Often moving back and forth from England to Sligo to Dublin, Yeats started school in England where he always felt out of place. He was not a good student and developed a "curiously rhythmic manner of speaking" (Ellman, p. 2). Growing up, he experienced a lot of father-son tension, as he was rebelling against a father who had already had his own revolt against his minister Dad and became "a complete skeptic" (Ellman, p. 7).

With a painter-father, the son spent a lot of time in his father's studios in Dublin (Ellman). In 1884 he wrote his first poems and three plays, one of which was probably put on for the family, with his distant cousin and first love in the lead. Charles Herbert Oldham, the leader of the nationalists at Trinity College and one of his father's friends, published the poems in the Dublin University Review (Ellman).

That same year he entered art school and became friends with a young poet and illustrator, George Russell, who soon took the pseudonym "AE." They sat up in Yeats' kitchen with inkpots and a lamp, recited poetry together, wore loose red ties, affected a Byronic look, and Yeats grew a beard. AE had a great memory; eventually he could recite all of Yeats' poems. Later he "is said to have once remarked that the happiest days of his life were the times that he and Yeats had 'sat up to all hours talking about everything in heaven and earth'" (in Kuch, p. 27).

Both Yeats and AE had developed odd speaking mannerisms when they were art students (Kuch). Yeats later studied French, but always had a very bad pronunciation, as his sister Lilly remembered:

“Willie divided [French] up into any amount of full stops where there weren't any so Madame said, ‘Mr. Yeats, you don't read poetry like that, do you?’ ‘Yes he does, Yes he does,’ volunteered Mr. [H. Halliday] Sparling, and in truth it was rather like his natural way of reading” (in Jeffares, p. 42-3).

Yeats, Lady Gregory, and Synge all came from the Protestant Ascendancy (Kohfeldt), but Yeats originally pursued mystical philosophy with AE to oppose his own father (Ellman). Neither set of parents liked his son's new friend; the young men then saw each other as allies against Yeats' dad's pre-Raphaelism. AE “responded eagerly to the suggestion that they join forces against the prevailing attitude in art, literature, religion. So began a fifty-year association that was to be a shaping force in the lives of both men and in the development of the Irish Renaissance” (Kuch, p. 3).

Yeats' aunt gave him a copy of Esoteric Buddhism, which he shared with AE (Jeffares), and they set up the Dublin Hermetic Society in 1885. AE didn't join, although he did temporarily give up his art to embark on a self-exploration of spirit (Summerfield). Yeats became more of an occultist, whereas AE was truly a mystic (Jeffares).

Although Yeats' mother didn't talk much (Ellman), he did grow up with the literary conversation of friends of his father's (Ulick O'Connor), who had attended the salon at Rossetti's house in his London art school days (Ellman). His son began going with him to the Contemporary Club at Trinity, where he met the Fenian Charles O'Leary; “through him Willie was introduced to a fresh view of Ireland, a new concept of Irish literature” (Jeffares, p. 22).

In the late eighties, Yeats met a young Trinity student, Hyde, and they attended O'Leary's salons. Soon he became both a nationalist and an occultist, and abandoned art school, against his Dad's wishes, to write (Ellman). He and AE worked on folk tales and poems together (Dunleavy), and when one of Dad's friend suggested that Yeats try an Irish subject, he began his first epic poem, Wandering of Oisín (Ellman); he had found “a way out of imitating the English romantics” (Jeffares, p. 36).

The first public appearance of “the new Yeats” came in 1886 when he published an article in Dublin University Review attacking his father's Trinity friend, Dowden: “If Ireland has produced no great poet, it is not that her poetic impulse has run dry, but because her critics have failed her, for every community is a solidarity, all dependent upon each, and each upon all” (in Jeffares, p. 47).

In the meantime, through his involvement with AE in the Hermetic Society, which had become the Theosophical Society, he became “dazzled” with the literature of India (Kuch, p. 17). The two young Irishmen were “united in a warm friendship by their revolt against the Victorian despotism of fact, by their search for an alternative to their parents’ attitude to religion, by their refusal to acquiesce immediately in a formal commitment to Theosophy, they viewed their association as strengthening rather than molding their own imaginative development” (Kuch, p. 20).

While Yeats was writing nationalistic articles (Ellman), and still working on his epic poem (Jeffares), his Dad discouraged him (Kuch) from taking a journalism job on a unionist newspaper and encouraged him to write stories (Ellman). Yeats met the charismatic Theosophist leader Madame Blavatsky in London in 1887 and had the experience of being thrown around a room at one of her seances. As he became more involved in these groups, his friend AE started to withdraw, even denouncing the occult (Kuch).

Hyde and Yeats worked on folk tales and poems together in the late eighties (Jeffares). He introduced Yeats to the Munster Gaelic poets (Dunleavy) and his Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry was “Yeats’ first source of informed information about Irish oral tradition and texts of Irish poetry and legend and helped him intermittently for many years” (Jeffares, p. 37). With O’Leary they were contributors to Poems and Ballads of Young Ireland in 1888 (Ellman), the same year Yeats’ most well-known poem, “The Lake Isle of Innisfree,” written out of his nostalgia for Sligo, was published in the National Observer (Jeffares).

Earlier that year he and AE met a young novelist at a party, who wrote a story about them in the Evening Telegraph called “A Dublin Literary Coterie,” describing their “out-moded dress,” Yeats’ effusive introduction of AE, and AE’s admiration for Yeats’ poetry (Kuch, p. 28).

Soon Yeats had a few more poems published (Jeffares), shaved his beard, grew a moustache (Ellman), switched to neutral color ties, and became “deliberately the poet, even to the point of appearing theatrical” (Kuch, p. 45).

When he was 24, his friend, O'Leary (Ulick O'Connor), suggested that a young woman and Irish nationalist visit him, and Maude Gonne arrived on his doorstep and in his life in the midst of a raging thunderstorm. She became his muse for most of the rest of his creative life, despite, or as a result of, her consistent refusals to marry him (Summerfield).

It's no surprise that Yeats was fond of theatre even before he began to create one with the others. He offered to write Countess Cathleen for his love, Gonne (Jeffares), and before he finished it, his first production, Land of Heart's Desire (Ellman), was a hit in London, with Moore in the audience (Jeffares). Moore's first recollection of Yeats was of him striding

“to and forth at the back of the dress circle, a long black cloak drooping from his shoulders, a soft black sombrero on his head, a voluminous black silk tie flowing from his collar, loose black trousers dragging untidily over his long heavy feet--a man of such excessive appearance...[I mistook] him for an Irish parody of the poetry that I had seen all my life strutting its rhythmic way in the alleys of the Luxembourg Gardens” (in Ulick O'Connor, p. 147).

In London, Yeats organized a group of poets into the Rhymer's Club, sometimes including Wilde, and they met at his rooms and at the Cheshire Cheese restaurant (Jeffares). His “famous” Monday nights in the Woburn Buildings brought him under their influence. Although he was “awed” by them and their talent, they probably thought he was “an occasionally inspired provincial, poorly educated and full of uninteresting theories” (Ellman, p. 141).

He tried to convince the Rhymers of the importance of Irish nationalism and his Dublin nationalistic friends of the Rhymers' emphasis on technique in their poetry (Ellman). Indeed, one of Yeats' co-workers on The Yellow Book and the Savoy, told him, “I need ten years in the wilderness, you need ten years in a library” (Ellman, p. 140). Both Moore and Beardsley worked there at one time or another (Hone), and AE was angry about Yeats' writing for them instead of collaborating with him (Kuch).

By the early nineties, he had, according to Jeffares, ended his “period of preparation” (p. 42) and was making his reputation as a published poet. He was also becoming more involved with politics with Gonne and had begun proposing to her (Ellman), and was now called “Yeats” or “WB” instead of “Willie” (Jeffares).

In the meantime, he and AE, with O'Leary, set up the Dublin National Literary Society and became president and vice-president, respectively. The group started small

libraries around the country in the early nineties, with Gonne starting half of them, but they fought over which books to include. Yeats had already become more involved with politics through his relationship with Gonne in London, where he formed the Irish Literary Society.

At about this time Yeats quit the Theosophist Society, having been kicked out of Blavatsky's group for resisting signing a pledge to her ideals (Ellman), and AE joined (Kuch).

In 1893 one of his best known works, Celtic Twilight, which included one of AE's poems, was published to good reviews (Kuch). Representing the folklore tradition, it appeared the same year as Hyde's bi-lingual (Hazard Adams) Love Songs of Connacht, in the lyrical tradition, and both became precursors for the Irish renaissance (Coxhead).

In the three years before Yeats met up with the rest of the Irish Literary Renaissance, in the words of Ellman, "the silence about these years is significant. His fists were tightly clenched" (p. 164-5). Based in London, but visiting Sligo to get in touch with his Irish side (Ulick O'Connor), he was a wreck over Gonne, and he was briefly introduced to the next important woman in his life, Lady Gregory (Coxhead). He moved out on his family into his own rooms (Ellman), had an affair with Olivia Shakespeare, and began rewriting the Countess Cathleen in Sligo (Jeffares).

Yeats joined the Irish Republican Brotherhood in 1896 (Ellman), a group he was associated with for his whole life. During this time he and AE still performed rituals together (Ulick O'Connor) and worked with Hyde on the Castle of Heroes (Kuch).

The following June, Yeats took part in the Queen Victoria "Jubilee riots" in Dublin with Gonne (Ellman). AE invited him to come to Sligo to look for Celtic spirits, and Symons then visited Yeats' relatives with him there (Jeffares), before they went to visit Martyn at Tullira. It was during this trip that three of the members converged at the right place and the right time, the home of the Catholic Sponsor, Martyn, with the Host/Hostess and Link, Lady Gregory, and the already published but soon to be Star, Yeats.

Looking back on that first meeting at Tullira with Lady Gregory and Martyn in 1897, Yeats saw that it was the culmination of all of his literary activities up until that point:

“Yeats wrote that when he went to Coole the curtain had fallen on the first act of his drama, his propaganda for a new kind of Irish literature, his education, his articles, his speech, the setting up of the Irish Literary Society in London and Dublin which had given a new generation of writers and critics opportunities to reassess the nature of Irish literature, to denounce past propaganda. Now he thought that if Ireland would not read literature it might listen to it” (Jeffares, p. 109).

## Virginia Stephen Woolf (1882-1941)

Adeline Virginia Stephen was born in London to a literary family that already had one son, Thoby, and another daughter, Vanessa (Bell I). Their mother, Julia Duckworth, had been married before and widowed at age 24, so there were three Duckworth children-- Stella, Gerald and George --in the home when the Stephens began to arrive. The 16-year-old George started groping his half sisters when Virginia was five (Edel), and Gerald apparently followed suit soon after (Bell I).

The Stephens' whole background was literary, with never “a generation which did not add to the literary achievements of the family” (Bell I, p. 1). Their father, Leslie, had not only been friends with Oliver Wendell Holmes and James Russell Lowell, he married Thackeray's daughter before their mother, Julia. He originally came to London in the late 1860s to be a journalist, and twenty years later began his monumental project, the Dictionary of National Biography. Henry James visited the Stephens' home in London, and Virginia kept in touch with him in later years. As young adults Virginia and Vanessa accompanied their father to Oxford to receive his Honorary Doctorate in Literature (Bell I).

Virginia did not learn to talk until the age of three but, “words, when they came, were to be then, and for the rest of her life, her chosen weapons” (Bell I, p. 22). Always the family storyteller, Virginia and her sister determined at an early age that the “The Goat” would be a writer and “The Saint,” a painter (Bell I).

When Virginia was thirteen, their mother died; she experienced her first mental breakdown, and lost her desire to write; these episodes continued, irregularly, throughout her life. Even as a young girl, “she was more capable of meeting than anticipating disaster” (Bell I, p. 61) and had a “capacity to create suddenly an atmosphere of tense, thundery gloom” (Spalding, 1983, p. 8-9). In Vanessa's recollections, her sister “appears as a perpetual source of disaster” (Shone, 1993, p. 80). Her erratic father was an unfortunate

model: "I think he said unconsciously as he worked himself up into one of those violent outbursts, 'This is a sign of my genius,' and he...let himself fly," she recalled later (in Tickner, p. 78-9).

Half-brother George tried to console the motherless girls, and

"Vanessa came to believe that George himself was more than half unaware of the fact that what had started with pure sympathy ended by becoming a nasty erotic skirmish...when, with the easy assurance of a fond and privileged brother, George carried his affections from the schoolroom into the night nursery" (Bell I, p. 43).

Perhaps related to these early gropings Virginia always suffered a lot of ambiguity about sex:

"To his half-sisters George stood for something horrible and obscene, the final element of foulness in what was already an appalling situation. More than that, he came to pollute the most sacred of springs, to defile their very dreams. A first experience of loving or being loved may be enchanting, desolating, embarrassing or even boring; but it should not be disgusting. Eros came with a commotion of leathern wings, a figure of mawkish incestuous sexuality. Virginia felt that George had spoilt her life before it had fairly begun. Naturally shy in sexual matters, she was from this time terrified back into a posture of frozen and defensive panic" (Quentin Bell in Malcolm, 1995, p. 64).

Dad took over the home schooling of the girls, encouraging them to read and have their own opinions, but he sent the boys, Thoby and Adrian, to school (Bell I). Although Virginia was, "free to...explore her father's library at liberty" (Shone, in Crabtree, p. 30), she later complained to Vita Sackville-West, "then think how I was brought up! No school; mooning about alone among my father's books; never any chance to pick up all that goes on in schools--...slang; vulgarity" (in DeSalvo). She missed not only the information but also the socialization of a formal education.

In the British tradition of family newspapers, Virginia had started the weekly Hyde Park Gate News when she was nine, and began writing in a diary irregularly when she was fifteen. She had a standing desk and worked from late morning until after lunch (Bell I). Also in her teens she began studying Greek and Latin at King's College, which she thought of as "not only 'the perfect language' but also the privileged preserve of the educated male" (Haule, p. 197).

Politically, the Stephens family came from a long liberal tradition, which included abolitionists (Bell I). Virginia had ambivalent feelings about “Good Society”; there was much in it

“that she found hateful and frightening, but there was always something in it that she loved. To be at the center of things, to know people who disposed of enormous power, who could take certain graces and prerogatives for granted, to mingle with the decorative and decorated world, to hear the butler announce a name that was old when Shakespeare was alive, these were things to which she could never be wholly indifferent. She was in fact a romantic snob” (Bell I, p. 81).

In later years, Vanessa did not share this fascination with their Hyde Park Gate past (Shone, in Crabtree).

Only two years after their mother’s death, their much-loved half-sister, Stella, got married. But upon returning from her honeymoon, pregnant, she developed peritonitis and died a few months later. Vanessa now took on the responsibility of running the household for her increasingly depressed father (Bell I).

About this same time, Virginia took up the hobby of bookbinding (Bell I). Always “bookish,” in her early twenties, she “went to a dance...and found a dim corner where I sat and read ‘In Memoriam’!” (in Spater, p. 20). Soon after her first publication at age 22, a book review in the “Women’s Supplement” of the Guardian. Virginia began to assist her father’s biographer. A few years later she was already looking back at the Miss Stephens of 1903 in a short story (Bell I).

The same year that Thoby graduated and moved home, their father died after a long illness. The newly orphaned siblings traveled--to Italy, to other parts of England--but when they arrived home, Virginia had her second serious breakdown. She stayed with other relatives and tried to jump out of a window, in a time that Leonard later described as, “all that summer she was mad” (in Bell I). By October of 1904, Vanessa had singlehandedly moved all four of them to the decidedly unfashionable section of Bloomsbury, much to the horror of their Hyde Park Gate relatives.

When Thoby reinstated the “at-homes,” Virginia found that the conversation was different from that which the Stephens sisters had experienced at Duckworth’s society parties:

“The reserve of these odd young [Cambridge] men was not like that of the young men at the parties to which George had taken her; theirs were not the silences of men who are seeking for an appropriate banality. And when they did speak Virginia found that she was listening to a kind of conversation that had never come her way before. A chance remark, a discussable statement, something, let us say, about beauty in pictures, would suddenly breed loquacity. The question would be discussed at a higher and higher level by fewer and fewer people...Whereas the tacit purpose of a party in Belgravia was the pursuit of matrimony, the purpose of a party in Bloomsbury was to exchange ideas” (Bell I, p. 98-9).

One new idea was having the females mix with the men for these intellectual evenings, and these new sexual attitudes which Virginia now encountered, so different from the way she was raised, led to conflict:

“Woolf had the worst of two cultural worlds: raised in a Victorian milieu which taught women to be pure and sexless, undervaluing their sexuality, she later moved into a world of men who were self-consciously avant-garde about their sexual behavior and who distinguished themselves from their fathers by not having to do, sexually, with women. She can hardly have been helped in her sexual adjustment by Bloomsbuggery; not that her reaction was inevitable--Bell was rather aggressively libertine--but it is perhaps understandable” (Rose, p. 78-9).

But it was a period that Virginia later compared to “the giddy early months of freshman life at college” (Malcolm, 1995, p. 60-61).

But after Thoby’s death and her sister’s marriage, Virginia, the single, sporadically published, would-be writer, moved into a new home with their less interesting brother Adrian, and went through the Door that would be the equivalent of her sophomore year of college life.

## Gertrude Stein (1874-1946)

Stein was the oldest of the key persons to enter a group, and she also had had the most creative development, although she didn’t really reach her peak until after the group ended.

Born in Allegheny (now part of Pittsburgh), Pennsylvania (Bridgman), Stein’s father took the whole family to Austria (Mellow), then France (Bridgman), when she was only six months old (Autobiography). At age five she moved to Baltimore to live with her grandparents, but soon Dad moved them all to Oakland, California, by train. Her father made money in street railways there, but, like Virginia, when Stein was twelve, her mother died of cancer. She claimed later that by then the children already “had the habit of doing

without her” (in Souhami, p. 32). Three years later, their father died, and the oldest brother, Michael, took over as guardian to his four younger brothers and sisters (Bridgman). He took it upon himself to invest the family money wisely (Souhami).

Stein was closest to her brother Leo, and when he transferred to Harvard, she followed him to Boston (Bridgman). At this time she “wore her hair piled upon her head, was indifferent to her size--she weighed more than 200 pounds--and wore loose-fitting, comfortable clothes” (Souhami, p. 49). She applied to Radcliffe College, known as the Harvard Annex (Bridgman), and was accepted as a special student (Souhami). Stein was in the Drama Club (Mellow) and studied philosophy and metaphysics with George Santayana. Criticized by teachers for her grammar, she was told by William Vaughan Moody, “I wish you might overcome your disdain for the more necessary marks of punctuation” (Souhami, p. 48). But most of the writing she did in college was about her research in the psychology lab into the phenomenon of automatic writing (Mellow), an area that interested Yeats at about the same time (Ellman).

Although she was also not talented at the traditional female arts of sewing or “domestic things,” in college, “she was regarded as a wonderful conversationalist” (Souhami, p. 49). In fact, the first thing Toklas noticed about Stein was her “incredibly beautiful voice. I don’t know any speaking voice that has its quality, its resonance and its fullness.” But another part of her “social charm,” according to Souhami, was that she “liked ordinary people, chat, and the day -to-day business of living,” which she retained from her mother’s “bourgeois values” (p. 23)

When she was 22, Stein and her brother Leo moved back to Baltimore where they attended the salons of the wealthy Cone sisters where the talk “was largely of art” (Souhami, p. 52). She was involved in a lesbian love triangle there, which dragged on unhappily for three years, “and its repercussions affected Gertrude until ...she met Alice” (Souhami, p. 57). She entered Johns Hopkins Medical School the following year (Bridgman), did some case work in black neighborhoods, later using her experiences in “As Fine as Melanctha” (Mellow), and traveled in the summers to Europe and northern Africa with Leo (Bridgman).

Stein flunked out of medical school in 1901, thanking the professor who flunked her (Souhami), and went the next year to visit Leo in Italy (Bridgman). She formed ideas for her first major work The Making of Americans, from listening to Leo's conversations with Bertrand and Alys Russell there (Souhami).

The Steins then moved on to London, but Leo left her there and went to Paris (Bridgman), at about the same time that Natalie Barney started her Paris salons at the "Temple of Friendship" (Souhami) in 1902. While Stein was living in Bloomsbury Square in London, spending hours reading in the British Museum (Bridgman), Leo bought his first oil painting in Paris (Souhami).

When she joined him there one year later, "Americans were a novelty in Paris and [the Steins] reputation as eccentric personalities and collectors of strange, modern paintings quickly grew" (Souhami, p. 72).

In 1903 Stein made a brief return trip to New York, but then decided to live with Leo in Paris for one year. She stayed for 33: "She intended it to be holiday, but from that time on, Paris became her permanent home" (Souhami, p. 59).

Stein and Leo became known for smoking cigars and wearing

"brown corduroy and sandals with toes like the prows of gondolas designed by Isadora Duncan's brother, Raymond. Gertrude dyed her sandals black and in winter wore them with thick wool stockings. She liked pongee waistcoats, a felt hat for winter and straw one for summer. She and Leo were turned out of the Cafe de la Paix because of their appearance" (Souhami, p. 72).

And Stein began to write, beginning three or four major novels in 1903 (Mellow, Bridgman, Hoffman).

The younger Steins' legal guardian and brother, Michael, soon followed them to Paris with his wife Sarah, who "wanted to be part of the salon life of Europe" (Souhami, p. 65).

After the second Salon d'Automne in 1904, where Leo saw his first Lautrec, he bought one of those and a Delacroix, never spending more than 300Fr. The Steins first encounter with Matisse was to dicker over a price for his La Femme au Chapeau (they gave in to his demand for 500Fr). Soon after, they met Picasso and bought his Acrobat's Family with Monkey, and Stein began sitting for her portrait in his studio in the Bateau Lavoir (Souhami).

When Michael told them they had an unexpected windfall of 8,000Fr, without hesitation they decided to spend it on what they valued most--two Gauguins, two Cezannes,

two Renoirs, and a Maurice Denis that the grateful dealer, Vollard, threw in. Earlier, Vollard had sent his American clients to see their first Cezannes, and the Steins decided to buy a large one, the portrait of his wife. She began to take the pictures out of the frames, feeling they “constrained” them (Souhami, p. 72).

Stein began Three Lives in 1905, writing with this painting “on the wall in front of her...They hung it in the studio where [she] worked at night. She said it influenced the way she wrote Lives, that Cezanne built up the portrait by planes of color and that she built up her character by her repetitive sentences” (Souhami, p. 68).

All four Steins soon became known as wise American art collectors. As Stein remembered later in the Autobiography, “little by little people began to come to the rue de Fleurus to see the Matisses and the Cezannes, Matisse brought people, everybody brought somebody, and they came at any time and it began to be a nuisance, and it was in this way that Saturday evenings began” (p. 47). As Souhami describes them,

“All kinds of people went to the evening salons: young painters, writers, collectors, dealers, assorted friends, relatives and acquaintances. Vollard called the Steins ‘the most hospitable people in the world.’: ‘People who came there out of snobbery soon felt a sort of discomfort at being allowed so much liberty in another man’s house. Only those who really cared for painting continued to visit’...Sarah Stein copied the salon idea. She held hers on Saturday afternoon so that visitors could go from one house to the other to see the latest acquisitions. Harriet Levy [Toklas’ girlhood friend] said: ‘Beautifully gowned in original costumes and antique jewelry Sarah sat on the couch in the corner explaining to everybody the greatness of Matisse’”(p. 71-2).

There was no rivalry between the two venues, however, because sometimes “guests divided their evening between the two” (Simon, p. 54).

The salons became “a network of artists, scholars, collectors and jeunesse doree” (Brinnin, p. 189), that focused on painters, but where Picasso could bring Erik Satie and Jean Cocteau (Mellow). On Saturday evenings Picasso and his mistress Fernande would walk down the hill to Fleurus with Stein after her sitting for her portrait, and join the others for dinner and the salon (Autobiography). Picasso met his nemesis Matisse there, and one afternoon Stein hosted a lunch, seating all the painters opposite their own paintings so they would only look at their own works (Mellow). Indeed, Stein claimed that Picasso never showed in the salons, only at rue de Fleurus (Autobiography).

In these days in Paris she developed her “strangely rhythmic” (Souhami, p. 63) writing style. At the early salons, she remained “habitually in the background” (Brinnin, p.

54) while Leo took center stage, much as Virginia and Vanessa held back while Thoby was running the salons. As her brother would hold forth, Stein “was making observations of people’s character and behavior, and fitting them into formal schemes and a ‘characterological’ system for her novel [Making] which was to be about everybody that ever lived” (Souhami, p. 88).

Among her earliest published pieces were her portraits of “Picasso” and “Matisse” in Stieglitz’s Camera Work (Bridgman). According to Bridgman, her “association with painters...first suggested [literary] portraiture” (p. 118) to her, and Hoffman attributes her development of this form more to “her contact with Modernist painting” (p. 51) than the literary portraits popular in seventeenth French salons.

As Hoffman describes her dedication to writing in these early years, “it is difficult to conceive of any one putting down on paper the thousands of words that she did between 1906 and 1912, unless he were sentenced to it. Gertrude was tunneling her way out of a prison, a spoonful at a time” (p. 102). She also valued having her works reach a large audience. Even in the early days, she “was ambitious to have her works published. Her manuscripts were piling up in the cupboard” (Souhami, p. 117).

Soon after the San Francisco earthquake, the earth shook for both Stein and Toklas. On September 8 of 1907, they met for the first time at Fleurus. On one of their first “dates” they “ate cakes in a patisserie off the Boulevard St. Michel” (Souhami, p. 12). Stein’s favorite things were always “books and food” (Souhami, p. 26), and most of her family was “large and keen on food” (Souhami, p. 17).

When she met Toklas, Stein, who often dozed in the Louvre, immediately invited her to join the salon and to attend the Salon d’Automne (Souhami). Later they visited Georges Braque together (Mellow).

By this time, “there was a very small sprinkling of americans Saturday evenings, this sprinkling grew gradually more abundant” (Autobiography, p. 113). Stein had learned French as a young girl when her family lived in Paris (Bridgman); she did not hear American English until age five when they moved to Baltimore and her “emotions began to feel themselves in English” (in Souhami). In later years, she “liked being encapsulated with

the English language and having French spoken all around her. She made no particular effort to learn French and seldom read it" (Souhami, p. 64-5). Although Stein never read French newspapers (Souhami), when she first met Toklas, one of the first things she did was take her to Fernande for French lessons (Autobiography).

As she explained through Toklas in the Autobiography:

"Do you ever read french, I as well as many other people asked her. No, Gertrude replied, you see I feel with my eyes and it does not make any difference to me what language I hear, I don't hear a language, I hear tones of voice and rhythms, but with my eyes I see words and sentences and there is for me only one language and that is English. One of the things I have liked all these years is to be surrounded by people who don't know English. It has left more intensely alone with my eyes and my english" (p. 78).

Stein had also been "a peripheral associate" of the Rue ravignan group of painters, but she "never joined the vehement gatherings of foreign writers and artists on the *terrasses* of the Rotonde and the Dome" (Brinnin, p. 88). Toklas did remember her going once to a cafe in the early days, but felt, "it wasn't cafe conversation at '27' so there was no need to continue it at cafes" (Sprigge, p. 148). Stein thought it "dangerous for artists and writers to court the bohemian life. One had to hold oneself in readiness...for the act of writing, for the 'daily miracle'" (Mellow, p. 329).

Pennsylvania-born Impressionist Marie Cassat visited Fleurus, but reported that all it offered was "dreadful paintings [and] people" (Mellow, p. 25). Grant visited and was first exposed to Matisse, feeling it to be "so beyond anything I was used to'...that he did not permit them to affect his own work" (Spalding, 1983, p. 118).

Stein's earliest writings date back to 1891, but she did not have her first book published until 1909, when a vanity press brought out Three Lives (Mellow), which Toklas had corrected proofs on (Autobiography). McAlmon later cited it as her only "sound book" before the time they met. "In this story," he wrote later, "all of Gertrude Stein's sluggish, but virile, feeling for life emerges" (in Boyle, p. 4).

At about the same time, after Toklas had officially moved in, Leo moved out and they fought about the pictures. He took the Renoirs and Matisses; she kept the Picassos and all but one Cezanne, sold three Picassos back to the dealer Kahnweiler, and bought some by

Juan Gris. After Leo's departure, Stein "wavered in her convictions about painting" (Souhami, p. 147), for they had approached art differently. For her part, she

"arrived later to modern art than Leo, but stayed with it longer. She was a collector, connoisseur, friend and fellow artist to many of the great modernists. Leo judged their work by formal standards...Gertrude said she wanted to smash the significance of nineteenth century order and structure, to shuck off old habits of seeing and describing, and to let a new art emerge" (Souhami, p. 68)

Or, as Brinnin said, she "had to like a painting in order to think about it. Leo's approach was quite the opposite; he had to think about a painting before he could allow himself to like it" (p. 273).

Once Leo left, Stein and Toklas became inseparable. As Stein described themselves at about that time in the Autobiography, through Toklas' voice:

"In these days Gertrude Stein wore a brown corduroy suit, jacket and skirt, a small straw cap, always crocheted for her by a woman in Fiesole, sandals, and she often carried a cane. That summer the head of the cane was of amber. It is more or less this costume without the cap and the cane that Picasso has painted in his portrait of her...I used in those days of spanish travelling to wear what I was want to call my spanish disguise. I always wore a black silk coat, black gloves and black hat, the only pleasure I allowed myself were lovely artificial flowers on my hat" (p. 127)

Stein was described by Dodge at about this time:

"Stein was prodigious. Pounds and pounds pile up on her skeleton--not the billowing kind, but massive, heavy fat...She would arrive just sweating, her face parboiled. And when she sat down, fanning herself with her broad-brimmed hat with its wilted, dark-brown ribbon, she exhaled a vivid steam all around her. When she got up she frankly used to pull her clothes off from where they stuck to her great legs. Yet with all this she was not at all repulsive. On the contrary, she was positively, richly attractive in her grand *ampleur*" (in Souhami, p. 108).

The artists and collectors continued to come to visit the Steins and Toklas--Frank Stella in 1911, and collector Frank Barnes "waving his checkbook" in 1912 (Mellow, p. 218). Fry brought the Bells, when they were all involved in his Omega Workshops (Autobiography). On another trip in 1914, Stein took the Bloomsberries to see Michael and Sara's collection, to Picasso's studio, and to meet Matisse (Brinnin).

As a result of the 1913 Armory Show, according to the art critic Henry MacBride,

“The crowds of pilgrims became too dense for even Gertrude’s energy to cope with, and her ‘Saturday nights’ gradually became less frequent and certainly less tumultuous. By the time I reached them...an evening party with Gertrude and Alice...(Leo Stein had already lost the faith and deserted the ship) was much like a party anywhere else, though, of course, livelier. What made it lively was the presence of all the striking new young artists in Paris talking shop, the pleasantest kind of talk there is for those who talk it...But there were no altercations. How could there be? Everyone had been vindicated. Cezannes had suddenly increased in price and the Metropolitan, much against its will, had been obligated to buy one” (in Brinnin, p. 192).

Stein’s values in art, at least, had been vindicated.

When one of her earliest works, Tender Buttons, was published in 1914 to mixed reviews, she was first described as a “literary cubist” (Souhami, p. 120). The publicity for the Armory Show, handled by her friend Mabel Dodge, had already connected her with cubist painting (Bridgman).

Other writers besides those later included in the group made visits as well, such as Flanner who later wrote for the New Yorker (Mellow), and Pound, whom nobody liked (Brinnin). When visiting publisher Lane’s London salon that same year she “would sit in Buddhist calm until some topic of conversation arose which stimulated her interest and then she would talk for hours, a steady flow of ideas in an almost boring logical sequence, some of them profound and others merely a form of brilliant dialectic” (Muriel Draper, in Brinnin, p. 210).

For the expatriates living in Paris during the war, their values were expressed as a nationalism which made them completely American. As Souhami says, both Stein and Toklas “were staunchly patriotic about being American: ‘Americanism is born in me,’ Gertrude said...Though they left the States in the early 1900s and only once returned for a visit thirty years later, they regarded France as their adopted country and America as their native land” (p. 14). “I have never been called an expatriate and that is the thing I am proud of. I proved you could be a good American anywhere in the world,” she is quoted as saying (Brinnin, p. 276).

When Stein and Toklas volunteered for the American Fund for French Wounded during World War I, they made quite a picture: “Alice took to wearing an officer’s jacket with lots of pockets, and a pith helmet. Gertrude wore a great coat and a Cossack hat” (Souhami, p. 136).

During the war, one of her poems was published by Frank Crowninshield's Vanity Fair (Keats), but in total she had had only eight submissions accepted by this time (Bridgman).

After the war, Stein and Toklas were sent to Alsace to provide "relief for civilians" (Bridgman, p. 362). They were awarded the Reconnaissance Francais by the French government for their war efforts (Autobiography) and began their own campaign to get the Legion of Honor for their friend Mildred Aldrich (Mellow).

And by this time, the Fleurus get-togethers were over as well:

"At first the city seemed more proud and beautiful than it had ever been, and they spent the days in a happy fever of gadding about to renew old acquaintances...and to re-establish '27' as the meeting place of everyone worth anything...But soon they discovered the great emptiness the war had made in the only way of life they had known. Everyone seemed restless, everything unsettled; the old ways were dead and gone...People came and went and talked pictures and gossiped but the old sense of '27' as the still center of a whirling movement had been dissipated. No act of will could renew the excitement that had once been spontaneous and self-sustaining. The old faces were absent; the new ones had nothing to offer" (Mellow, p. 227-8).

Stein's career, however, began to pick up. From the end of World War I to the middle of her years socializing with writers, 1925, she had 23 pieces and two books published (Bridgman). By this time, "the Dadaists and Surrealists were more than matching her enigmatic prose...With these new and prodigiously bright competitors, Gertrude felt obliged to clarify her aesthetic ideas. Her attention focused again on the use of language" (Bridgman, p. 162). In these early days, the "lack of a publisher did not deter Gertrude. She wrote for herself" (Souhami, p. 128).

When Beach published Ulysses, Stein not only transferred her subscription to the official American library in Paris, she went to Shakespeare & Co. to tell Beach in person (Mellow). When the bookstore owner had arranged for Joyce and Stein to meet at a party, Stein had no interest in talking to him. She felt he "had indulged in the fabrication of a language of his own" (Brinnin, p. 230-1). Although Toklas' description of her first visit to Fleurus describes the "dining room lined with books" (Autobiography, p. 12-4), Beach claims that Stein "took little interest of course in any but her own books" (in Souhami, p. 148).

By the time the group was forming, Stein's name "had become inextricably associated with rebellious stances and attitudes...The era of revolt needed figures and symbols, and Gertrude Stein become one of its eponymous heroes" (Brinnin, p. 240). She was an experienced writer who valued not just writing but reinventing the art form. She did not suffer criticism gladly, and was

"sensitive about attacks upon her own peculiar form of literary expression, at least sensitive to any expressed or felt doubt of her sincerity. The technical aspect of it she would debate for hours, but her motive for developing it she would protect to the last drop of her mind's blood" (Draper in Brinnin, p. 210).

### Dorothy Rothschild Parker (1893-1967)

Dorothy Rothschild was born in New Jersey, where her New Yorker parents were on vacation (Keats) with their two boys and one girl (Meade), to "a household that held no love for her" (Keats, p. 17). As a result, Parker:

"clad herself in the armor of excellent manners and wore it constantly...She fell early into the habit of muttering, as softly as if talking only to herself, those thoughts that manners are specifically designed to conceal. 'A girl's best friend is her mutter,' she would one day say; but for her, this was not at all funny. For her, it was the truth" (Keats, p. 19)

Her mother died when she was five, much younger than Virginia or Stein when they suffered the same loss. Within a year her father was married again, to a very religious woman whom Parker never called "mom" or "stepmother." She informed her new stepdaughter that she was Jewish because her father was Jewish. Within three years, the dreaded stepmother was dead, and now Parker "had two murders on her conscience" (Meade, p. 16)

At age fourteen she was enrolled in Miss Dana's, the only Jewish girl in a Catholic finishing school (Meade). She always claimed she was "fired" a year later "for a lot of things...among them my insistence that the Immaculate Conception was spontaneous combustion" (in Keats, p. 20). But Meade has determined that she actually graduated from Miss Dana's after four years, by which time she was for women's rights, "smoked cigarettes, wrote verses about love, had opinions of her own, and wanted her own apartment and a job... To borrow words from the time, young women with advanced ideas were suspected of being fast, chiefly by people who had not met them" (Keats, p. 30).

In 1913 Parker's father died (Frewin), and within a year she was living in New York and teaching dance classes. She and her father had written poems to each other about the family dogs, and when she was beginning her career "trying to write the light verses that were immensely popular," she felt that they "did not qualify as genuine writing. If her father could do them, couldn't anybody?" (Meade, p. 31). Nevertheless, she began sending them to Vanity Fair and was hired by Crowninshield for Vogue, a Conde Nast publication, in 1915 (Meade). Here she

"was to acquire a reputation as a woman who could skewer a bad play with one short sentence or deflate an ego with one appropriate word. Critics would admire her terse style and meticulous selection of words. Vogue certainly gave Dottie practice, for caption writing is nothing if not an exercise in selection... 'Brevity is the soul of lingerie--as the Petticoat said to the chemise' [she wrote]...She was one of those who, if only in a very minor way, were helping to establish new styles for the fashionable...New York City believed in being 'smart' and so did Vogue and so did she. They all used the word to imply many of its meanings--witty, rich, showy, clever, brisk, fresh, stinging and pungent" (Keats, p. 32-3).

Parker, having attended finishing school, was "fascinated by the world of wit and fashion and desperately wished to be a part of it; at Miss Dana's School she had seen a bit of it. The fashion world was a home away from the home she never had" (Keats, p. 33).

Conde Nast described her then:

"Dorothy had a fondness for the perfume *Chypre*, and for flat-heeled shoes, sometimes for black patent leather pumps with black bows. She walked, whatever her shoes might be, with short, quick steps. Her suits, in the winter at any rate, were tailor-made. Her hats were large and turned up at the brim. Green, as a color, seemed to appeal to her greatly, whether in a dress, hat or scarf" (in Frewin).

All Vogue need was a good speller who could write captions, but Parker wanted to do more:

"Producing this drivel [eventually] proved to be a tedious, thankless task. Before long she lost her determination to sound literary and tried to relieve her frustration as best she could:...'There was little girl who had a little curl, right in the middle of her forehead. When she was good she was very very good and when she was bad she wore this divine night dress of rose-colored *mousseline de soie*...' To presume that Vogue readers might be having sex was surely an idea to set Palm Beach and Newport reeling" (Meade, p. 35).

The editor of Vogue realized that her new find was not happy there and got Crowninshield to move her up to their more sophisticated publication, Vanity Fair (Keats). Compared to Vogue, this workplace "seemed more like a playpen than an editorial office...Crowninshield proudly likened his private office to 'a combination club, vocal studio, crap game, dance hall, sleeping lounge and snack bar'" (Meade, p. 43). While

working on Vanity Fair she found Edmund Wilson's work in the slush pile and invited him in for an interview, but once he started flirting with her, she didn't pursue him as a writer (Meade).

Parker soon found she was a perfect match for the Vanity Fair style, or the "Elevated Eyebrow School of Journalism," as Benchley called it, defined as being able to "write about practically any subject you wished, no matter how outrageous, as long as you said it in evening clothes...It took Dorothy only a few months to get the hang of Crownie's style. Then she spent the next decade trying to unlearn it" (Meade, p. 43).

The year after she got this first full-time writing job, she met Edward Pond Parker II of Connecticut (Meade) and married him in 1917, three months after he enlisted (Frewin). Parker's war effort involved following her new husband from camp to camp (Keats). At Vanity Fair she would come in early to move the little flags around on the map an editor kept to monitor troop movements. Sent to France, Eddie gained the nickname "Spook" because of his excessive drinking (Frewin). But, "a few weekends together, scattered over nine months of a year, and then the letters, and this was the marriage" (Keats, p. 37).

By this time, if her marriage was a mess, she "had precisely the kind of job she had wanted" (Frewin, p. 23). At the age of 24, when she "took over Vanity Fair's theater column,...Dorothy had never reviewed a play or anything else" (Acocella, p. 76), but "her critical faculties [were]...becoming sharper with every play she reviewed" (Frewin, p. 57). Within a few months, she loved her job, but she hated the plays: "Sometimes I think it can't be true...There couldn't be plays as bad as these. In the first place, no one would write them, and in the second place, no one would produce them" (in Meade, p. 48).

In 1919, Benchley was hired to be managing editor at Vanity Fair (Frewin) and shared an office with Parker. Within a few days, Crownshild hired another young writer, Robert Sherwood, to join them in the same office (Meade). That summer, in her position as a top theatre critic, she was invited to lunch at the Algonquin, and brought Benchley and Sherwood along:

“All of them [were] working together down the street at Vanity Fair, poorly paid editors grateful to attend a free lunch welcoming Woollcott back from the war...Dorothy, content to observe, had scarcely uttered a word. She looked meek and fragile in every way, childlike, not quite five feet tall with a mop of dark hair demurely tucked under the brim of her embroidered hat and huge dark eyes that seemed to plead for the world’s protection. She wore glasses, but not in public. She had never smoked a cigarette or drunk more than a sip of a cocktail. The taste of liquor made her sick. She still lived in her childhood neighborhood...and visited her married sister on Sundays” (Meade, p. xv-xvi).

At that first gathering, she “remained silent, shyly blinking at everyone from under the brim of her Merry Widow hat, virginal, self-conscious, and extremely well turned out in one of her good suits so that she looked like a Park Avenue princess slumming. She could not decide whether or not she even liked Woollcott or his friends” (Meade, p. 61).

It is clear that all four started socializing with these other creative people knowing that they were writers, although they had not yet reached their peaks. In the groups they found others who shared their love for language and writing and appreciation of what was happening to modern literature.

## *2. Values of the Other Members*

“That the contents of interpersonal communications tend to harmonize with opinions and attitudes and to flow among similarly minded people is interesting...because it is a conclusion which corresponds so closely with what is known of people’s mass media habits. Research in mass communications has shown that people tend not to ‘expose’ themselves to communications which conflict with their own predispositions, but instead to seek support for their opinions and attitudes in favorable communications” (Katz, p. 96)

Accepting this as fact, it is no wonder that these four creative people attracted others who held similar values as they approached this “Door” in their careers.

If we define the members’ values as what was important to them, we find that their priorities were not only very similar to each others’ when they entered the groups, but that there are similarities across the groups as well. Secord and Backman agree that values “can be ranked in terms of how important they are to the members of the group...a ranking of values would constitute the value hierarchy of that group” (p. 411). In general, all four groups’ hierarchy of values can be categorized into three headings, in order of priority:

(1) *Work*. They valued their own work the highest, but they also extended this priority to include creativity and culture; certainly language and literature, but also art, theatre, music.

(2) *Play*. Since they were social groups, they did put a high value on getting together with friends and socializing, but particularly conversation. Of course, all talk and no play would not have made them well rounded creative people. Food, games, sports, sex and, with the Algonquin group, drinking, were all important to them as well, and in some cases being fashionable held a high priority.

(3) *Morality*. What we traditionally think of as values--a sense of morality or right and wrong--played a part as well, expressed for the Irish in their spiritualism, but for all the groups in their politics and support of "just causes."

We have already seen how the four key persons valued these aspects of their lives.

Now we will look at the creative people they attracted and see what values they held when they first got together. How these values developed and coalesced during the time they socialized will be dealt with in the "Analysis" section.

#### Their Work: Creativity and Culture

Like the four key persons, when they first met, all the group members put a high value on creativity and culture in all fields. They had a strong respect for words--poetry, novels, short stories, essays, other languages, other writers. Language, literature and writing were most important to the writers in the groups, and high on the list of priorities for the other artists, even before they got together. Like Yeats, Virginia, Stein and Parker, virtually all of them had decided what creative field they were in and had embarked on the early stages of their careers.

The importance that all the writers attached to literature and writing shows in the value they put on (1) reading, (2) knowing and helping other writers, (3) publishing their own work, (4) taking part in other literary activities, and (5) learning other languages. Many had grown up in families that valued literature and writing, were avid readers and loved books. They had already made friends with other writers, and they expanded these relationships through their new acquaintances. All started writing early, many kept diaries, and by the time they met they had all published something, however minor, and were involved in other types of literary activities. Although all the writers wrote primarily in English, many of them studied other languages as well.

But they didn't limit themselves to the written word. Like Yeats, Virginia and Stein, many valued pictures as well--art and artists. Their earliest artistic influences usually came from their families, and before they began socializing with each other, most--with the exception of the Algonquinites--(1) learned about art, (2) got to know painters, and (3) bought their work. Some, especially the painters, of course, had formal art training, but even some of the writers created art or were involved in the field as critics. Most also had friendships with other contemporary artists, and when they were able, the members' support extended to buying works of art, even in their early less financially successful years.

In addition, the Irish and the Algonquinites had a strong interest in theatre even before they met up with each other. Music was valued highly by the Paris group, of course, with Thomson as an active member, but also by many of the Irish.

## The Values of the Irish Literary Renaissance

The Irish group's strongest cultural values were directly related to literature, writing and writers, even before they met up, and particularly their country's native language, thought to be on the verge of extinction by that time.

Lady Gregory had studied Irish with her son Robert in the mid-nineties, and had learned "enough for her purposes" (Hazard Adams, p. 38). AE had great enthusiasm for Gaelic, but "couldn't master" it (Daly, p. 203). Hyde held this value from an early age when he was tutored in Irish by Hart, "the keeper of the boys" (Dunleavy, p. 2). Learning the language phonetically, he had already started translating the Bible (Ulick O'Connor). His first poems were in both Irish and English and his 1886 "A Plea for the Irish Language" in the Dublin University Review was the first published formulation of his ideas about preserving what existed in the Gaelic language, rather than reviving what was already gone (Dunleavy).

Hyde always "had an ear for unwritten tradition" (Dunleavy, p. 29), and had a natural talent for all languages, growing up in a family that spoke Latin in front of the servants. He

knew French and Greek and in college he had taken many language prizes (Dunleavy). One of his first careers was teaching French, German and English in New Brunswick, Canada (Daly), where he had studied Anglo-Saxon and written essays on Indian folklore (Dunleavy).

Synge also had an ear for language, which contributed to his knack for dialects in his plays (Greene), a fondness which AE didn't share (Kuch). He took a first place in Irish at Trinity, and began picking up his stories and dialects in Wicklow (Greene). However, his "backwardness in spoken English" was due to his restrictive mother's religious view. His "reaction found expression ultimately in his interest in the earthy language of the Irish peasant and in a fondness for profanity" (Greene, p. 15). He had taught English in Paris, studied modern French literature at the Sorbonne and Italian in Dublin, and written sonnets in German (Greene).

By the time they met up with each other, all of the Irish group members were also extremely well read, and not just in their own country's literature.

Growing up, Lady Gregory's Irish Catholic nurse was a Fenian sympathizer and told her young ward stories (Coxhead), so she grew up entranced by Irish literature and the Fenian authors (Kohfeldt). But her family home, Roxboro, was "a totally unbookish house. There was no library, and no encouragement for interchanging of ideas...Augusta was starved of books" (Coxhead, p. 9), and once her father allowed her to read Shakespeare, she began to memorize it (Ulick O'Connor). When she first met her future husband he was so impressed with her love of literature, he soon changed his will leaving her her choice of any six books from his library (Hazard Adams).

AE grew up reading the "penny dreadfuls" of the day, but eventually graduated to Walt Whitman and became a fan of Padraic Colum's poems (Summerfield). Yeats and Synge both read Zola and Ibsen, the top European naturalist and symbolist of the time, but Synge didn't like them and Yeats did (Greene). Moore preferred Zola, Poe and Baudelaire during his early Paris years (Hone), and he and Martyn talked literature together often (Ulick O'Connor). Hyde read French books and Synge read Pierre Loti, who was to the Bretons what Synge was to become to the Irish peasant class (Greene).

These group members were also familiar with each others works by the time they met. When Yeats and Lady Gregory first met in London, she had already read his Celtic Twilight and knew him through his work (Coxhead). By the time she met Hyde, she already knew his books as well (Daly). AE had his first poem published in Yeats' 1891 article, "An Irish Visionary" in the National Observer, and it was done in the style Hyde (Kuch). Synge, the youngest of the group, had read Yeats and AE, and when he arrived for the first time at Coole, he had one of Yeats' favorite books with him, AE's Earth Breath (Greene).

The members had already befriended other writers before spending their long time together in the group. Henry James had visited Lady Gregory's family (Ulick O'Connor) as did her cousin, Standish Hayes O'Grady, who was one of the first to translate Irish texts (Coxhead). She had met Charlotte Guest, the author of Welsh folk tales, the Mabinogian through her friendship with Guests' daughter, and had an affair with the married poet Wilfrid Scawen Blunt (Kohfeldt).

Moore's father used to bring Wilde to Moore Hall, and as an adult he was friends with the poet Walter Pater and the novelist Gertrude Atherton. He visited his then-idol, Zola, in Paris and took Martyn to Zola's salon. But by the time Moore turned forty he had abandoned Zola for Balzac (Hone).

In London, we have seen that Yeats already had a group of poet friends to socialize with; he had also met Wilde, Shaw and the editor of Everyman's Library, Ernest Rhys, there (Jeffares). AE criticized Wilde's pose, and Yeats irritated him by defending Wilde, as Eglinton said, "against the charge of being a poseur. He said it was merely living artistically, and it was the duty of everybody to have a conception of themselves, and he intended to conceive of himself" (in Ellman, p. 74).

All of the Irish writers had seen their works published in one form or another by the time they met. Moore, as the oldest, had had the most successful career. He had published his first book, Worldliness, when he was 24, followed by a poetry collection a year later (Hone). Many of his works were serialized, with varying degrees of financial success and failure. When his novel A Modern Lover was published in 1883, one of many scathing reviews said he "would fain imitate the method of Zola and his odious schools" (Hone, p.

96). The next year, Zola wrote the preface to the French edition of his second novel, The Mummer's Wife (Hone). By the time his Confessions of a Young Man was published four years later, he was established as a writer. The theme he used there was a common one for the time, and one that Yeats and Synge employed often in their later works:

“Tension between father and son is a common enough phenomenon, but during the second half of the nineteenth century it became particularly noticeable...It is especially prominent in Ireland...Moore in his Confessions of a Young Man, blatantly proclaims his sense of liberation and relief when his father died” (Ellman).

Moore's “reputation was sealed” with his naturalist novel, Esther, in 1894 (Ulick O'Connor, p. 77).

When Lady Gregory was thirty she had received her first pay for writing a travel article in Fortnightly Review, and had published a political pamphlet (Kohfeldt). In “An Emigrant's Notebook,” written in 1884, she already had “an ear for the saying that reveals character” (Hazard Adams, p. 28). She later edited her husband's letters and published a successful biography of him (Ulick O'Connor). In her journal Lady Gregory confided that her experiences as a wife and widow had contributed to her skills as a writer, and also that “company gave me swiftness in putting thought into a novel, a sentence” (in Coxhead, p. 34).

Before Hyde was twenty he had had many poems published (Daly). One of his earliest published works was “Gaelic Folk Songs,” a chapter of his Love Songs of Connacht, in The Nation, where he soon began a column of the same name. He worked on translations of these songs over the next few years, and they became the basis for the dialects later used in the Irish theatre. His “Religious Songs of Connacht” were serialized in the New Irish Review in the mid-nineties (Dunleavy).

Martyn wrote short stories, satires and Greek poems (Courtney). When his Morgante the Lesser was a hit in 1890, he gained some self-confidence (Gwynn). AE's confidence was also buoyed in his late twenties when his first book of poems, Homeward: Songs by the Way, was well-received, including a good review by his friend Yeats in the Bookman. It showed that he had “a single preoccupation and a homogenous style” (Kuch, p. 42),

which Yeats had yet to find. From then on AE was included in the literary movement (Kuch).

The youngest, Synge, had the first of his many poems rejected when he was 21, the same time he began keeping a diary (Greene), but the following year he had a Wordsworth-like sonnet published (Skelton).

In addition to their own works, the Irish promoted literary activities in general, particularly related to the folk tales of their heritage. That first meeting with Yeats in London encouraged Lady Gregory to explore her interest in myth and folklore (Hazard Adams), and she began traveling around the countryside collecting stories about the witch Biddy Early (Kohfeldt). According to Jeffares, when they began their work on the theatre together she “hoped to be involved in the future of Ireland, to play a part--for she wanted to write--in the literary movement” (p. 117).

Before Hyde was twenty, he had begun to “rescue from oblivion” songs and stories of Connacht. When John O’Daly, well known for the Irish books in his store on Angelsea Street, died, Hyde had bought all his books at auction and taken over his role as an Irish publisher (Dunleavy). Hyde was on a folklore collecting trip when his bike broke down outside Tullira and his impromptu interruption of Lady Gregory and Martyn’s lunch there became his initiation into the group (Coxhead).

The Irish love of culture extended to other arts as well, but particularly theatre. We have seen that Yeats and AE had already discussed writing a play in their early years together (Kuch); Yeats and Martyn both had a lot of unproduced plays in their closets when they got together in the summer of 1897 (Kohfeldt).

Moore and Martyn were both Ibsen fans (Hone and Courtney). Moore had had a few of his plays produced (Hone), and Martyn had finished The Heather Field, but had no luck finding a producer (Gwynn). Moore had the most theatre experience, which was the main reason the others invited him in (Ulick O’Connor). He had already helped to found the Independent Theatre in London, which was among the first to present Shaw and Ibsen (Ulick O’Connor), and had also translated plays for the Odeon theatre (Hone) and published articles about theatre (Courtney).

Synge, who did not care for Ibsen, had started writing plays in the late nineties (Greene), and Hyde began his acting career early, playing a clown in Twelfth Night for the Shakespeare Society (Dunleavy).

We have seen that both Yeats and AE had formal art training at the Metropolitan School of Art (Jeffares). AE was the most accomplished artist in the group, and during their early years Yeats' poems were the literary equivalent of AE's paintings (Kuch). In his youth, a friend would describe a vision to him and AE would re-create it on paper, and he also painted a series of murals at the Theosophist Lodge (Summerfield).

Moore also took art classes as a youth, before moving to Paris to study at the Julian Academy (Hone). He soon abandoned art as a vocation and began to write art criticism for the Speaker and Spectator, conducting "propaganda...for the French Impressionists in England" (Hone, p. 178). The articles were collected in the successful Modern Painters (Ulick O'Connor).

Both Moore and Martyn took art buying trips to Paris (Ulick O'Connor), where Martyn brought back a Degas and a Manet. Moore had made friends with the latter two in his Paris years (Hone). He and Martyn also knew Beardsley in London (Courtney), whom Yeats had worked with on the Yellow Book and Savoy (Ellman), and Martyn later commissioned him. Martyn had also provided many of the artists for the Roman cathedral being built in Loughrea in the late nineties (Courtney). In London Moore had gotten to know Sickert and Whistler well enough that the latter challenged him to a duel (Hone).

Yeats was tone deaf, but was "however, conscious of tunes when making his poems; indeed he was surprised that [AE] used only two tunes when composing verses" (Jeffares, p. 119). Synge, the dialect expert, was the most musical, starting out his creative career in music, taking violin lessons in his teens. He studied at the Royal Irish Academy of Music, playing in the student orchestra in the Antient Concert Rooms, and receiving his music certificate in 1890. He was granted a scholarship in counterpoint, and began composing an opera, stayed active in music clubs, and arranged a concert for his mother's cousin on her visit to Dublin. She convinced him to go Germany to pursue music, but after only a year he decided he could never perform in public and abandoned music for playwriting (Greene).

Although he showed no talent for it, Martyn was always interested in music (Gwynn), and made his first visit to Bayreuth in his early twenties. Moore, who would accompany his cousin to the German festival (Courtney), had collaborated with his brother on a libretto and in his early forties had begun to study piano (Hone). The two cousins would travel through Germany together visiting cathedrals and listening to church music (Ulick O'Connor). Martyn began studying choirs and had his first article on his later passion, Palestrina choirs, published in The Speaker two years before the group got together (Gwynn).

Like Yeats, they all knew enough about a variety of artistic fields to have decided on their life's work.

### The Values of the Bloomsbury Group

The Bloomsberries had a greater integration of people from different fields than the other groups, comprising five literary figures--Virginia, Strachey, Leonard, Clive, and Fry--three painters--Vanessa, Grant and Fry again--and one economist who wrote, Keynes.

While the male Bloomsberries were at Cambridge, Leonard described the atmosphere as "a state of continual excitement and strong deep feelings. We were intellectuals; intellectuals with three genuine, I think, profound passions: a passion for friendship, a passion for literature and music,...a passion for what we called the truth."

But even before they all began to work and socialize together, their cultural priorities were centered around literature and art.

All grew up in homes where reading and literature were highly valued. Virginia was not the only one to start a family newspaper. When he was ten, Keynes and his cousins started their first family paper on summer holiday, and his sister produced one in German a few years later. When he began his own Acorn, Keynes got his Eton friends to contribute as well (Skidelsky I). Leonard and his Dad were contributors to the family Zoological News (Spater), and the future publisher had his own imprint by age nine, The Leonard Paper (Meyerowitz).

At Cambridge, Strachey was reading Henry James "in large quantities" (Holroyd I, p. 133), writing parodies of him, and going on reading parties with Leonard and other friends in the country a few times a year, when he could afford it. When Keynes and Strachey had

a lovers' quarrel, the latter sent him books as a present to make up (Holroyd I), and Strachey read a lot of Dostoevsky while recuperating from his many illnesses (Holroyd II).

The Bloomsberries had also had many literary friendships before they focused their work around each other. We have seen how literary the Stephens' family was, and Strachey's ancestors were known to literary history by "their association with Shakespeare, Locke, Carlyle" (Holroyd I, p. 10). His mother corresponded with George Eliot and was a published author herself (Holroyd I). Before he was twenty, Fry had attended Oscar Browning's salons, and later met Twain on his first trip to New York (Spalding, 1980).

In addition to these relationships with published writers, some of the Bloomsberries spent time in other literary activities before they got together. At Cambridge, Leonard was in the Reading Club with Thoby, Strachey, and Clive (Holroyd I). Keynes was president of the Literary Society at Eton and later at Cambridge (Skidelsky I). After graduation, when he set sail for his Civil Service job in Ceylon, Leonard took with him four volumes of Milton and seventy of Voltaire. The journal he began there was later published as Diaries in Ceylon (Edel). One of their first group activities in Gordon Square was the Play Reading Society that Virginia started (Bell I).

Most took some early interest in other languages. Strachey discovered his love of the French language at about age seven through his sisters' teacher (Edel) and Keynes learned German through his governess (Skidelsky I).

But to the Bloomsbury writers, writing was the most important thing. Even Keynes, the economist, won essay prizes at Eton where his hobby was writing Medieval Latin poetry. He became known there for having written an article for the Eton Chronicle on one minute's notice (Skidelsky I).

Strachey edited his school magazine which published his poems. At age eighteen he had his first professional publication, a poem in Granta. He won medals for his writing in college, and one of his still most-collected poems, "The Cat," appeared in Cambridge Review. By 1903, when he began his book on Hastings, Strachey was sending reviews to the Spectator and Independent Review, which he bought shares in, and writing to Leonard, "I occupy myself by writing Reflexions in the manner of the French" (Holroyd I, p. 135).

Strachey set forth the principles he was later to develop in these earlier reviews and critical essays (Holroyd II) which evolved into biographical essays, precursors to his more well-known works (Holroyd I).

As their introduction to the art world, both Virginia and Vanessa were strongly influenced by their aunt Julia Cameron, who became obsessed with photography when she received her first camera at age fifty. Some of her portraits of family members are in the National Portrait Gallery (Bell I). Whistler was also a frequent visitor to St. Ives when the Stephens vacationed there as children (Spalding, 1983). In an unpublished memoir, Vanessa described how she hated her social obligations as a young girl, when what she wanted to do was “to think of nothing but shapes and colors and the absorbing difficulties of oil paint” (in Shone in Crabtree, p. 31). When she was sent on a trip to Paris to separate her from her infatuated brother-in-law, she saw the Louvre for the first time (Bell I).

Her father got a drawing tutor for Vanessa (Spalding, 1983), and later she won prizes at Sir Arthur Cope’s School of Art (Malcolm, 1995). “Part of a great upswell of women who studied in the ateliers and public art schools of Europe in this period” (Tickner, 69), she attended both the Royal Academy and the Slade School briefly (Shone, 1976). But by the time she visited Watt’s studio in her early twenties, she was “soon to rebel” (Spalding, 1983, p. 1).

Vanessa received her first commission from a stranger and had her first exhibit in 1905, just before her marriage. Wanting to have a circle of friends “conducive to painting” (Spalding, 1983, p. 56), she founded the Friday Club with her future husband, Clive (Bell I), which held lectures and exhibits (Spalding, 1983). She had a strong Whistler influence on her work until the year the Bloomsbury group began, when she started exhibiting with the New England Art Club (Shone, 1976).

Vanessa and Grant both “escaped into art from the more likely outcomes of their family backgrounds” (Tickner, p. 68-9). Although they didn’t get to know each other well until 1908, they studied separately under Moore’s friend, the legendary Professor Tonks, with very different experiences:

“Duncan told the story of how he worked out with an amused but disaffected cynicism what kind of drawing would win the approval of the formidable Professor Tonks and delivered it. Bell, on the other hand, found Tonks ‘a most depressing master.’ He was known to reduce his female students to tears, and once wrote that women ‘do what they are told, if they don’t you will generally find they are a bit cracked...They improve rapidly from about sixteen to 21, then the genius that you have discovered goes off, they begin to take marriage seriously’” (Tickner, p. 70).

Grant’s first memories were visual, particularly the colors he saw in his earliest years in India, and he illustrated all his letters. Growing up with his cousins, the Stracheys, he was strongly influenced by the French painter Simon Bussy who married Dorothy Strachey and studied with Matisse. Strachey’s mother convinced Grant’s parents to let him study art instead of math, and at St. Paul’s he found an art master who encouraged his ambitions (Shone, 1976).

Grant attended the Westminster School of Art, where he began painting, but dropped out to work in his own studio (Shone, 1976). On the suggestion of Bussy he studied at La Palette in Paris (Spater). Grant “felt an instinctive aversion to Wyndham Lewis despite his intriguing ideas” (Spalding, 1983, p. 118), when he first met the later Bloomsbury adversary during this time in Paris. Later, when he and Strachey were lovers, his adoring cousin offered to pay for his art lessons (Holroyd I).

Grant received his first commission, from another cousin, when he was 21, and took many painting holidays with his lovers and friends. One of his earliest works, The Kitchen, done while still in school, is now in the Tate Gallery. The same year the Bloomsbury group formed, Grant, who at that time was much more isolated from other painters his age, was rejected by the New England Art Club for membership. He began exhibiting at the United Artists Club and the New England Art Club just before he entered the Bloomsberries a year later (Shone, 1976).

Thoby was one of the first friends to discuss painting with Clive, telling him about a Cezanne he saw in 1906 (Shone, 1976). Clive had “learned early how to look at pictures,” spending much time in the Louvre when he studied art in Paris in his twenties (Edel, p. 31).

The other art critic and the oldest one in the group, Fry, had the most art background when he began socializing with his new friends in 1910. As a child he disappointed his father by choosing art over science (Spalding, 1980). He was strongly influenced by philosopher Edward Carpenter and his “belief in the importance of art” (Spalding, 1976).

He started by reading Ruskin and learning from his friend Robert Ashbee, and by his teens was elected to the Cambridge Fine Art Society (Spalding, 1980).

In his twenties, Fry began his career with watercolors of his own home, and was soon designing covers for magazines. Like Moore, he studied at the Julian Academy for a brief period and in his mid-twenties attended a small art school with very unorthodox teaching methods (Spalding, 1980). He soon “declared his allegiance to the New England Art Club (as opposed to the Royal Academy)...and to its presiding genius, Whistler” (Spalding, 1976, p. 7).

When he left Paris, Fry came back to London “with the intent to establish himself as a painter...first by exhibiting regularly at the New England Art Club and secondly by painting a number of portraits” (Spalding, 1976, p. 7). He did lots of book illustrations and designed furnishings and home interiors in addition to painting portraits. A year later he was elected to the New England Art Club, was studying in the evenings with Sickert and socializing with Yeats’ father’s friends, the pre-Raphaelites. He began exhibiting and giving art lectures with the Cambridge Extension which lead to commissions to write monographs on Italian artists (Spalding, 1980).

When Fry reviewed Moore’s Modern Painters for Cambridge Review in 1893, the publishers got him to expand his opinions for an article in Fortnightly Review (Spalding, 1980). By the turn of the century he had “established his reputation as a scholar of Italian art” through his articles (Spalding, 1976, p. 9), and was elected to the jury of the New England Art Club. He first saw one of Cezanne’s paintings in 1905 (Edel), and the following year made what seemed to be a disastrous decision to turn down the directorship of the National Gallery, which he had often visited as a child, to become curator of the Metropolitan Museum in New York, traveling Europe to buy paintings for the museum and its chief, J. P. Morgan (Spalding, 1980). He resigned from the New England Art Club and founded the Allied Artists Association which met at Sickert’s’ house. He and Grant had separately visited the Berensons in Florence in 1907 when Stein’s brother Leo was there (Shone, 1976). That same year, Stein herself was proud that Fry “was very impressed by my portrait [by Picasso] and he had it reproduced in The Burlington Magazine, the portrait by Picasso next to a portrait by Raphael” (Stein, p. 15-6).

Just before entering the group, when Fry was preoccupied with designing and building his own home, Durbins (Edel), he met Matisse and Degas (Spalding, 1980), quit the Met (Spalding, 1983), but was rejected for the Slade professorship at Oxford (Shone, 1976).

Keynes, who eventually became the most serious art collector of any of them, went on his first picture-buying spree at a Bussy exhibit years before entering the Bloomsberries (Skidelsky I).

### The Values of the Americans in Paris

Some of the Americans who emigrated to Paris also had families who exhibited an interest in art and culture. For example, Thomson's sister was a "gifted" painter (Wittke), Anderson's father an amateur actor (Howe), and Ray's mother had a "theatrical streak" (Baldwin, p. 3). A few of the Americans in Paris started out writing and acting in plays as well. Hemingway (Baker) and Fitzgerald acted in school plays, and Fitzgerald became well known for the musicals he wrote for the clubs at Princeton, even getting his picture in the New York Times dressed as a chorus girl (Turnbull).

Although the Americans in Paris were surrounded by French, not many of them spoke it fluently, or seemed to have had any interest in languages other than English. But coming into to the group they all had writing and literature as a high priority; some, like Stein, were also interested in art; others in music or both.

In Paris just before the twenties, much of life centered around Beach's Shakespeare & Co. bookstore, along with the nearby but lesser known Adrienne Monnier's. Both shops "held readings and literary meetings and Sylvia said there should have been a tunnel under the road to join the shops." Stein was proud of being "the first American writer to visit" (Souhami, p. 147-9) Beach's store when it opened in 1919, and she and Toklas helped their fellow American with her publicity (Souhami).

As a girl, Toklas was not only reading Henry James--

“with the devouring speed of many young women in raunchy, glittering, boisterous San Francisco. James created a Europe of dreams, a Paris more a state of mind than a city, a London veiled by a benign but alluring mystery. His women, though sometimes undone by circumstances, were nevertheless mistresses of their fate” (Simon, p. 20),

--but she also wrote to him suggesting she dramatise one of his books (Autobiography).

In his childhood, Hemingway received books such as Ivanhoe and Robinson Crusoe as Christmas presents (Baker). Ray, the photographer, was strongly influenced by the nineteenth century poet Comte de Lautreamont who gave the surrealists their basis with his phrase, “the meeting on a dissecting table of a sewing machine and an umbrella.” Upon his high school graduation he was given a Walt Whitman book as a present, and his first wife, Adon, introduced him to French poetry (Baldwin).

By his teens, Thomson “was addicted to reading on all subjects that interested him, a vice he never outgrew” (Wittke, p. 2), and was almost expelled from junior college for reading Spoon River Anthology to a group of women students (Kathleen Hoover). Anderson also was a fan of Edgar Lee Masters’ book, but with no negative consequences. As a boy he constantly borrowed books from his school superintendent (Howe). An fan of Stein’s work even before he met her (Mellow), he had written a parody of Tender Buttons six years before (Howe). Stein herself loved Fitzgerald’s books before he first came to visit (Autobiography). Fitzgerald, for his part, had read The Brothers Karamozoy when writing The Great Gatsby (Turnbull), and was given Ulysses by his Princeton friend Edmund Wilson (Sklar).

Besides reading, the American writers who were to form a salon in Paris were friends with others and took part in literary salons before they met Stein. In Anderson’s bohemian days in Chicago he met Theodore Dreiser, Ben Hecht, Burton Rascoe, and Alfred Kreymbourg, and even during the middle class life of his first marriage, he and Cornelia held literary evenings. He later carried on a correspondence with Waldo Frank that led to his contributions to the magazine, Seven Arts (Howe), and friendships with Van Wyck Brooks and music critic Rosenfeld (Townsend). Anderson and Hart Crane also wrote to each other (Howe), and McAlmon had a similar correspondence with Emanuel Carnevali, whom Anderson visited in the poet’s Chicago sanatorium (Smoller).

Anderson and Hemingway met before either had been to Paris at the Domicile where writers gathered in Chicago. The older writer helped the younger the same way he later helped Faulkner (Townsend).

McAlmon went to Chicago in 1920 to visit Carnevali; however, according to Smoller, he “probably never met Anderson face-to-face..., but his dealings with Carnevali suggested that, if only at second hand, he was known to Chicago’s *avant garde*” (p. 25). When he moved to Greenwich Village later that year, he met poet William Carlos Williams at parties with the group who published Broom (Smoller).

In the early twenties the Fitzgeralds socialized with George Jean Nathan and H. L. Mencken when they lived in Westport, Connecticut (Sklar), dined with Galsworthy on a visit to London (Turnbull), and visited Edna St. Vincent Millay in Paris (LeVot). Living on Long Island, he and Zelda partied with Anderson, John Dos Passos (Townsend), Ring Lardner, Swope (Turnbull), Parker and Connelly . When they came to Paris Fitzgerald met Seldes before he met Hemingway (LeVot).

Like the Irish and the Bloomsberries, much as they enjoyed the work of other writers, the Americans’ highest priority was their own work.

Neither Toklas nor Ray became known for their writing, but she had things published in her own right in the American Fund for French Wounded’s Weekly Bulletin during the First World War (Souhami). The future photographer early on helped Kreymbourg put out The Glebe, had a poem published by Pound, and self-published some books (Baldwin) and one issue of the Ridgefield Gazook (Schwarz).

Hemingway (Baker), McAlmon (Smoller), Fitzgerald (Turnbull) and Anderson all began their professional writing careers in advertising. But unable to stand his middle class existence any longer--“I cannot keep my footing on the side of the bowl of life”--in 1912 Anderson just literally walked out, of his office and his career. In a cryptic note to his wife he said, “I’ll write all day in the sun and the wind will blow through my hair” (Howe, p. 77). After he reappeared three lost days later in Cleveland, Anderson “was irrevocably committed to writing” (Townsend, p. 82). When he began his serious fiction writing, he set aside a special room, scrubbed it clean, and sometimes dressed up in there (Townsend).

At age twelve Hemingway stole his first short story, "My First Sea Voyage," from his uncle. His father got him his first writing job on the Kansas City Star when he was graduated from high school, but he also continued writing short stories. He had written Lardner-like stories for his high school paper and used this style again on the base paper in Italy (Baker). Hemingway's combat injury led to, according to Martin, his obsession with "death and the courage necessary to face it. The theme is everywhere in his fiction and it dogged the events of his life" (p. 5).

McAlmon had studied literature and writing at the University of Minnesota, and had some bad poetry published a few years later. He also had read poems and papers to the Literary Society when he was at the University of Southern California, and edited the camp newspaper and magazine in flight training school. By the end of the war he had poems published regularly in magazines such as Poetry and Literary Digest (Smoller).

Fitzgerald was first published in his school magazine, but also had a story in the St. Paul newspaper Now and Then when he was fifteen. In college, he contributed many pretentious (LeVot) reviews to Princeton's literary magazines and wrote a lot of poems (Sklar), finally selling one in 1917 (Turnbull). But, as LeVot points out, he didn't find the "heart" of his writing until the following year when he met Zelda Sayre, and "the love born that evening was to become legendary in American literary lore" (p. 64). After leaving the service he worked for a while for the Barron Collier advertising agency in New York, until his first novel was accepted by Scribner's (Turnbull). Fitzgerald was legendary for being easily distracted from his writing, and his editor, Maxwell Perkins, discouraged him from keeping a European diary on his first trip there in 1921 so that he would concentrate on his novel (Donnelly).

Thomson's early letters are described as "those of a born writer, exhibiting all the artfully contrived, wonderful phrases of his published writing" (Wittke, p. 39). He began writing reviews for Transcript in the early twenties (Kathleen Hoover), but Thomson's

"career as a professional writer was initiated by H L Mencken...[who] suggested that Thomson should write an article on jazz; it was the first serious discussion of the subject to appear in print. From then on he wrote pieces for Vanity Fair and other fashionable, quality magazines" (Wittke).

By the time he came to Fleurus for the first time in 1925, Thomson was “already something of an established author on modern music” (Mellow).

The art world began to explode in the years preceding the arrival of the American writers in Paris, and we have seen that Stein and her brother, later joined by Toklas, were in the middle of the blast. Outside the walls of Fleurus, Ray’s friend Duchamp put a bicycle wheel on a stool (Schwarz), but an exhibition of Van Goghs and Gauguins in London went “unheeded” (Spalding, 1980, p. 153).

Toklas said she got to know the paintings at Fleurus by dusting them (Souhami), but she and Stein weren’t the only ones who learned to value art before they began socializing with writers under the Cezannes, Matisse and Picassos at Fleurus.

Anderson took up painting soon after Winesburg, Ohio was published (Howe), and encouraged his wife Tennessee to sculpt. Soon he had one-man shows in a Chicago bookstore and at the Yale Club in New York (Townsend). McAlmon worked as a male model at Cooper Union and became friends with the painter Marsden Hartley there. In London with his bride Bryher, McAlmon was introduced by her to “genteel Bohemia,” including Bloomsbury’s nemesis, Wyndham Lewis (Smoller).

Ray, the future painter and group photographer, had the most formal art training, starting his career at age eight by copying pictures of the explosion of the *USS Maine* out of the newspaper and taking up draftsmanship and architecture in high school. After graduation he did graphic design for an ad agency (Baldwin), some magazine covers (Schwarz), and later had a full time job at McGraw Book Co. designing maps and atlases. His family set up a studio for him in the house, and he turned down an architecture scholarship to New York University in favor of painting (Baldwin).

Ray studied with Robert Henri of the Ashcan artists at the Ferrer school and had his first exhibit there. He valued “speed in composition...Man took pride in his ability to paint from memory” (Baldwin, p. 18). His first one-man show, in 1915, received bad reviews, but within a year he had a studio across from Grand Central, was doing more painting and less work for McGraw Hill, had an object-exhibit included in the Forum Exhibit of Modern American Painters, and a second one-man show at the Daniel Gallery. By 1920, when he found that no one could do a good photographic reproduction of his paintings, he began doing them himself (Baldwin) and started to experiment with this new medium as an art

form (Gruber). He began to earn money by providing this service for other artists and collectors, such as the American friend of the Irish Literary Renaissance, John Quinn (Baldwin).

Growing up in New York City, Ray was influenced by exhibits of the latest art to arrive, including Rodin's drawings, the "8" show, Hartley's first show and early exhibits of Picasso and Cezanne, all at the 291 Gallery. He also socialized with Max Weber, Arthur Dore, Alfred Stieglitz and Hartley at New York's Mouquin's, where they all discussed the latest art from Paris. Ray made friends with Brancusi and was closely involved with the beginnings of the Societe Anonomie with Duchamp and MOMA founder Katherine Dreier. Arriving in Paris in 1921, Duchamp quickly took him to the Dada Cafe to meet his friends, Andre Breton, Paul Eluard, and Philippe Soupault (Baldwin).

Even though Thomson was the only professional composer in the groups, many of the Americans in Paris grew up surrounded by music. Toklas had taken piano lessons with the idea of becoming a concert pianist, and received a bachelor of music from the University of Washington (Souhami); but when her mother, who had studied music with Clara Schuman's father, died, she lost interest (Autobiography). Years later she told an interviewer, "I found everything I did was absolutely fifth rate, so I gave it up" (in Souhami).

Hemingway's father gave all the children music lessons and took them to concerts; his mother was a music teacher who had made her opera debut in Madison Square Garden at age 23; the future writer took up cello in school (Baker). Ray was a jazz fan who learned to play guitar (Baldwin).

Thomson, of course, had the most musical background. Although his mother was musical (Wittke), his father "never hummed, whistled, beat time, or took the least notice of musical sound" (Kathleen Hoover, p. 14). But at age three his son wrote a tone portrait of the Chicago fire (Kathleen Hoover) and within two years was improvising on the piano (Mellow). While studying organ and voice and practicing four to five hours per day he still received straight A's in school (Kathleen Hoover). The music that he heard while he was growing up in Kansas City

“was part and parcel of the wide-open world around him--Civil War songs, cowboy songs, the blues, barn dance music, Baptist hymns, folk songs, sentimental popular songs, as well as the canons of Western art music that he studied. They were indelibly embedded in him, and he undertook to reconstruct this atmosphere” (Wittke, p. 2).

By the time Thomson saw his first opera at age twelve, he was already giving recitals and was a paid movie theatre organist. When he came back from his stateside service during the war, in radio officer school at Columbia University (Kathleen Hoover), “he knew what he wanted to do--make a career in music” (Wittke, p. 3-4), and he decided on Harvard. He joined the Chapel Choir, studied with Walter Piston, took organ lessons at the New England Conservatory of Music, and was chosen as the accompanist for the Glee Club’s European tour (Kathleen Hoover). On that first trip to Paris, in 1921--when he met Satie, not Stein (Mellow)-- Thomson studied with Nadia Boulanger and socialized with Milhaud at a jazz bar, “Le boeuf sur le toit” (Kathleen Hoover). He studied conducting and cello, and continued composing. Back in the United States, he became an instructor at Harvard and then received a Julliard Fellowship to study in New York for one year. His reviews for the Transcript got the attention of the “American music establishment” (Wittke).

However, back in the nineties when his future collaborator Stein was studying automatic writing in the psychology lab at the Harvard Annex, she found that she was tone deaf (Brinnin).

## The Values of the Algonquin Round Table

The New York writers valued writing and theatre. There is little evidence they ever dabbled in other arts, but they started writing and taking an interest in the theatre early on.

Other than Woollcott’s friendship with Damon Runyon during the war in France (Samuel Hopkins Adams), there is no mention of the future Algonquin writers socializing with any others in their field or taking part in any type of literary activities before they began lunching. They apparently had no interest in other languages, but some of them are described as heavy readers in their early years. Ross learned to read at an early age and played hooky from school to read in the library (Kunkel). His mother “imprinted on Harold...a love of reading and language...[She taught him to respect] not just the ideas but

the words themselves” (Kunkel, p. 20-1). Kaufman’s favorite author was Twain (Goldstein). One of Woollcott’s earliest friends was a columnist for the Kansas City Star, and Samuel Hopkins Adams says that he was “filled with Dickens in his early years” (p. 28).

But if they didn’t show much interest in other writers, all of them began early to write and support themselves by their writing, and most began their professional careers on newspapers.

Ross started on his high school newspaper, moving up to the Denver Post and then into an apprentice program at the Salt Lake paper, “coming under the charismatic spell of a colorful and extinct fraternity, that of the tramp newspaperman,” according to Kunkel (p. 27). He worked at AP, UPI and numerous dailies around the country, even serving as editor of one for two months when his mentor there died, and covering the infamous Mary Phagan murder in Atlanta. In the Army in France, even before he was accepted at Stars and Stripes, he published a newspaper for his regiment (Kunkel).

At Harvard, Broun took the now legendary English courses by professors Charles Copeland and George Pierce Baker, but was rejected by the Harvard Crimson three times. Still, when he graduated, he began work at the Morning Telegraph, and within six years was drama critic at the Tribune. Returning to the US from his stint as a war correspondent, he “labored to establish himself as a journalistic person” (Richard O’Connor, p. 67).

Benchley made it to president of the Harvard Lampoon (Rosmond), and even spent his time sailing to Europe publishing a parody of the ship’s daily newsletter. His Lampoon take off on Life was such a hit he was offered a humor column in the Boston Journal, but turned it down saying “he’d hate to have to be humorous every day” (Benchley, p. 45). Within a year he was writing humor copy for Crowninshield’s Century, and when Crownie took over Vanity Fair he published Benchley’s first paid piece, “No Matter from What Angle You Looked at It, Alice Brookhansen Was a Girl You Would Hesitate to Invite Into Your Own Home” (Benchley).

Woollcott had started out writing reviews for the Evening Telegraph and Record when he was thirteen, and four years later got to put out the back page of the Philadelphia paper for his vacationing aunt (Samuel Hopkins Adams). In college he wrote stories and reviewed novels for the literary magazine, winning prizes, and eventually becoming the editor, making the previously stagnant publication “‘must’ reading” (Samuel Hopkins Adams, p. 47). He started out on the New York Times, and the same year he interviewed the Titanic survivors, he was made the Times drama critic (Meade), the youngest one on Broadway (Samuel Hopkins Adams).

Kaufman began by writing funny poems for every birthday or family occasion, and eventually began contributing to his school publications and sending manuscripts to his favorite magazine, Argosy (Goldstein). Because of the newspaper jobs FPA got him, by 1913 he had become “what he was to remain, a New York-based writer” (Goldstein, p. 24).

His later partner, Connelly, started writing stories when he was only nine. Six years later he took his first newspaper job as a reporter and assistant drama critic with the Pittsburgh Sun (Nolan). After he went to New York and had two flops, Connelly wrote verse for Life and reported for the Morning Telegraph where “one of his tasks...was to gather items from the producer’s offices for the paper’s daily stage column” (Goldstein, p. 53).

Broun had taken a short leave from his Tribune job to do background research in Shanghai for a Liebling & Co. production (Richard O’Connor), and FPA had collaborated with O. Henry on a play that flopped (Gaines). But the ones who valued theatre work the most even before they all came together were Benchley, Woollcott, Connelly and Kaufman.

Benchley started his performing career early, working as an extra for 25 cents per night. In college he began public speaking by doing mock travelogues, and as president of the Lampoon, it was his job to give the Ivy Oration at Harvard Class Day, in the middle of the football field with no microphone. He was known for his Hasty Pudding Shows, “in one of which he scored a sensation with a monologue as a telephone girl,” according to Robert Sherwood (in Benchley, p. xiii-xiv). He got his reputation as “the greatest humorist of all time at Harvard” from his 1914 speech to the football dinner following the Yale game, and was soon asked to speak at lots of Harvard clubs (Benchley).

Woollcott's introduction to theatre came through a family friend when they lived in Kansas City. In college, he and Harley Truax were active in the Drama Club, and Woollcott spent time at the Utica theatre and wrote critiques of American drama in The Lit. When the Times sent him to Europe in 1914 to learn more about theatre, he called on Sarah Bernhardt (Samuel Hopkins Adams).

Connelly was brought up in a theatre family, although his parents gave up touring to raise him in the more stable environment of McKeesport, Pennsylvania. But he saw his first play in nearby Pittsburgh at age seven, and was so impressed he thought the theatre was a church. He was soon acting in his own plays at his Dad's hotel, and by age eleven was "already a veteran playwright, producer, actor." He wrote lyrics for a musical in Pittsburgh, and when he came to New York his The Amber Empress had only a short Broadway run. But soon he was dating Broadway actress Margalo Gilmore, and writing theatre news for the Morning Telegraph (Nolan).

A few miles away from Connelly growing up was Kaufman, whose father would bring home the stories of the plays he had seen in New York. His son collaborated on his first play, The Failure, when he was a teenager active in plays at school and the theater group at his synagogue. Once he came to New York he enrolled in the Alverne School of Dramatic Art, and became manager of a stock company in Troy, New York; he soon quit both to go back to his sales job. But he still wrote and took playwriting classes, and eventually began his job as drama reporter on the Times. The same year FPA got him a job on the Tribune, he also wrote some items on film for Puck (Goldstein).

Before they began regular lunches, the Algonquinites got a head start on what they later raised to the level of an art form, logrolling, or publicly validating their values by extolling their friends' work in the press. FPA not only published Parker's poems as early as 1914, he also helped Kaufman get work, and made him a household name by congratulating him in his column on the jobs and giving him a big sendoff to Europe (Goldstein). Broun was already reviewing his friend Woollcott's try at a one-act play done for a hospital Halloween party during the war in his paper, the Tribune (Samuel Hopkins Adams).

They all entered their groups with some background in their chosen fields and carrying many of the same values that the key persons in the group held. This formed the basis for their initial attraction and early conversations.

#### Their Play: Talking, Partying

Although we have seen that their strongest values were related to creativity, the arts and culture, it is also clear that the group members played as hard as they worked. Their lives may have been centered around their careers, but when they got together, they enjoyed themselves. But the type of recreation they valued most was the art of conversation, and like Yeats, Virginia and Stein, many had socialized in other salons before they met up with their primary groups.

Play may seem to be an odd choice for a value, but indeed partying--socializing, dressing up (or down), games, sports, in some cases drinking too much and promiscuity--were important to varying degrees for different groups, before and during their time in the groups. Some used fashion--high and low--as a way of setting themselves apart as artists. The importance of these different activities varied depending on the group: The Irish most valued talk and argument, the Bloomsberries put a great importance on open sexual relationships, Stein and Toklas spent a lot of time searching out and preparing great food, and the Algonquinites drank and partied to excess.

#### The Values of the Irish Literary Renaissance

The Irish group members came perilously close to leading lives that were all work and no play, even before they began creating a national theatre. We have seen that the young Yeats dressed for the role of a poet, but when he first met AE, the younger artist had a "dishevelled appearance...not conventionally but carelessly dressed in a well-worn Donegal tweed suit--so carelessly in fact that one of his closest friends used to quip that his clothes always looked as if they had been put on with the aid of a shovel" (Kuch, p. 1). In the theatre years, Lady Gregory would provide receptions for the hungry actors (Coxhead), but other than that the only mention of food with this group is AE's life-long "Yogi-like indifference to good cooking" (Summerfield, p. 100).

But as James O'Reilly says, "the only listeners in Dublin are tired talkers" (in Rodgers, p. 197), and so the Irish writers came from a cultural tradition of conversation. Most of their "play" involved sitting up late and talking with friends, even before they all came together at Coole.

Not only was Roxboro "totally unbookish" (Hazard Adams, p. 19), but Lady Gregory also remembered later, "as a child our drawing room evenings were not for conversation" (Coxhead, p. 9). When she began to accompany her sick brother to Cannes each year she learned that people actually talked in the evening rather than sitting in silence (Kohfeldt). Meeting Sir William Gregory during those years, she was impressed by his friends and their conversation (Hazard Adams).

After they married, "her little salon at 3 St. George's Place, Hyde Park Corner, soon became one of the most agreeable in London" according to one friend. "The talk," as she called it, in London society was as "vital" as that among the Irish: "The little dinners at which conversation was 'quick firing, cut to the bone' taught her 'the quick enrichment of sentences that one gets in conversation.' They gave her 'swiftness in putting thought into a word, a sentence' (Kohfeldt, p. 153). As Hazard Adams says, "now at last she had someone to talk to; in fact she had the best company in London to talk to, in the Jane Austen sense of 'the company of clever, well-informed people who have plenty of conversation'... 'Freed by my own happy marriage from many family traditions'" (p. 21). The first fan she filled with her guests' autographs was made of sandalwood and crimson satin (Coxhead). Since at the time she met up with Yeats and Martyn, Lady Gregory couldn't go into pubs to get into literary conversations, she invited the writers to come to her at Coole (Hazard Adams).

Martyn had discussed literature in the salons of his cousin, Count de Basterot, in the summers at Duras. Moore's most well-known works concerned his socializing in the Paris salons of his youth (Ulick O'Connor) with the likes of Villiers d'Isle Adams, Mallarme and Manet. His discussions there "were the beginning of the cafe education which...was his substitute for university" (Hone, p. 62).

As a boy in County Roscommon, Hyde had "disliked groups, preferring the company of one or two or at most three companions" (Dunleavy, p. 110), but when he first had rooms at Trinity he held his own salons (Dunleavy). When he came into the group

“clustered around” O’Leary’s Fenian salons (Ellman, p. 46), which included Yeats, AE, Maude Gonne and Katherine Tynan (Ulick O’Connor), he “didn’t share in Yeats’ hero-worship of O’Leary” (Dunleavy, p. 71). But Hyde finally found a social life once he became friends with Yeats (Dunleavy).

We have seen how Yeats and AE were very involved with groups of friends in the late eighties. However, at first AE wouldn’t join any of the groups because he claimed he didn’t like official organizations. In 1891, however, he moved out on his parents to live at the Theosophists’ Dublin Lodge, and he loved the socializing with the people there. Later he commented that he was so “fortunate...to be to be drawn into companionship with six or seven others all as I think wiser and stronger than I then was” (Kuch, p. 58-9). On his first night at Coole, even though he was a newlywed (Summerfield), he sat up late with Yeats and Lady Gregory talking about Shelley (Kohfeldt).

## The Values of the Bloomsbury Group

For the Bloomsberries as well, talk was the best leisure activity.

Growing up, both the Stephens girls “became adept at tea table conversation which was informal but polite, intelligent, but never allowed to settle for too long on any one topic” (Spalding, 1983, p. 25). Their Aunt Sarah had held Sunday salons, as did Strachey’s family. He grew up hearing those “particularly penetrating voices” inherited by his family along with “the Scottish love of argument and discussion, the general volume of noise, the degree of turmoil and excited chatter...taken for granted by the family,...[but] bewildering for...visitors” (Holroyd I, p. 31).

We have seen how Thoby’s early Bloomsbury salons grew out of the males’ discussions at Cambridge. Their hero, the philosopher G E Moore, would raise the constant question, “What exactly do you mean?” (Spater, p. 32). But their friend, the less well-known philosopher McTaggart, would have people to his rooms on Wednesday evenings, where there would be “protracted and abstracted silence,” during which, as Leonard remembered, “he and his companions [would be] sitting in constrained silence, noting only the rolling of the philosopher’s eyes, and after which communion they would separate” (Crabtree, p. 8).

When the Stephens sisters visited Clive in Paris in 1904, they all went to Rodin's studio and gathered in the Paris salons. As Virginia described it, "we stayed talking of Art, Sculpture, and Music till 11:30. This was in the common cafe, while we smoked half a dozen cigarettes a piece...a real Bohemian party." Her sister "would always feel at home in Bohemia, and she relished the art talk and the Cafe de Versailles" (in Bell I, p. 108).

As for fashion, when Virginia first met Thoby's friends, it was their ability to dress down that impressed her first: "I thought...that I had never seen young men so dingy...It was precisely this lack of physical splendor, this shabbiness! that was in my eyes proof of their superiority" (in Malcolm, 1995, p. 60-1). However, even in those early years, Clive was the dandy of the group, as he "liked to dress properly for all his roles" (Edel, p. 44). Leonard remembered him as "a sportsman in full regalia...dressed in his rig-out, swinging a whip and...carrying a hunting horn" (Edel, p. 32-3).

### The Values of the Americans in Paris

Before Stein and Toklas had the American writers to talk to, they attended at least one salon with some Bloomsberries and Moore, of the Irish group. On a visit to London in early 1913, they visited Lane's Sunday get-togethers (Brinnin), as well as the homes of Clive, Fry and Ottoline Morrell. But as Stein explained in the Autobiography, "the continual pleasant hesitating flow of conversation, the never ceasing sound of the human voice speaking in english bothered her" (p. 139-41). However, they did enjoy meeting Strachey at a social gathering. "Gertrude engaged Lytton in a long conversation about Picasso. It was interesting, Lytton thought, but it kept him from listening to another guest, George Moore" (Simon, p. 89). In the Autobiography, Stein recalls the same evening, in Toklas' persona: "Moore...looked like a very prosperous Mellon's Food baby, [and they] had not been interested in each other. Lytton Strachey and I talked together about Picasso and the russian ballet" (p. 164).

Back in 1910, Anderson had started a Round Table Discussion Group (Townsend), around the same time Ray was taking part in Stieglitz' "Round Table" at Mouquin's (Baldwin). When Anderson visited his brother in Chicago after his "epiphany," Karl took him to a party at writer Floyd Dell's which, although he felt uncomfortable at first (Townsend), became their social center. When he returned to the city a year later he was

sporting a beard and boots and began socializing with the writers of the Chicago Renaissance. He “loved to talk, he loved talk for its own sake. Now he was free to indulge himself,” according to Townsend. Later he lived with the “little children of the arts” (Howe), whom he referred to as the “Little Church of the Arts” (Townsend).

Ray met his best friend Duchamp when Arensberg brought him to New Jersey to get to know the group that was publishing the little magazine Others: William Carlos Williams, Marianne Moore, Mina Loy, Arthur Kreymbourg. Ray and Duchamp attended Arensberg’s Upper West Side salons which included many of the above as well as composer Edgar Varese and painters Picabia and Stella. But, as described by Baldwin, “these were not events at which an *eminence grise* or charismatic hostess presided...a la Gertrude Stein. Rather there was a free-for-all ambience” (p. 53). The Arensbergs’ gatherings were part of “an overlapping array of salons devoted to modernism” hosted by them, Stettheimer, and the legendary Dodge who had established hers in 1912 (Mellow).

Thomson’s mother had encouraged him to host Sunday evening salons at home, where his young friends “dissected intellectual and artistic subjects for hours on end” (Wittke, p. 2). When he came back to Harvard after his first Paris trip he spent time with friends “heatedly discussing the state of the arts and affairs of the world at the exclusively highbrow Liberal Club” (Wittke, p. 6). Fitzgerald socialized with friends in the various clubs at Princeton (LeVot, Turnbull).

But the Americans who came to Paris brought with them interests in other areas besides talking. Many of them were very fashionable and some very active in sports.

Toklas was conscious of fashion from an early age. Growing up in San Francisco, she would escape “to Chinatown to buy clothes,” and to Monterrey every spring where she would eat at the Del Monte hotel and “wear red” (Souhami, p. 44). She always “loved expensive gloves and took great care of her hands and nails, which she manicured daily” (Souhami, p. 11). Dodge thought Toklas’ “batik dresses made her look like something out of the Old Testament...She said Alice wore ‘barbaric chains and jewels and was forever manicuring her nails” (Souhami, p. 109).

Some of the other Americans set themselves apart with their unusual dress in their youth. Anderson began to dress extravagantly back in 1903 (Townsend). Even sixteen years later, he and Waldo Pierce went on a spree in Chicago and bought white suits

(Howe). Ray graduated from high school in an unconventional bright red shirt (Baldwin), and in his early years, Thomson was known as “a meticulous dresser, with Beau Brummel tendencies, always neat, shiny, and affable” (Wittke, p. 3).

Of the American writers, Fitzgerald perhaps paid the most attention to his looks and clothes. When he reported to Leavenworth for his military service, he had his uniform made at Brooks Brothers (LeVot). Back to work in the civilian world, toiling at the North Pacific Railroad while waiting for his novel to be accepted, he wore a polo shirt and dirty white flannels. When courting Zelda, he gave her a diamond watch and an ostrich fan as presents, but soon after the wedding he learned that she was “no housekeeper...She completely ignored the laundry, much to the chagrin of Scott who liked to change his shirt several times a day” (Turnbull, p. 111).

Although we have seen that exercise and fitness were not among Stein’s values, for some of the all-American males in the Paris group, athletics held an important spot and probably figured in their conversations. As boys, Anderson liked horses and baseball (Howe) and Ray played baseball (Baldwin). Fitzgerald played basketball and football in school and was named captain of the St. Paul basketball team (LeVot). When he transferred to the Newman School in New Jersey, he introduced himself to his new teammates by saying, “excuse me for bossing everyone around, but I’m used to being captain of the teams in St. Paul” (in Turnbull, p. 35). One of his first poems in the Newman News was entitled “Football” (LeVot). He won a junior field meet and went to Princeton “intent on playing varsity football but was too small (and embarrassingly wary of contact) to make the team” (Brady).

This was another area in which he could later feel inferior to Hemingway whose earliest sport was hunting, getting his first shotgun for a birthday present from his grandfather when he was twelve. He discovered boxing at seventeen, along with canoeing, hiking, football, swimming and girls (Baker). As Anderson did (Townsend), Hemingway often went camping and fishing with his family “up in Michigan” (Baker).

## The Values of the Algonquin Round Table

There is little evidence that the future talkers of the Algonquin spent any time in any other salons before they met up in Paris during World War I. Throughout the last years of the war, Woolcott, Ross, FPA and Broun were among the Americans who Stein felt were wasting time and talent in the Paris cafes (Kunkel),

There is also no mention of their future major pastime, partying and games. The main precursor of their future activities is the fondness for gambling that some of them showed early on. Broun had been part of a continuing poker game on his first newspaper job (Richard O'Connor). Kaufman, who grew up in a card-playing family, spent most of his time when he was working in Washington, DC, "playing stud poker at the National Press Club" (Goldstein, p. 23). Ross was famous for pranks as a kid (Kunkel) and liked poker and cribbage in his early days. But it was FPA who had a regular Saturday night game "in the back room of Nini's in Montmartre" (Gaines) during the war, called *Thanatopsis*, the same name they used when they established their regular game back in New York.

As we have seen with Parker, many of the Algonquins were fashion plates, even before they were New York trendsetters. In their early years, Woolcott particularly, "liked nothing better than posing as a dandy" (Gaines, p. 8) and Ross' clothes "were loud and reflected dandyish tastes" (Kunkel, p. 34).

Then there was Broun. His most distinguishing trait, "a Broun household legend" according to his mother (Richard O'Connor, p. 20), was his sloppiness. During the war years, he did not improve, described as "a large, anxious slovenly man...with a physical resemblance to a laundry bag...How Broun managed to survive a war is unclear" (Meade, p. 610). His appearance was best summed up by General Pershing when he saw him with a group of soldiers, "What happened? Did you fall down?" (Richard O'Connor).

## Their Morality: Politics and Religion

Did members of any of the groups have values beyond working and playing?

Actually, yes.

Most of the members came from middle to upper middle class families, and therefore entered the groups with the traditional middle class values of their times. Most of the Irish group were members of the Anglo-Irish Protestant ruling class of the time. While religion was not a strong factor for any of the Bloomsberries, there was an emphasis on education. The ones who went to Cambridge were loyal members of the Apostles, and both Strachey and Keynes hoped to be made fellows once they graduated. In the Paris group, many went to college, for at least a time--Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Princeton. Some of the Algonquinites were also fairly well educated, Benchley and Broun having been graduated from Harvard. However, Anderson was already considered "not one of them" by the middle class people in his Elyria neighborhood because of his liberal views on free love.

Overall, the group members would be considered politically liberal for their time and status, with minor exceptions. The political situation in each culture and era, however, varied greatly. For the Irish it was nationalism; for the British, pacifism; for the expatriates, just being staunchly American was a political statement; and the Algonquinites were active in the Sacco-Vanzetti protests and other socialist causes of the times. Most came into the groups already holding these values. In the groups, the members found others who shared their liberal views and many became more active politically.

Before they actually formed, the Paris and Algonquin groups were both particularly affected by the First World War, but it was also this war that marked the greatest difference in values between these two groups:

"The Round Table writers had been happy warriors almost to a man, while the vision of most of their literary peers, especially those who served in ambulance units in the years before the United States joined the war, was war-sick. The great distance between close-up horrors of trench-and-gas warfare and grandiloquent prose in justification of those horrors has been credited with shocking American writers abroad into lower-case letters and leaner prose. The Stars & Stripes Algonquin-ites had been, of course, among the foremost retailers of the war" (Gaines, p. 158)

Like the four key persons, most of their fellow group members did not come from strong religious backgrounds. The Irish group had the strongest religious influences and,

as we have seen with Yeats, spiritualism in many different forms was a strong value many of them brought with them to the group.

## The Values of the Irish Literary Renaissance

The Irish group had very strongly held moral values, and their priorities of nationalism and Irish culture, combined with the spiritualism Yeats and AE brought to the group, were the foundations of the Irish Literary Renaissance.

Yeats, Lady Gregory, and Synge all came from the Protestant Ascendancy. Lady Gregory's parents and sisters were evangelical and known for proselytizing around Roxboro, and she claimed to have a physical and spiritual conversion experience at age fifteen that gave her more confidence (Kohfeldt).

Hyde was the son and grandson of ministers (Daly), and his father pressured him to follow in the family tradition (Ulick O'Connor). When he applied to Trinity in 1878, it was for a career in the clergy (Daly). He agreed to study Divinity there (Ulick O'Connor), but he and his father fought about it off and on, with Dad sometimes agreeing to an alternative career in medicine. One of his earliest publications was on "The Attitude of Reform Church in Ireland" in the Dublin University Review, which was well-received. He won a special Theology prize in 1886, and attended some Theosophist meetings with Gonne (Dunleavy), but any enthusiasm he might have had for religion seems to have waned as his interest in politics grew.

Synge's mother was a fanatical Anglo-Irish Protestant (Ulick O'Connor) who felt that the Irish traditions were much too close to Papism. His paternal uncle had been one of the first Protestant missionaries to the Aran Islands (Greene). As Skelton says, "landlordism combined with Protestantism to form the narrow and rigors creed of the Synges" (p. 7). But the young Synge rebelled (Ulick O'Connor) when he gave up on Christianity at age sixteen (Skelton). Two years later he mustered the courage to tell his mother he would no longer go to church (Greene), and she made him talk to their minister, to no avail (Skelton). His heretical views also caused a rift between him and the family of one of his early girlfriends, but his response was to write a skit about it (Greene).

Moore (Ulick O'Connor) and Martyn were both born Catholic, but Moore's father, who attended the same Catholic College his son was sent to (Hone), had married a

Protestant (Ulick O'Connor). Five years after entering Oscott, Moore announced that he didn't believe in religion and wasn't going to confession anymore (Hone).

Martyn, however, was from a young age a devout Catholic, attending Jesuit Beaumont College (Gwynn), living "the life of an ascetic in a private cell" to show his mother that he would never marry (Ulick O'Connor, p. 69). He and Moore did travel to visit cathedrals in Germany often, but Mrs. Martyn banned Moore from the house after she recognized a local priest as a character in his novel A Drama in Muslin (Ulick O'Connor). Martyn was so religious he felt compelled to apply to the local bishop for church permission to read condemned books when researching one of his early novels (Gwynn).

AE's parents were both Church of Ireland, but he began his own spiritual journey by meditating in a field of flowers at age five. Nine years later AE had a religious revelation, deciding that God had no right to punish us (Summerfield), and within a couple years was having his first conscious visions (Ulick O'Connor).

We have seen how he and Yeats shared many spiritual experiences in their early friendship. In the mid-eighties AE became interested in the Upanishads (Jeffares), and when Yeats moved back to London with his family in 1887, AE became very upset. He refused to go to his friend's farewell party, left art school and went through a "a profound spiritual and artistic crisis" (Kuch, p. 30). Turning to Eastern literature, the next five years were for him an "artistic silence" (Kuch, p. 34). Within two years he was denouncing the occult (Kuch) and by the nineties he "began to diverge" from Yeats' approach to spiritualism (Summerfield, p. 40). AE joined the Theosophists and was disappointed that his friend wasn't interested in them anymore (Kuch).

He became "afame with Theosophy; a red hot missionary" (Kuch, p. 58). Unlike Yeats, he was looking for spiritual understanding; Yeats was finding material for his work. Yeats wanted to "confront and interrogate the spirits" (Kuch, p. 84) and his "desire to measure and arrange eventually brought him into conflict with [AE], whose mind was not diagrammatic and whose aims were spiritual rather than poetic" (Kuch, p. 79-80). But AE "ought to have realized that Yeats was always more interested in what he could accomplish for himself by his membership of the Golden Dawn than he was in the Golden Dawn itself" (Kuch, p. 89). He was not as "dazzled" by the Indian philosophers as Yeats was, but stayed loyal to Madame Blavatsky even after he left her group (Kuch).

AE later described the friends he lived with in the Theosophists' Dublin Lodge as religious fanatics, but he enjoyed them and his time living with them (Kuch). He studied Hindu concentration during this period (Summerfield), and preached to the crowd at Bray. He and Yeats performed rituals together, and in 1896 he wrote to Yeats in confidence that "the gods have returned to Erin" (Ulick O'Connor, p. 162). AE published a book of poems at this time which were strongly influenced by Druidic mysteries and became active in the International Theosophist Society. He had a vision of a Celtic Messiah and also published The Awakening of Fires (Summerfield). AE, truly the most spiritual in any of the groups, brought his strong values with him into the Irish Literary Renaissance and we will see that they contributed a great deal to his unique role among his friends.

The Irish language has always been an integral part of Irish nationalism, and we have seen how it held a special value for the Irish writers. But some of them also had other strongly held political values when they met up with each other.

Although Lady Gregory learned in her teens, staying with her brother in Cornwall, that boys were more favored, she was against women's suffrage. Her first political activity involved a campaign on behalf of a rebel Arab leader she and her husband met in their travels. Living in Egypt in 1881, the Gregorys and their friends, poet Blunt and his wife, all sided with the Arab, but not the Irish, resistance to British imperialism, seeing no connection between the two (Kohfeldt). Arabi was released from prison, partially because of her efforts, in 1891 (Ulick O'Connor), and she developed a lot of skills that would later help the Irish literary movement (Hazard Adams). The Gregorys were both anti-home Rule (Kohfeldt), but he did support Catholic emancipation; as Hazard Adams explained his position, "one had no objection to a State Church, both in England and in Ireland, but one had the strongest objection to a State Church of a minority" (p. 18).

Moore's father was an MP when he was growing up, but the writer's allegiances wavered throughout his life. In the late eighties he became aware of how bad conditions were for the farmers in the west of Ireland and negotiated lower rents with his tenants. But in 1886 he published a book of anti-Irish essays, Parnell and His Island (Ulick O'Connor), and a few years later he announced "I hate Ireland," but began researching his family (Hone, p. 185). Between 1895 and 1900, the years leading up to his entry into the group, "the evidence of George's Irish association and of his own correspondence...reveals him as

a man who was in deadly earnest, determined to interpret the facts of Irish life according to his desires, and fully persuaded that something was in the air which offered him a chance of influence if not of leadership” (Hone, p. 218). Soon after he joined up with the others to help found the Irish National Theatre, he left Britain, literally and figuratively (Hone).

Martyn was known as a nasty landlord, and as late as 1887 was still refusing to publicly support Home Rule. He tried to win nomination as a county magistrate, although he was indifferent to all of the important local issues (Gwynn). But by 1892 he had become “a fervent nationalist and supporter of Gaelic culture” (Ulick O’Connor, p. 84).

Synge grew up in a strong landholding family, and it’s no surprise that in the early nineties he was anti-Home Rule. He joined the Young Irish Society in 1896, but was more interested in socialism than nationalism (Greene). His meeting in Paris the following year with Gonne and Yeats, who told him, “Go to Aran!” (Battersby), began his journey to his Irish roots that led to his art. By the time Synge arrived at Coole, after his first Aran trip, “he had the themes of his drama already within him, though he did not himself realize it for some time” (Skelton, p. 57).

Hyde, the most political of them all, was an “almost entirely self-made” Gaelic scholar (Dunleavy, p. xv-xvi), and we have seen how important language, especially Irish, was to him growing up and throughout his life. He became anti-English as a youth when he discovered from the peasants, who lived and worked around his Anglo-Irish Ascendancy family in the west of Ireland realized there was a separate Irish culture (Ulick O’Connor), and his first poems were very anti-English; he threw himself into learning Irish (Dunleavy).

In founding the Gaelic League Hyde created “an outlet for...[his] enormous energy” (Dunleavy, p. 167), and in the first eight years it grew to include 300 members (Daly). Hyde was soon arguing in print that the English working class should unite with the Irish (Dunleavy), and appealed in the Boston Irish Echo for Americans to learn Gaelic (Daly). When he visited the US in 1891 he met with the American Fenians (Dunleavy). We will see that his involvement with political organizations was one of the key characteristics that he brought to his role in the group.

## The Values of the Bloomsbury Group

For the Bloomsberries, liberalism before they began socializing involved anti-Establishment views, including practicing homosexuality.

Fry, the oldest, had heard Shaw speak on Fabianism and spoke himself for the Liberals in a local election just before entering the group (Spalding, 1980). Keynes' mother was "involved in local politics...when women were supposed to stay at home" (Edel, p. 48). One of the first women to attend Cambridge on a limited basis (Skidelsky I), she became a Justice of the Peace, then alderman, and finally mayor of Cambridge (Edel). His father ran for University Council on both the Conservative and Liberal tickets a few times. Keynes never really "felt the need to rebel against his home" (Skidelsky I, p. 75), and was opposed to women getting degrees as well as Irish Home Rule. But before he came in the group he had had chats with Shaw about socialism (Skidelsky I).

Strachey grew up not totally unfamiliar with liberal politics, as his mother worked for the Women's Progressive Movement, but the feeling in the family drawing room "was that of British history and of the comparably small ruling middle class which for the last one hundred years had been the principle makers of British history" (Holroyd I, p. 27). But as Apostles, Leonard was proud to tell him that Cambridge was "really enraged with us" for being so anti-religion (Holroyd I, p. 200).

Vanessa had been brought "out" to society by their hated stepbrother, Duckworth, with unintended consequences, for "instead of developing in her the art of social coquetry, George merely succeeded in driving Vanessa in on herself, increasing her distrust of 'society'" (Spalding, 1983, p. 27). All that etiquette had "brought young spirits like Lytton and Vanessa to bursting point. They did burst and lot of people didn't like it" (Shone, in Crabtree, p. 25). She delighted in scandalising friends, as shown in an unpublished letter to an art school friend:

"Then he asked me to come and have tea with him at a shop and I agreed, so we went to a shop in the King's Road and there we sat for about an hour, [Henry] Lamb in his corduroys, smoking a pipe, and I thought with joy of how shocked all my friends and relations would be if they could only come in and see us" (Shone, in Crabtree, p. 26).

By the time they moved with their brothers to the then Bohemian section of Bloomsbury, "we were full of experiments and reforms...We were going to paint; to write; to have coffee after dinner instead of tea at nine o'clock. Everything was going to be new;

everything was going to be different. Everything was on trial” as Virginia remembered (Bell II, p. 58).

Exciting as it was, “the coalescence of Bloomsbury and Cambridge began in a strange awkward silence and a period of ‘adjustment.’ We must remind ourselves that the awkward conjunction of the sexes was very real to the Victorians and the Edwardians,” says Edel (p. 124).

But back in Cambridge, it had been “a principle in discussion that there were to be no *taboos*, no limitations, nothing considered shocking, no barriers to absolute freedom of speculation” (Spater, p. 30), and homosexuality had been accepted there. Strachey and Keynes were rivals for young men there, with the latter putting more emphasis on the “personal attractiveness” of the young ones (Spalding, 1983, p. 34). Together with Grant they formed a romantic triangle even before the latter two were actually members of the group (Edel).

Although Vanessa felt she was giving up her freedom when she married Clive (Bell I), she admired his attitude as “the only possible” one. She described it thus: “One ought to go one’s way without argument or fuss and without attempting to make the stupid see one’s point of view, and when asked to do things one does not want to do one ought to give a half jocular refusal and stick to it, which is the only way of baffling them” (Malcolm, 1996, p. 15). Nevertheless, at this time it was still “inconceivable” to Leonard that he would have called women, even his friends’ sisters, by their Christian names (Bell I).

## The Values of the Americans in Paris

Some of the Americans in Paris had religious upbringings--McAlmon’s father was a “nomad pastor” with a doctor of theology from Princeton (Smoller), Thomson’s parents were both Southern Baptists (Mellow), and Fitzgerald’s mother was Catholic (Turnbull). He decided to become a priest in his late teens, but other than arranging a papal audience when he and Zelda first visited Rome, he shows no signs of being particularly devout (LeVot). Stein, Toklas and Ray were all Jewish, but there is no indication that they ever practiced their religion.

But if this group wasn’t particularly religious, they were devoutly American, even before they arrived in Paris.

When Stein and Toklas volunteered during the war, they spent their own money on supplies for the soldiers, and made friends with the US regiment in Nimes. When they were sent to Perpignan, Toklas had a picture taken of them with their car-turned-ambulance, Auntie, outside the birthplace of General Joffre, commander-in-chief of the French Army; they printed up one thousand to be sold in the United States to raise money for the Fund (Souhami, p. 132-4). Less than a month later, April 6, 1917, the United States formally entered the war (Kunkel), so they cut up stars and stripes ribbons to hand out (Frewin). At Christmas they danced with the soldiers to help improve morale (Souhami).

Thomson's family was typical middle-American "solid, sturdy stuff...[Growing up in Kansas City he] observed and absorbed the exciting frontier sportsmanship, often not so polite derring-do, of a mobile burgeoning self-confident city. This image of Kansas City never left him and was a dominant factor in his personality" (Wittke, p. 1-2). He volunteered for the American Ambulance Service, but was rejected, so he joined the National Guard, "not entirely for patriotic reasons. His excessive energy needed an active outlet and he wanted to enlarge his horizons" (Kathleen Hoover, p. 3). By the end of the war was a Second Lieutenant in the Military Aviation Corps (Wittke).

Anderson was in the Ohio National Guard, and then joined the Army (Howe). McAlmon claimed to have deserted the Canadian Army, but there is no evidence of this. When he enlisted he was sent to the Air Corps for flight training, never leaving the States during the duration (Smoller). Fitzgerald enlisted, but told his mother that he did it "purely for social reasons" (Turnbull, p. 80). Sent to Leavenworth for basic (LeVot), he did his officer training under Eisenhower, and was commissioned a Second Lieutenant (Turnbull).

Hemingway tried to enlist, but his bad eyesight stopped him. Of them all, however, he became the only true wartime hero, suffering serious wounds while rescuing a dead comrade, making him the first American to be wounded in Italy in 1918 (Baker).

Coming together in a foreign city so soon after the war, they shared with Stein a strong feeling for their home country.

## The Values of the Algonquin Round Table

While the Americans who were to become writers in Paris were volunteering for ambulance duty or spending their time in training in the US, many of the Americans who were to become writers lunching around the Round Table were writing for Stars and Stripes in Paris. However, according to Gaines, “none of them was committed to the war when they enlisted; they just fell into it” (p. 6). Benchley had registered for the draft, but was exempt because he had a young son (Rosmond). Kaufman was exempt from service for being married, as well as “his eyesight...meager weight...[and] record of having had...pleurisy” (Goldstein, p. 39).

Benchley, Kaufman and Broun brought the most liberal views for the time with them to the table in 1919. His early jobs involved what was then called “settlement work,” working with the New York Urban League (Rosmond), and organizing Boys’ Clubs on the Lower East Side. He voted for both women’s suffrage and Prohibition, and one of his first literary sales was an anti-drinking editorial to Collier’s. In 1918 when working on the Tribune Graphic, to show up the hypocrisy of the situation he and a friend, Arthur Gruening, ran a picture of a Southern lynching on the same page as a tribute to black troops in the US Army. Things were uncomfortable around the office after that (Benchley). Gruening was fired--but for being a German; and Benchley quit in protest (Rosmond). Given no chance to defend himself, Gruening later was cleared by the Department of Justice and Army Intelligence, and sued the Tribune for slander (Benchley).

Kaufman was an early admirer of the socialist Eugene Debs. He attended suffragette meetings in London and also contributed to many liberal causes, following in the footsteps of his father was pro-labor. His year spent in Washington gave him an insight into “political maneuvering,” but meeting Broun in 1915 made him more familiar with “liberal and socialist positions” (Goldstein, p. 52). The most political, and particularly socialist, Broun was born into the upper classes. His father put in his name in for the Racquet and Tennis Club the day he was born (Richard O’Connor) and in his later union organizing days he “cherished both his chosen roles--as the discoverer of disorder in the Racquet & Tennis and as the blue blooded champion of the masses” (Meade, p. 163).

All 31 of our artists are now together in their groups, in their places, ready to begin socializing. Who were they during this time? What was their environment like? What did they do together?

## C. Roles

Before looking at the four groups as systems or networks, what they did and how they interacted and developed, it is important to look first at the people in the groups as individuals, as each played a unique role in his or her group. One of the clearest similarities that began to surface even in the early stages of gathering data was clear cut “characters” or what Secord and Backman as well as Dorris refer to as “Social Roles.”

Some of the role categories were more dependent on the group than others; some primarily helped to fulfill the socio-emotional needs of the group, others the task needs:

The *Star*, not a leader in the traditional sense, but the definite center of the group (Yeats, Virginia, Stein, and Parker);

The *Host or Hostess*, the “enabler” or “grown up” who took care of the Star and the group by creating a supportive environment conducive to creative thinking (Lady Gregory, Vanessa, Toklas, and Benchley);

The *Irritant*, who causes conflict in the group but all agree he is definitely an included, if exasperating member (Moore, Strachey, Hemingway and Woolcott);

The *Angel*, the flipside of the Irritant, a focal point for good feelings and affirmation (AE, Grant, Fitzgerald, Connelly);

The *Sponsor*, although lacking in social skills, who provides the resources to create outlets for the group members’ work (Martyn, Leonard, McAlmon and Ross);

The *Odd One Out*, definitely in the group, stays just a bit distanced, providing connections other groups (Synge, Clive Bell, Thomson and Kaufman);

The *Link*, provides direct connections for other group members to the establishment as well as the past (Gregory, Fry, Anderson, FPA); and

The *Bridge*, an expert in another field, not primarily known as a writer, but provides two-way communication with other disciplines and points of view (Hyde, Keynes, Ray and Broun).

These roles grew out of the material as it was collected and repeatedly analysed. Although some of them appeared early in the research, data were not initially collected with these in mind.

Ongoing verbal and nonverbal communication among people in these roles serves many different purposes. From the point of view of the Star, some of these friends are very similar to him or her, some are very different. Festinger feels that each person evaluates his own characteristics and compares himself to others. Usually he chooses similar people to compare himself to, because he is attracted to situations with people similar “with respect to abilities and opinions” (in Cartwright, p. 99). He also reports that when people are engaged in an activity that they all enjoy, such as discussing writing and art with other writers and artists, “considerable evidence” exists that they compare their abilities with others who have similar talents, so they are attracted to an opportunity, such as a salon, to do this” (in Secord and Backman, p. 221-2).

In the Analysis section we will look at this attraction and how the group members validated each others values, attitudes, beliefs and particularly self-concepts as artists. First, we need to determine who these individuals were and how they functioned in their Social Roles.

Secord and Backman discuss “role differentiation” or “specialization” either by function or by qualities and point out that these are “most readily observable in groups with a minimum of structure” (p. 346), such as ours. We are interested in the function that each served in developing creativity in other members, particularly the Star. Handy (1981) lists some categories that other researchers have used --the “logical thinker,” “friend and helper,” the “strong fighter”--and those “more whimsical”--“comedian, organizer, commentator, deviant” (p. 82-3). Redl (in Hare, 1965) defines different roles for the central member of a group based on “Ten Types of Group Formation.” Four of these do have some correlation with the eight defined here:

- Type 6, the Organizer (the Host/Hostess);
- Type 8, the Hero (the Star);
- Type 9, the Bad Influence (the Irritant); and
- Type 10, the Good Example (the Angel).

However, rather than try to impose any characters from other researchers on the groups being studied, it is more appropriate to create a new system of categories using the above roles that emerged from the data.

Leavitt points out that “leadership becomes more clear-cut as the differences in peripherality within a pattern becomes greater” (p. 239). None of the four Stars functions as a true “leader” in the traditional sense, but more as the focal point of the group. We will see in the later analysis of group structure that, by any measure, all four groups were very cohesive, and therefore the “differences in peripherality,” or “communication distance” between the Star and the farthest out member is still very close--they communicate regularly.

Thrasher (in Hare, 1965), however, defines three classes of members: “the ‘inner circle’ which includes the leader and his lieutenant, the ‘rank and file,’ who constitute the members of the gang in good standing, and the ‘fringers’ who are more or less ‘hangers on’ and are not considered regular members” (p. 41). Although each group definitely had “fringers”--Maude Gonne, David Garnett, Carl van Vechten, Ring Lardner--these are beyond the scope of this paper. The Star and Host/Hostess are key persons in the leadership positions in the group, and the rest make up the “rank and file.” However, we can consider the first three--the Irritant, the Angel and the Sponsor--an “inner circle,” and the last three--the Odd One Out, the Link and the Bridge--an “outer circle” because of their function of providing information and points of view from outside the groups. Although we will see in the structure analysis that these last three have fewer communication connections to others members, they have more connections to other groups. It will be shown that this is a key factor in the groups’ success.

Now let’s look at each of the roles, and the individuals who play them, in more detail.

### *1. Leadership*

Both the Star and the Host/Hostess play leadership roles in the groups’ development. In most research into groups, members are asked who they speak to, and sociometric maps are drawn to illustrate these patterns. According to Katz, one of the earliest researchers to do this, these maps “consistently show individuals who are the center of attraction for others” (p. 98-9). We will see later that the Star and the Host/Hostess usually, with a few exceptions, have the most communication interactions with other group members, and also have the highest number of interactions with each other compared to any other dyadic pair.

Since neither is an elected leader of the group, with any formal power, both are considered to be leaders by what Handy (1981) refers to as “expert power” which “is vested in someone because of his acknowledged expertise” (p. 119). These leaders also have “magnetism” or “the application of personal power...illogical, often inexplicable, attraction of an individual, the desire to work with or for him” (p. 127), and “personal power” defined by Handy as “charisma...popularity...sociometrical centrality” (p. 119). Leavitt (in Katz) defines centrality as “degree of access a given member has to all others in the group” and refers to it as a “major determinant of leadership” (p. 111-2). Since the groups met at a physical space where either the Star, the Host/Hostess, or both, were living (and socializing in the case of the Algonquin Hotel), these two had the most physical centrality.

### The Star: Yeats, Virginia, Stein, and Parker

Although not a leader in the traditional sense, the Star is the definite focal point and center of the group.

As Cecil Gibb says (in Hare, 1965), “without leadership, there is no focus about which a number of individuals may cluster to form a group” (p. 88). Whether the “Star,” the “center,” the “focal role,” or “linking pin” (Handy), this person does have some of the characteristics usually ascribed to leaders. The groups are made up of all very creative people and their traits tend to be very similar, so we will focus more on what this leader does rather than what traits he or she has. We are more interested in how their differences contribute to the success of the group.

Katz points out that, particularly in informal groups, the leader’s “power may have initially derived from pre-eminence in some particular type of activity or characteristic...but fellow members tend to generalize this pre-eminence to the general range of group activities and situations.” As we have seen, in the case of Virginia and Parker, the Star’s talents were not necessarily recognized when the group began. However, as they socialized more, their superior creative skills became more apparent to the rest of the members. Katz also says that these leaders are often “imitated even when they do not attempt to exert direct influence” on the members (p. 105).

Hare (1962) sees the leader's popularity as "related to the extent to which a person exemplifies the group ideal because the indications of what is 'ideal' and who is 'popular' are derived from the same source" (p. 141-2). In other words, the Stars aren't necessarily central only because of their winning personalities, but also because their creative talents are admired by the rest of the group.

The Stars also share many characteristics of opinion leaders, as defined by Secord and Backman. They "personify certain values," are "competent...have more expert knowledge," have a "strategic social location" in the group and a "wider range of acquaintances." They define these people as "not necessarily active proselytizers, but [they] may be passive sources of information...representing the values and attitudes of their group more closely than anyone else...[The leader] personifies their values and they identify with him and support him" (p. 151-2). They go on to point out that the qualities or talents that set this leader apart must be "rare...Only those characteristics in scarce supply confer status" (p. 276). Since the "process of comparison [is] basic to the phenomenon of status," the Star's superior and rare talents also set a high standard for other members; as Handy says "someone has to set...standards and have them adopted by the group" (p. 170).

Having an exceptionally creative person at the center of the group was one of the magnets or attractions for membership, as we shall discuss in more detail in the section on cohesion. However, the standards that this center set in terms of their work had a strong influence on the development of these same standards in others. An excellent analogy is the study Zuckerman did of current and future Nobel laureates and how the latter were attracted to the former, even before they were conferred official Nobel status. The relevant passages are:

"Even before they found their way to the masters with whom they studied and worked most closely, these young scientists had acquired fairly demanding standards for judging scientific work. Still, with few exceptions, the future laureates report that their standards for assessing performance, their own as well as others', became considerably more exacting in the course of their advanced socialization..."

"The masters generally served as role models, teaching less by precept than by example. By themselves adhering to demanding standards of work, they sustained the moral authority to pass severe judgments on work that failed to meet comparable standards. As one physicist remembered his teacher: 'You tried to live up to him. It was wonderful to watch him at work. Sometimes I eventually did things the way he did.'"

“The authority of masters gained or reinforced through their own exemplary behavior enabled them to serve as ‘evokers of excellence’: bringing out the best in others and, by their own report, eliciting better performance than ordinarily occurs...

“In part, the elite masters evoked superior performance by conveying through their own behavior a sense of how much could be achieved...and what it was like to do scientific work of importance. In part they did so by inducing a feeling of obligation, a sense of reciprocity...The need to reciprocate in this way was reinforced by periodic signals from masters, not least through their comments on other students, they had little interest in continuing to work with apprentices who were satisfied with routine performance...

“To summarize, the elite apprentices of elite scientists internalized exacting standards of work through several related processes. They emulated the masters whose own work exemplified those standards; they were led to see things they did not know they knew and to have ideas of a kind they had not had before through the evocative behavior of the masters and they experienced these elevated standards in practice by having their own work severely evaluated...

“The substantive aspect of the process of socialization, involving a concern with such basic issues and problems, is congruent with the self-images of future laureates as scientists located actually or potentially on the advancing frontiers of their special fields.

“Thus, the elite masters shape their apprentices and prepare them for elite status by inculcating and reinforcing in them not only cognitive substance and skills but the values, norms, self images and expectations that they take to be appropriate for this stratum in science” (p. 247-8; 250).

It is important to remember that this model applies to our groups because in Zuckerman’s study, she included “elite masters” who were not yet recognized in their fields by Nobel Prizes or other accolades, but were known informally in the field as being very talented. Stein is an ideal example of the unknown genius who nevertheless attracts other talents to her circle.

Stars may be admired, but they are not necessarily easy to maintain relationships with. Lederer and Jackson discuss the autonomy required by the creative “genius”:

“Most highly creative individuals must be autonomous while engaged in their work, and exhaust themselves in the creative process.

“People of this sort may be unable or unwilling to change or compromise their behavioral patterns and tastes, with the result that genuine relationships with them are impossible. The most individualistic people in any society are generally those least amenable to personal change or to the compromise of cherished goals or ideals. Such individuals, often called loners, may be highly creative people or leaders, or they may be ‘outsiders,’ destructive rebels or hermits. Unwillingness to compromise does not guarantee creative ability, but it is often characteristic of creative people. Many such people refuse to sacrifice the time, energy, or dilution of their central aims necessary to maintain prolonged personal relationships” (p. 194).

The Stars under scrutiny here set standards as well as having a high degree of personal magnetism which brings other artists into their circle. They also showed creativity

early, and often in many fields, not just writing. Through brief descriptions of each, we will see that, in two cases, mental illness and alcoholism were directly related to their creative powers.

## William Butler Yeats

When his family sent him off to school in London, Yeats' aunt told him, "here you are somebody. There you will be nobody at all" (in Jeffares, p. 7). But he remembers thinking in his schooldays, when he was known as the "mad Irishman" for the many fights he got into, "if when I grow up I am as clever among grown up men as I am among these boys, I shall be a famous man" (in Jeffares, p. 11).

Ellman describes him as "not merely a poet, but the symbol of a poet" (p. 238), someone who "looked the poet; he lived the poet" (p. 295). Horace Plunkett confided in his diary after their first meeting, soon after the group began to form: "W. B. Yeats, a young poet, a rebel, a mystic and an ass, but really a genius in a queer way" (in Kuch, p. 153). Moore based his character "Ulick Dean" on Yeats, in his novel Evelyn Innes, described as, "a remote, mysterious, tall thin young man with eyes giving a somber ecstatic character to his face" (in Jeffares, p. 197).

We have seen that Yeats' creative powers were prolific and apparent early on, but he also had the magnetism of a "Star"; Ellman feels that it was he who "drew into creative activity Synge and Lady Gregory" (p. 1). At Coole, he functioned as a magnet that brought the other creative people there. Coxhead says that

"An extension of the legend insists that Augusta invited Yeats' fellow authors to Coole in order to amuse him, and that they only came because he was the attraction. She invited them for their own sakes--and hers--because each of them had something to give her. And if at first some came because he would be there, it is equally arguable that for the same reason they later stayed away. The superb polemical authority which made Yeats the fighting leader of the movement was also bound, as time went on, to alienate those of his contemporaries who considered themselves his intellectual equal. His following was mainly among women, and the young" (p. 46)

Indeed, Yeats was "one of those rare men who have a gift for intellectual friendship with women, and several of them simultaneously" (Coxhead, p. 48); and these friendships survived his and their marriages. One of them, Lady Glenary, describes his one-sided approach to communication: "With Yeats one had no--at least I had no--point of contact whatever. I couldn't say anything to Yeats, he'd say things to me" (in Rodgers, p. 185).

Hyde's wife Lucy didn't care for him (Daly), but not just women reacted to the negative side of his personality. Synge reportedly did not stay often at Coole; "for Synge, the disadvantage of Coole could probably be summarised as too many trees and too much Yeats" (Coxhead, p. 112). And even his best friend AE was always worried that he would get sucked into Yeats' orbit and lose something of himself (Kuch).

As his personality was most like a lyric monologue (Coxhead), he was an autonomous, solitary worker, and Lady Gregory found it difficult to collaborate with him. Yeats could be intimidating, and Coxhead maintains that he "constantly, whether or not he intended it, frightened" Lady Gregory (p. 107). When he was helping her with her Brian Boru play, Kincora, in 1903, she wrote to a friend, "I can't tell if it is any good till Yeats sees it; he has a terribly clarifying mind" (in Coxhead, p. 83). But O'Casey found his "help" in this case to be negative:

"Give it up! No wonder it wasn't the success it might have been. Why didn't Yeats mind his own business! A pity the woman was so near to Yeats while she was writing the play: he had a bad effect on her confidence in her own creation. She was concerned with him and her play; he concerned only with himself" (in Coxhead, p. 106).

As the Star, Yeats set standards for the rest of the group to follow. Dr. Richard Best says "I never felt quite at my ease with Yeats as I did with...other people, because Yeats was always on a plane...above me; he always lifted the conversation into a higher plane" (in Rodgers, p. 3). His visits to collect stories gave Lady Gregory the encouragement she needed to try translations (Ulick O'Connor), and, sitting up late at night at Coole, "Yeats made them laugh until they cried with stories of his London friends" (Kohfeldt, p. 116). Lennox Robinson was impressed by his "brilliant mind that went like a greyhound...It was a most interesting thing, this tick, tick, tick of Yeats' mind" (in Rodgers, p. 89).

Fred O'Donovan describes the scene in the Green Room of the Abbey, "Yeats standing in the center of the room holding forth very magnificently, surrounded by his worshippers" (in Rodgers, p. 109-10). When AE first resigned from the group in 1904, he wrote to the Theatre's secretary saying, "Mr. Yeats has more power to aid the Theatre Society than I do" (Kuch, p. 222). In his response, Yeats wrote, "I am nothing but an artist and my life is in writing words and they get the most of my loves and hates, and so too I am reckless in mere speech that is not written. You are the other side of the penny" (in Jeffares, p. 141). In the final fights two years later that led to the group's and the original Theatre organization's

break up, Yeats admitted to AE, "Yes, of course, I have no tact, and bully people" (in Jeffares, p. 148). They were attracted to his talent, even if his personality sometimes scared them away.

Whether organizing the Wolfe Tone Centennial (Ellman), calming Martyn's protests about his "heretical" Countess Cathleen (Ulick O'Connor), or serving as president of numerous groups, such as the Irish National Theatre Society (the precursor of the Abbey, Kuch) or later the AE Memorial Committee (Summerfield), Yeats was the attraction that brought others in and the activities of the group members centered around him.

## Virginia Woolf

Virginia's creative powers flourished later than Yeats', and her mental illness, now fairly recognizable as anorexia and depression, was closely related to her talents. With little confidence in her talents when she entered the group, one of Strachey's relatives, Alix, described her as always looking "as though she were surprised to find herself there" (in Rose, p. 251).

Her new sense of freedom in her own home in Fitzroy Square "forced her to stand on her own feet in her own drawing room and to talk a little...[She] found that she was listening to a kind of conversation that had never come her way before" (Bell I, p. 65). She began to develop as a Star as she felt the others recognize her talent.

The conversation in the Gordon and Fitzroy Square drawing rooms was so appealing to her after her Hyde Park Gate years. She loved gossip and all the others in the group knew not tell secrets to her as she was "a bad security risk" (Spater, p. 130). She also loved Ottoline Morrell's parties, although she felt out of place there. Virginia knew the people were pretentious, but she "liked the excitement of meeting handsome people in handsome clothes. Indeed she liked parties of all kinds" (Spater, p. 144).

Just before being courted by Leonard she described herself to Vanessa as "29...unmarried...a failure, childless...insane" (Bell I, p. 176). She was slow to realize why the men in Gordon Square weren't interested in her and Vanessa romantically (Rose). "It never occurred to me that there were buggers even now in the Stephens' sitting room at Gordon Square" (Spater, p. 41) she wrote later. In his letters to Leonard, Strachey warned

him, "How can a virgin be expected to understand? You see she *is* her name" (Spater, p. 55). Rose comments,

"The extraordinary fact is their marriage was a success. What pleasure Leonard got from this sexless union (and he was known in Bloomsbury as a passionate man) we can only imagine: she was charming, constantly interesting, and it is clear that he admired her and considered her a genius. In some way his protective, maternal role must have satisfied him. People described them as a Biblical couple, Joseph and Mary" (p. 86-7)

Virginia supported the painting-Bloomsberries efforts, such as Fry's Post-Impressionist exhibit (Bell I), but early in life she had settled on language as her best means "to express discontent and effect change" (Spalding, 1983, p. 65). "Even her hobby"--Hogarth Press--"was bookish" (Bell II, p. 260).

She wrote her first novel in what she later described as "comparative splendor--a maid, carpet, fires" in Fitzroy Square (Edel, p. 140) and soon after wrote to Grant, "Good God! To have a room of one's own with a real fire and books and tea and company, and no dinner-bells and distractions, and little time for doing something!--it's a wonderful vision, and surely worth some risks!" (Holroyd I, p. 420). In the country--at Asham and later at Monk's House-- "I write all morning, walk all afternoon, and read and write and look out of the window the rest of the time" (Collins, p. 2).

Like many artists, Virginia created and re-created the world around her. Spalding (1983) says that "Like [Stein's] steady transference into the likeness that Picasso had earlier painted, [Vanessa] came more and more to resemble Virginia's invention [of her]" (p. 130). Spater describes her every day fictitious creations:

"New acquaintances...were often dumbfounded when Virginia took some innocent fact concerning them and built it up into a story they could hardly recognize...Virginia's trick of blowing up a few facts into something quite different and then asking a bystander to 'go on with the story' was not uncommon with her, and while most people thought it was amusing, some thought it was cruel...Although Virginia was conscious that she sometimes frightened [and intimidated] people, she did not know why" (p. 150-1)

In and out of nursing homes, the prescribed treatment in those days, Spater calculates that from 1915 to 1939, after the Bloomsbury years, she was sick only 7.5% of the days, mostly with colds and bad teeth. The average for British working women in more modern times is 5%. Therefore, despite her pattern of bouts of mental illness, she can hardly be described as E. M. Forster called her, "the invalid woman of Bloomsbury" (Rose, p. xv).

Leonard "along with many others, saw that there was a close connection between her madness and the sources of her creativity, but it is equally true that her creativity was her principle stay against madness" (Rose, p. 258). She wrote with a "tortured intensity" according to him (in Bell II, p. 143). Their Hogarth Press allowed her to combine these two parts of her personality, "to keep her mind off her mind" by setting type, etc. (Rose, p. 260).

Virginia also subtly set standards for the group; people "admired" her (Rose, p. 164). Skidelsky (Vol. I) describes Bloomsbury as containing both creators and publicists, but "in literature only [Virginia] Woolf is indisputably in the highest class" (p. 248).

"Not a leader of the society in which she moved," according to Bell (Vol. I), Virginia "often silent, respectfully--or sometimes abstractedly --silent" (p. 121). However, as the group progressed, she and Vanessa emerged (Spalding, 1983) at the center of Bloomsbury. Clive commented later, "these sisters with their houses in Gordon and Fitzroy Square were the heart of it" (in Holroyd I, p. 397). Her brother Adrian's description of a typical evening in July focuses on Virginia's embarrassment of Miss Cole, who:

"went and sat in the long wicker chair with Virginia and Clive on the floor beside her. Virginia began in her usual tone of frank admiration to compliment her on her appearance. 'Of course, you Miss Cole are always dressed so exquisitely. You look so original, so like a sea shell. There is something so refined about you coming in among our muddy boots and pipe smoke, dressed in your exquisite creations.' Clive chimed in with more heavy compliments and then began asking her why she disliked him so much, saying how any other young lady would have been much pleased with all the nice things he had been saying but that she treated him so sharply. At this Virginia interrupted with 'I think Miss Cole has a very strong character' and so on and so on. Altogether Miss Cole was as unhappy and uncomfortable as she could be; it was impossible not to help laughing at the extravagance of Virginia and Clive and all conversation was stopped by their noisy choruses, so the poor woman was the centre of all our gaze, and did not know what to do with herself. At last, a merciful diversion was made and Virginia took my seat and I hers...Very soon Virginia with exquisite art made herself the centre of the argument making the vaguest statements with the intensest feeling and ready to snap up anybody who laughed. Her method is ingenious and at first is rather disconcerting for when someone has carefully examined her argument and certainly refuted it she at once agrees with him enthusiastically saying that he has put her point exactly (Bell I, p. 146-7).

## Gertrude Stein

There is little doubt that Stein would be described as the “Star” in any group, and during the years of the group she was always the center in any social gathering.

She managed to design her life so she only had to spend time with people who shared her opinion of herself, such as Carl van Vechten. They “shared a love of gossip, an easy sense of humor and the strong conviction that Gertrude was a genius” (Simon, p. 90).

“There is something Biblical about you,” he wrote to her (Souhami).

Her Star presence in Paris was already well-known and strongly felt. Her image is best described by another member of the group, McAlmon:

“Miss Stein constantly appeared on the street in her ‘uniform,’ wearing sandals with toes like the prow of a gondola, and she could be seen driving around Paris on the high seat of her antiquated Ford. There could be no doubt that she knew how to stage-set herself as an eccentric, and thus to become, aside from her writing, an exotic character and celebrity...Many people who later became famous attended her gatherings. Some went ...as people do in the bohemian world both then and now, in order to regard the menagerie. Gertrude, with a child’s vanity and love of praise, believed all of the soft-soaping and flatteries, and, one gathers, still believes them” (in Boyle, p. 4).

Thomson said “the lines, ‘Will you come into my parlour, said the spider to the fly’ came into his mind” (Souhami, p. 147). Those outside the group saw her in a similar way:

“If Gertrude’s literary success was still but thinly substantiated by published works, and if dissidents like McAlmon considered her ‘a stammering, repetitive and somehow inarticulate person,’ her social success as a leading figure in the expatriate world was radiant beyond question....’On sunny mornings, when the street of the Right Bank were full of people, a hallucination would sometimes overtake you. From around a corner there appeared the vision of a great Buddha on wheels, erratically charging down the thoroughfare, divinely indifferent to the fate of mortal traffic, heedless of laughter or imprecations. The sudden vision was all too real; it was merely Miss Gertrude Stein single-mindedly bound upon some practical errand in her model-T Ford...Miss Stein was massive, monumental, majestic; she had the grandeur of a major scenic phenomenon...A summons to her home was invitation to present oneself to Mont Blanc” (social historian Lloyd Morris in Brinnin, p. 269-70).

As Brinnin says, “before the war Gertrude had been a young pioneer, associated with other vital young artists. After...she found herself a middle-aged minor deity, visited by ambitious young men eager to use her influence” (p. 231). The writers came because her “prestige was enormous. She had been the person to have faith in Picasso and cubism. High respect developed for her opinion, though few people claimed to read her writing” (Souhami, p. 146-7).

The confused reception that most of her work received is one reason why she was so thrilled when Anderson appeared on her doorstep in 1921. Most came--like Anderson who sent Hemingway who brought Fitzgerald (Brinnin)--with a letter or introduction from Beach and then had to be screened by Toklas. After her 1926 lecture series in England, "a bevy of young men flocked" to Fleurus (Sprigge, p. 147).

During the early years of the group when she was one of the world's most influential yet least published and least read authors, Stein was literally setting standards for all who came after her, and expounding on them at length. Most of her explaining was done "in the informality of her salon" (Hoffman). Brinnin (quoted in Hoffman), point out the alignment of factors that occurred at this time, says that "if Gertrude had never lived, sooner or later works very much like those she produced would have been written by someone else. Once a particular set of conditions was present, her arrival was inevitable--like an event in chemistry" (p. 9). In her Prologue to Making she quoted Aristotle: "Once an angry man dragged his father along the ground through his own orchard. 'Stop!' cried the groaning old man at last, 'Stop! I did not drag my father beyond this tree'" (Bridgman, p. 66).

Anderson said she was "'an artist in phrase making, word combination, something like that" (Townsend, p. 100), but not all critics felt that her Star influence on other writers was always positive. Even her friend Bernard Fay, conceding that the authors around her "often do original work," blamed them "for most of the unpleasant atmosphere and bad reputation that surrounds contemporary literature" (Brinnin, p. 277).

Attraction to her Star was the magnet which drew the writers--and Toklas--to the circle around her. As she described later in Autobiography,

"Everybody brought somebody...Gertrude Stein sat peacefully in a chair and those who could did the same, and the rest stood. There were the friends who sat around the stove and talked and there were the endless strangers who came and went. My memory of it is very vivid...As I say, everybody brought people" (p. 135).

Like Virginia, Stein often sat quietly, "being that hostess of whom Bernard Fay said, 'the greatest and most beautiful of her gifts is her presence'" (Brinnin, p. 189).

Throughout the twenties she maintained her reputation as the center of literary life in Paris. Joyce was there as well, but he wouldn't meet with the young in awe of him (Brinnin; as Parker said later, "I guess he's afraid he might drop a pearl" [Meade, p. 171]).

## Dorothy Parker

Like the other Stars, Parker's could both attract and intimidate her friends who were "afraid of her. At the same time, they wished to protect her" (Keats, p. 11). Sara Murphy, who socialized on the Riviera with the American expatriates as well Algonquin-ites, said of her, "She was fun, like falling through a window and finding yourself alive is fun" (Frewin, p. 322).

One of her qualities, similar to both the early Virginia and Stein, was to speak "infrequently...to make a perfect comeback or say nothing" (Meade, p. 85). The Algonquin owner Frank Case described her as "a young girl, [who would] simply sit, now and then saying something at which the others would laugh and that was the end of it" (Meade, p. 74).

After her first bad marriage, to Eddie Parker, she fell in to a series of bad affairs with Eddie-clones. "Her basic taste ran to men who were exceptionally good-looking but who were, if not exactly dumbbells, at least her intellectual inferiors, the male equivalent of the beautiful showgirl" (Meade, p. 38). An abortion of her pregnancy by Charles MacArthur, physical abuse at the hands of the married Howard Dietz, public fights with Bookman owner Seward Collins in Paris and on the Riviera, a fling with Fitzgerald, being abandoned by Ross Evans while on vacation in Mexico--all her affairs "took on a pattern":

The man would pursue her, and then his interest would flag. She would wait by the phone, eventually falling into despair, which she treated with alcohol. She found that if she took small sips of Scotch all day long the hours passed more easily. At night, she would go out with her Algonquin friends and get thoroughly drunk. She often thought of death, and made this obsession part of her public persona. Those of her poems that are not about lovelessness ('Men seldom make passes at girls who wear glasses') are usually about death ('Razors pain you...'). When she wasn't joking about suicide, she was attempting it" (Acocella, p. 78)

But Parker became the Star of the group partly because she set literary standards for the rest of them, and also set public standards for wit, fashion and cynicism. "A college generation worshipped her, for she mirrored, expressed, and helped to establish a new style in life and art for the nation in the late twenties and early thirties" (Keats, p. 9). By 1923 "her name was becoming a household word." She "was fast becoming the darling of the social-cum-literary set of Manhattan...finding a much wider public now" (Frewin, p. 68-

70). Even one of Benchley's mistresses tried unsuccessfully to mimic her in speech (Rosmond).

"At the center of a literary scene in America" Parker could Star in the male-dominated Algonquin group. Connelly described her as "the most riveting presence at the table" (Frewin, p. 42), "playing the dual role of the rose and thorn" (Frewin, p. 55). Writer Donald Ogden Stewart described her magnetism as the quality of being

"attractive to everybody--those eyes were so wonderful, and the smile! It wasn't difficult to fall in love with her. She was always ready to do anything, to take part in any party; she was ready for fun at any time when it came up, and it came up an awful lot in those days. She was fun to dance with, and she danced very well and I just felt good when I was with her. She was both wide-open and the goddamndest fortress at the same time" (Frewin, p. 66).

As Allen said, however, the fun "was her emotion--she was not worrying about your emotion" (p. 66).

Part of the reason for her central social location in the group was her own need "to have people around her all the time...Everybody would bring a bottle and put it down some place, to show they had earned their right to be there. She welcomed almost anybody," remembered painter Allen Saalberg (Meade, p. 146).

By some reports the others around the table "considered Dottie faintly hysterical" (Gaines, p. 115). Parker's demure look and fun-loving persona masked an anxiety--she was "edgy, unsettled" (Frewin, p. 93)--that only Robert Benchley understood. Meade reports that "sometimes she awoke suffering from what she termed the 'rains' and felt scared to turn round abruptly for fear of seeing 'a Little Mean Man about 18 inches tall, wearing a yellow slicker and roller skates'" (p. xviii).

Indeed as Virginia's mental illness fed her creative impulses, Parker used alcohol to stimulate hers. Early biographies brush off the Round Table's drinking by such descriptions as "one or two drinks would normally see Mrs. Parker through an evening" (Frewin). However, with hindsight and better research by later biographers such as Meade, it is clear that Parker and a few of the others were clearly alcoholics. She could "never quite remember the day when she discovered that a drink could make her feel better" (Meade, p. 93). Parker had her locals, including the Savoy Ballroom in Harlem (Acocella), drank Haig & Haig, but would take any rotgut Scotch, which she always referred to "White Hearse"; she avoided gin because she thought it made her sick (Meade).

By 1926, she started to see Broun's psychiatrist who diagnosed her drinking as "the problem in need of most urgent attention" (Meade, p. 159). Her suicide attempt that year lead her to write "Resume" for FPA's "Conning Tower" column:

Razors pain you; Rivers are damp;  
Acids stain you; And drugs cause cramp.  
Guns aren't lawful, Nooses give;  
Gas smells awful;  
You might as well live" (Parker, p. 99)

By any standards,

"She was at the very center of New York's intellectual life in the twenties and early thirties, which is to say that she was at the center of what in retrospect seems to have been America's intellectual adolescence. She seemed to know personally everyone who mattered, and certainly everyone who mattered wanted to meet her. Her tart reviews of plays and books were more than merely funny; they helped to create a national taste. They also helped to create a national attitude or style" (Keats, p. 10).

### Host/Hostess: Lady Gregory, Vanessa, Toklas, and Benchley

The Hostess or, in the case of Benchley, Host, is the "enabler" or "grown up" who took care of the Star, the group and their relationships, and created a supportive environment conducive to creative thinking.

The relationship between the Star and the Host/Hostess will be explored in more detail later. However, both worked together to either achieve goals or maintain and strengthen the group, two areas that Secord and Backman see as key acts of leadership. The Host/Hostess spends more time "meeting the social-emotional needs of the group members, including encouraging other members, releasing the tension that builds up and giving everyone a chance to express himself" (Secord and Backman, p. 345). The ideal Host/Hostess, like the ideal manager of creative people, is not someone like Woolcott, who ruled Neshobe like his own "fiefdom" (Frewin, p. 71), but like Lady Gregory, whose talent included not getting "involved with people personally" (Kohfeldt, p. 127), and Vanessa, who knew to leave her guests "entirely to themselves" (Spalding, 1983, p. 111).

Distinguishing between the two, the authors point out, "there is a subtle but very real distinction between affection and admiration" (Secord and Backman, p. 284) that people feel for the Host/Hostess and the Star, respectively. The Host/Hostess is often the "preferred

member,” in Secord’s terms, who “facilitates rewarding interactions.” His or her ability to “handle his own emotional problems minimizes the cost to others of interaction with him...lightens the ‘burden’ of other members” (Helen Jennings, in Secord and Backman, p. 237-8). Most of the Host/Hostesses show a lack of self-confidence or low self-image, at least initially, but find ways of coping with this by taking care of the Star and the group. Each of these four had taken care of other family members at an early age--Lady Gregory, her sick brother; Vanessa and Toklas, their widowed fathers, and Benchley, his distraught mother. They share this similarity with “Alice,” one of the college student spouses in Winch’s four marriage types, who filled the role of the “Mother” in his archetypal “Mothers and Sons” marriage, an in her early years “nurtured her father--an activity which she enjoyed” (in Swensen, p. 300-1).

Alternatively, they can function as “filters” (Handy)) to the central person in the group, by screening those who come in contact with him or her. “Filters have a lot of [latent] negative power: They can cease to filter, or filter arbitrarily” (p. 121).

Besides creating an atmosphere the Host/Hostess also organizes and takes charge. Functioning as surrogate spouses and parents, these people are also talented in their own way.

## Lady Augusta Gregory

Chroniclers of the Renaissance alternately describe her as “a widow in her late forties who had previously written nothing of special value, [but] revealed a considerable talent for comedy” (Ellman, p. 127) or, in Sean O’Casey’s words, acting “the part of a charwoman, but one with a star on her breast” (in Kohfeldt, p. 282).

The future Lady Gregory began her life at Roxboro, only seven miles from Coole, where she was ignored at birth and left to die (Hazard Adams).

We have seen that as the young wife of the much older Sir William Gregory, she operated a salon in London. Her marriage to William exposed her to wider circles and from one of the actresses she met there she learned her “way of drawing people out.” She “is so splendid at entertaining bores” her husband commented (Kohfeldt).

Widowed at forty, from then on Lady Gregory wore black and “the pace of the creative changes [in her life] accelerated” (Kohfeldt, p. 152). She rented another London flat, which she kept until 1900, and it became a meeting place for her late husband’s friends. Moore, who knew her then, described the group there: “in her drawing room were to be met men of assured reputation in literature and politics, and there was always the best reading of the times upon her tables” (in Coxhead, p. 31).

When she got to know Yeats, though she had published some small works, Lady Gregory had little confidence in her writing (Ulick O’Connor). But she felt that her talents in the theatre came directly out of her previous roles:

“If I had not married I should not have learned the quick enrichment of sentences that one gets in conversation; had I not been widowed I should not have found the detachment of mind, the leisure for observation, necessary to give insight into character, to express and interpret it. Loneliness made me rich-  
-’full,’ as Bacon says. Company gave me swiftness in putting thought into a novel, a sentence” (in Coxhead, p. 34).

Coxhead describes her part in the Irish Literary Theatre’s early years as “organizer and hostess” (p. 45). From the first day, back at Coole after the group’s initial meeting at Tullira, she sat at her typewriter in the drawing room window, typing up the prospectus for their theatre as Yeats walked up and down composing the words (Ulick O’Connor).

Lady Gregory began “hosting” Yeats at Coole that very summer, but he also invited AE and Synge to join them. She brought others on their own merit (Coxhead), and not all were welcome. Yeats’ father, for example, was too sloppy and she couldn’t control him (Ulick O’Connor). Hyde came there in the winters to hunt, collect folklore, and work on plays. She even brought her nemesis in the Abbey, and a rival for Yeats’ attentions, Miss Horniman to Coole to soothe her after she read Moore’s insulting article about her. “A rather trying guest,” she commented to Quinn (Kohfeldt). She invited local poor children to parties (Hazard Adams), and took care of her own grandchildren there, when their parents “chose to live largely in London and France.” As Jeffares says, “All was sacrificed to give Robert financial freedom. All her efforts were designed to keep house and estate viable for him” (p. 238).

Lady Gregory’s ability to make others feel extraordinary (Kohfeldt) combined with the serenity of Coole to create an atmosphere that gave birth to creativity. She

“was finding she did have a genius for inspiration and it was not only that she had a beautiful estate to which to invite people or that the foremost writer in Ireland was there to stir them up. She inspired people not only because of her ‘powerful character’...but because she was excited. Because she did not become involved with people personally, her as a generalized vitalization” (Kohfeldt, p. 127).

Frequent visitor John Quinn describes what she was like there: “Lady Gregory’s interest in the people about her was untiring...She had the faculty of laying aside her work and making all her guests enjoy to the full the pleasant side of life” (in Kohfeldt, p. 156-7).

Directly involved in the rehearsals, she left little to individual interpretation (Coxhead). Lady Gregory handled all the everyday crises at the Abbey, leading Yeats’ father to comment, “Is she not a born leader? I am certain that she must love these people that gather on the benches of the Abbey Theatre” (Kohfeldt, p. 184). She watched their actors school, often saying to a burgeoning talent, “I think I have a little part for you” (Coxhead, p. 164).

One witness describes her, standing “at the door of the Green Room as calm and collected as Queen Victoria about to open a charity bazaar...She beckoned us over and handed each of us a piece of the huge barmbrack which she had baked at Coole and brought up to Dublin for the Abbey cast” (Kohfeldt, p. 194). She hosted receptions for the actors in her Dublin hotel rooms after performances (Coxhead) and even held one on stage after her Kincora premiered. If the audience was small, she would go out the back and come in again to make it look as though there were more people. Like Toklas, she was an excellent publicist, going to the newspaper offices after a performance to ask for notices (Kohfeldt).

Lady Gregory showed her support of the group members’ work in many ways, because “what she loved best was talent; and what exasperated her was the burying of talent by those who ‘let their lives run to waste’” (Coxhead, p. 73). She gave Synge suggestions on his Aran Islands manuscript, and harsh criticism of his first attempt at playwriting. It is “probable” that she then “added the rider that he might consider writing peasant drama” (Skelton, p. 70).

When Yeats alerted Lady Gregory that AE was depressed in his new job, she promptly contacted her friend and his boss, Plunkett, who then brought him to Coole (Kuch). AE later sent James Joyce to her for help (Kohfeldt) and she paid his fare to Switzerland (Ulick O’Connor). To keep Martyn from becoming upset while Yeats and

Moore rewrote his play, Tale of a Town, she lured them away from Tullira to Coole (Kohfeldt). She helped Hyde organize his US lecture tour (Daly) and gave Gonne advice on divorcing her alcoholic husband (Kohfeldt).

Coxhead points out,

“The legend...has built her into a smothering literary hostess, holding the highly strung poetic group together by miracles of tact and sympathy. It is nonsense, of course. She was a woman primarily concerned, as all talented people must be, with the expression of her own talent. She was a woman with a strong maternal urge, which led her to adopt those she loved as members of her family, so that her house became their home” (p. 32).

## Vanessa Bell

As Rose says, “People admired Virginia; they adored Vanessa” (p. 164), echoing Secord and Backman’s “subtle but very real distinction between affection and admiration” (p. 284). Where Virginia was “the Goat,” in the family, Vanessa’s nickname was “the Saint.” Studying art early (Spalding, 1983), she orchestrated the family’s move to Gordon Square after their father’s death (Spater), and the division into two households after their brother Thoby’s death and her own marriage to Clive. From the beginning, Vanessa held her own among the Cambridge men, using words “her mother would have pretended not to understand...[She had] entered the smoking room and joined in the all-male chat” (Spalding, 1983, p. 64). She had an ability to state “unpleasant truths in a matter-of-fact voice, for Vanessa’s honesty could make her ruthless” (Spalding, 1983, p. 56)

In most of her relationships with group members, Vanessa was the organizer and supporter. She learned her role early after her stepsister Stella died and she took over her place as Dad’s Hostess. In addition to taking care of Virginia, she had to “administer to the blackmailing moods and demands of her shattered father, and attend to the daily running of the household and such domestic trivia as the entertaining of old friends and relations, the tea table duties of a young Victorian woman” (Shone, 1976, p. 20).

Vanessa became a power at their Hyde Park Gate family home: “She ruled behind the scenes as she would rule later in Gordon Square or at Charleston, simply by her ‘monolithic’ presence. The word had originally been used to describe her brother Thoby. It came to be applied to her. It was a much-used word in Bloomsbury” (Edel, p. 77). In moving to their new life,

“No one...was as ruthless as [she] in overturning the tables, breaking with the past and freeing herself from what she regarded as ‘moribund relationships based on social habit rather than common interests and human affections.’ Gone were the relics of South Kensington and the dodos of Belgravia. Even [Clive] was mildly surprised at the thoroughness of her spring-cleaning. He reports in one letter of her making mincemeat of a genteel female acquaintance met in the streets of Ravenna” (Shone, in Crabtree, p. 33).

Later in the Friday Club she created “a cultural milieu not unlike that she had observed in certain Parisian cafes...a testimony to Vanessa's organizational prowess...through the exercise of diplomacy, [she] united disparate artists, arranged for talks to be given and kept a healthy argumentative society under control” (Spalding, 1983, p. 56).

Although Virginia (and others) held her up as an ideal, her self-confidence as a painter often waned. When first seated next to Fry at a dinner, she was surprised that he listened to her views on art: “It was and seemed for long almost unbelievable that one could really talk, chatter, express oneself to one of these dreaded members of the upper world, one who already had grey hair, but such kind, brilliant interesting dark eyes and coal black eyebrows” (in Spalding, 1983, p. 84). Malcolm (1995) points out that “extreme modesty” was “one of her outstanding traits--and perhaps only added to her insufferable superiority in the eyes of her sister” (p. 66).

Once she had her own home, she invited selected relatives to dine, but not to the Thursday evening at-homes (Bell I). During her “confinement” after giving birth, she continued to receive guests upstairs, and there is even a report that she and Clive received Strachey one time while they were still in bed (Spalding, 1983). Enjoying motherhood, her new found sexual freedom lead her away from her marriage and into an affair, first with Fry (Bell I) and then, as the group was breaking up, to her long life partner Grant. Although a homosexual, he fathered her youngest child, Angelica. Perhaps her greatest personal achievement was organizing her many romantic relationships, “keeping husband [Clive], ex-lover [Fry] and lover [Grant and his lovers] all within her orbit and all reconciled to each other. Vanessa was also voraciously maternal, unconsciously possessive, in a way that exposed her to suffering” (Spalding, 1983, p. xv).

The affair with Fry helped to build her confidence, but Vanessa’s long time relationship with Grant only served, to her, to point up her failings as an artist. She “was disparaging about her own work in relation to [his] but resigned, working beside him...’as I have come

to the conclusion that I didn't see it like that I no longer try to think I did'" (Spalding, 1983, p. 68).

As a mother, like Gregory, Vanessa had time for devotion to her own three children, as well as her role as "earth mother" to the group. She "had an instinct to preserve things, people, relationships" (Spalding, 1983, p. 73). Moving the households when necessary, placing Virginia at other homes or nursing homes for the duration, painting portraits of children and in settings such as nurseries, constructing a prototype nursery for Omega (Spalding, 1983)--in Edel's words, Vanessa "did not need mothering. She was capable of being mother to all Bloomsbury" (p. 169).

Virginia's Play-Reading Society met on Friday nights in the Bells' Gordon Square home (Bell I), and various Bloomsberries would come and stay for a week or so (Holroyd I). When Fry opened his Omega workshops, she hosted the kickoff party (Shone, 1976), and managed them when he was out of town (Spalding, 1983). In the country, first at Asham and later at Charleston, the painters came to paint and the writers to write.

In Gordon Square, the atmosphere was equally conducive to creativity:

"Walking into Vanessa's room in Gordon Square, [Virginia] found 'that astonishing brightness in the heart of darkness. Julian coming in with his French lesson; Angelica hung with beads, riding on Roger's foot; Clive claret colored and yellow like a canary; Duncan vague in the background, sitting astride a chair...I suppose you are, as Lytton once said, the most complete human being of us all'" (Tickner, p. 81)

Her powers in moving groups of people physically or philosophically is illustrated by this later scene, describing the trip from her house in Cassis:

"Duncan and Vanessa decided to travel home by car with Angus Davidson [Grant's lover at the time] who was staying near by. To make this possible Vanessa sent Angelica and Grace [the nanny] home by train, arranging for [Fry's] friend Angela Lavelli to help them across Paris. On the day Vanessa and Duncan finally left, they at first drove off without realizing that Angus was not in the car, Duncan having also left behind his money and passport. Once these omissions had been rectified, the journey proceeded smoothly enough. They stopped at the small town of Brantome (which Vanessa saw was paintable and afterwards recommended to Roger) and at Amboise before arriving in Paris in a shocking state--Duncan without a tie, buttons or socks; Vanessa equally informal in red espadrilles and a straw hat, but hoping to reclothe herself while there. On 16 June this daughter of Sir Leslie Stephen, so disreputably attired and obliged to co-habit with an unreformed homosexual while her husband gallivanted elsewhere, this shabby middle-aged female whose life, by normal standards, lacked glamour, respectability, security or appeal returned to England" (Spalding, 1983, p. 225).

The support she gave to all the group--her "unbounded admiration" for Grant's painting (Shone, 1976, p. 16); making peace between fighting Virginia, Strachey and Clive (Shone, 1976); showing enthusiasm for Fry's Post-Impressionist Exhibits (Bell I); even to leaving behind at Charleston "one or more young men" for Keynes to "bugger" (Malcolm, 1995, p. 62)--contributed to the atmosphere in Gordon Square and Sussex. "'You give one a sense of security of something solid and real in a shifting world,' wrote Roger to her. To keep and tend this security and maintain her confidence.., she would go to great lengths in establishing a familiar and protected territory around her, staking out the ground with determination" (Shone, 1976, p. 16).

In the country, it was the same; "most visitors seemed unable to leave":

"Bell left her guests entirely to themselves...Her ability to put others at their ease reflects her own inner contentment. At Asham she appears to have rid life entirely of all those remaining impediments that prevented complete freedom of existence...a gloriously casual existence, made possible by the accord with which all her faculties--maternal, mental, sexual and artistic--flowed together. She was at the height of her beauty; moreover the sensuality that she radiated was combined with an unusual strength of character" (Spalding, 1983, p. 111)

### Alice B. Toklas

The similarities between Stein and Toklas are almost more striking than their differences, and it is incredibly difficult to describe Toklas without describing her relationship to Stein, which will be dealt with in more detail in a later section.

Toklas grew up "devouring" Henry James novels, where she read of "a Europe of dreams, a Paris more a state of mind than a city, a London veiled by a benign but alluring mystery. His women, though sometimes undone by circumstances, were nevertheless mistresses of their fate" (Simon, p. 20). Upon her mother's death when she was 19, she moved in to keep house for her grandfather. When he died five years later, like Vanessa, she performed the same services for her father and brother. "Raised by mom and influenced by women," as Toklas described herself in an interview, she became "provider of food and comfort" (in Souhami, p. 40-2) for the men in her family after her mother's death. She heard tales of Paris from her friend Harriet Levy and determined to go there (Souhami).

In her pre-Stein life Toklas, like Lady Gregory and Vanessa, definitely suffered from a lack of self-confidence. Growing up as the little lady in a house full of men, she and her

friend Annette Rosenshine would hide in her room and smoke, as Rosenshine said, "to re-establish our lost identities" (in Souhami).

All physical descriptions of Toklas after her new life began stress her exotic qualities.

Dodge described her as

"a silent picturesque object in the background...slight and dark, with beautiful gray eyes hung with black lashes, a drooping Jewish nose, and her eyelids drooped...The corners of her red mouth and the lobes of her ears drooped under the black, folded Hebraic hair, weighted down, as they were, with long heavy Oriental earrings'" (Souhami, p. 108).

Katherine Anne Porter likened her to "a handsome old Jewish patriarch who had backslid and shaved off his beard" (Brinnin, p. 277). She had a hair cut like Joan of Arc and a hooked nose, and chain-smoked Pall Malls until she was 86 (Souhami).

None of the biographers or chroniclers of the time would deny that Toklas was the Hostess, the organizer, the wife, and definitely the filter at 27 rue de Fleurus. However, they would be hard-pressed to think of her as a mother, nurturing and supporting the group, except in her role as excellent cook.

Toklas took on the role as Hostess very shortly after she and Stein met, even before she moved in. Frequent visitor and writer Bravig Imbs referred to her both as a "sieve and buckler," defending Stein "from the bores and most of the new people were strained through her before Gertrude had any prolonged conversation with them" (in Souhami, p. 144). Brinnin refers to her techniques as "unobtrusive," "by serving as a screening agent; the bores, the incompetents, the overly talkative, the untalented nobodies and the opportunists seldom eluded her subtle delaying tactics. When one of the untouchables did manage to get through to Gertrude, likely as not he would find himself shunted away in the middle of a sentence without knowing quite what had happened" (p. 275).

Back in the salon, her daily routine was to get up at 6 am to clean because she didn't trust the maid:

"Alice was always fiercely busy. She could knit and read at the same time. She typed Gertrude's manuscripts, dealt with household affairs, embroidered chair covers and handkerchiefs, dusted the pictures and ornaments, planned menus, instructed the cook and the maid, washed the paintwork, arranged the flowers. In the country, she did the digging, planting and sowing...Above everything, she ensured that the quality of their daily life was orderly and agreeable" (Souhami, p. 14-5).

Despite this business-like demeanor, Toklas also served as the official wife in the group. At Fleurus, wives were always steered away from the conversation; “no wives were admitted” says Mellow (p. 310). Beach, owner of Shakespeare & Co., found this “cruelty” to wives unnecessary: “This was not the way Adrienne [Monnier, her partner] and I treated wives. Not only did we always make a point of inviting Mrs. Writer with her husband, but we found them quite interesting. Many a time a wife will be more enlightening on the subject of writing than all the professors in the classrooms” (in Souhami, p. 150).

Nevertheless, Toklas made a point of sitting with the other wives from her early days at Fleurus. On her second visit, after dinner, Stein told her to sit with Fernande, Picasso’s wife:

“I sat , and it was my first sitting with a wife of a genius... I had often said that I would write, The wives of geniuses I have sat with. I have sat with so many. I have sat with wives who were not wives, of geniuses who were real geniuses. I have sat with real wives of geniuses who were not real geniuses. I have sat with wives of geniuses, of near geniuses, of would be geniuses, in short I have sat very often and very long with many wives and wives of many geniuses” (Autobiography, p. 17-8)

## Robert Benchley

When Parker first met Benchley they shared an office at Vanity Fair in 1919. He

“looked like a prudish, domesticated, 29-year-old Boy Scout who played mandolin duets with his wife, went to bed at 10, and spent Sunday clipping his hedges. Such was the case...He neither smoked, drank, nor swore, and never had he been unfaithful to his wife...He was 5’ 10-1/2 inches tall, slender with thinning sandy hair, blue eyes, and a pale face. His serviceable suits came off the racks at Rogers Peet. Since he believed strongly in taking care of health, he wore long woolen underwear and galoshes. He suffered from hay fever in season and had a nervous habit of biting his fingernails all year round” (Meade, p. 53).

He has also been described as “a sly wag with an inexact mustache, a burbling laugh and one of the world’s warmest wits.” All commentators agree on the latter quality. His humor was “sophisticated and literate” (Drennan, p. 41), even though most of his lines were not of themselves funny, like the other Algonquin quips. His comments “depended on the atmosphere of the moment, they were not said with conscious comic art, and they were only funny if the mood in which they were said can be recaptured” (Benchley, p. vii). His appearance at the lunch table “usually meant gentle humor and a comic description of his daily vicissitudes” (Meade, p. 85).

We have seen that, like the Hostesses, Benchley's knack for providing support extended beyond the Star he served, first with his jobs with the underprivileged in New York. But as the only male Host of the four, he entertained his guests away from his official Scarsdale home, and never typed for other group members.

Although Benchley was too low key to be a true organizer, he certainly served as husband and father for Parker, and from time to time others in the group. Like Gregory and Vanessa, he was a spouse and a parent when he and Parker first met, although his marriage was "a dreadful mess" (Meade, p. 91).

Like the Hostesses, he also had a low self image. His self-deprecating humor (Frewin, p. 46), described by Edmund Wilson, was usually shown by "his usual characterization for himself was that of an unsure sub-duffer who was always being frightened and defeated, and this, even in his Hollywood shorts, seemed to be the only role in which he was able to appear" (in Gaines, p. 118). Later he was to say: "It took me fifteen years to discover that I had no talent for writing, but I couldn't give it up because by that time I was famous" (Frewin, p. 46).

This constant self-put down may have stemmed from conflict in the knowledge of the two-faced life he was living. Despite his image as the ideal family man, he seldom went home to Gertrude and the boys in Scarsdale, and had a charge account and black kimono at the Algonquin's official brothel, Polly Adler's. Adler was devoted to him, saying that he "lighted up my life like the sun" (in Meade, p. 135).

He also developed a serious drinking problem, which in retrospect appears to stem from an alcoholism inherited from his father. His mother would take his father's paycheck and give him car fare so he would come home without stopping off for a drink and would search for his hidden booze in the house (Benchley). Originally a strong supporter of Prohibition, Benchley himself didn't have his first drink until the night of the Dempsey-Carpentier fight in 1922, at Tony Soma's with Robert Sherwood, Fitzgerald and Zelda. He agreed to take one sip of an orange blossom and immediately declared, "I hope this place is closed by the police" (Meade, p. 93). Soon he realized that rye smelled like his Uncle Albert and figured out what had been going on at family parties all those years (Meade).

On a more emotional level, Benchley gave support to all those in the group. "Not a few of his friends said that his simple presence in a room made everyone feel better" (Keats, p. 40), "so happy was the ambience created" (Keats, p. 43). He made Eddie feel comfortable because he "knew how to make everyone comfortable" (Meade, p. 83). Donald Ogden Stewart said that "it was hard not to love Benchley, because he made people feel warm and clever," (Meade, p. 96),

All who knew him would agree with one friend's comment, "I would be hard-pressed to find malice in Benchley" (Gaines, p. 116).

## *2. The Inner Circle*

The first three roles--the Irritant, the Angel and the Sponsor--can be thought of as being close to the leaders, without as many formal connections with other groups as the other three. Their personal qualities bring certain elements to the group's atmosphere. They provide either conflict or calm, or, in the case of the Sponsor, make up for their lack of social skills by bringing resources to the group which help to establish the outlets for their creative work.

### **The Irritant: Moore, Strachey, Hemingway and Woollcott**

The Irritant causes conflict in the group but all agree he is still definitely an included, if exasperating, member.

Secord and Backman point out that group members who have "shown to display domineering, belligerent, inconsiderate behavior...raise the cost to other persons of interacting with them" (p. 238). Indeed the Irritant sometimes leaves the group early, such as Moore, or causes the group to drift apart, such as Woollcott.

The types of adjectives used to describe the Irritant read like a thesaurus of negative personality traits: controlling, cynical, deceitful, offensive, know-it-all, taker, competitive, pompous, intrusive. They are often cartoonish in appearance and description and have few stable relationships. In fact, usually the group represents the only true friends they have.

However, to stay in the group for any length of time, they must have some value, however limited. Indeed, Janis, in his prescriptions against groupthink, strongly recommends,

*“At every meeting devoted to evaluating policy alternatives, at least one member should be assigned the role of devil’s advocate...The most effective performers in the role are likely to be those who can be truly devilish by raising new issues in a conventional, low-key style, asking questions such as ‘Haven’t we perhaps overlooked...?’ ‘Shouldn’t we give some thought to...?’”* (p. 267-8, emphasis his).

Although our Irritants might not have been so polite, Harold Sigall’s studies

“showed that if people are highly involved with an issue, they prefer a ‘disagreer’ to an ‘agreer’ if they can succeed in converting that person to their way of thinking. In short, Sigall demonstrated that people like converts better than loyal members of the flock. Apparently, the competence people feel when they induce someone to convert overcomes any tendency they might have to actively dislike the other person for being the sort who would hold an ‘awful’ opinion to begin with” (Aronson, p. 377-8).

In addition, all four were talented writers, and for most of their time in the group at least, the others respected them for their creativity, separate from whatever exasperation they might feel in having them around often. They teach a lesson in learning how to admire the creative skills of someone you don’t particularly like.

## George Moore

While admired and respected as a novelist by a generation, Moore was well-known as a strong personality long before Martyn ever brought him into the Irish Literary Renaissance. They needed him, but he “caused an embarrassment” (Gwynn, p. 239). The best description of his relationships was (of course) given by Wilde: “Moore has not an enemy in the world and none of his friends like him” (Ulick O’Connor, p. 148).

His friendship with Martyn, his cousin, starting long before the Renaissance and lasting long after, was “one of the strangest in literary history” (Gwynn, p. 18). Although Moore couldn’t stand living with him at Tullira (Ulick O’Connor), he consistently stayed there rather than his family home, Moore Hall. Yeats referred to them as “bound to each other by mutual contempt”: “When I told Martyn that Moore had good points, he replied: ‘I

know Moore a good deal longer than you do. He has no good points.' And a week or so later Moore said: 'That man Martyn is the most selfish man alive. He thinks that I am damned and he doesn't care!'" (in Jeffares, p. 117).

His cartoonish appearance began when he returned from Paris in 1874 looking "like a caricature of a Frenchman in an English paper" (Hone, p. 86). Moore was known for writing into his memoirs of early Paris days events that happened on later visits, and he often would get others to write descriptive sections in his novels. He "refused no help that would improve his work" (Hone, p. 114).

Moore's early works were considered obscene by some--including Martyn--and humorless by others. He was very anti-Irish (Hone, p. 185) until the Boer war and his involvement with the other group members, when he became virulently anti-English (Hone). As Desmond Shawe-Taylor reports his conversion,

"Everybody talked a great deal and George was delighted: he loved talking, and there seemed to be a new aestheticism in the air; his Irish friends reminded him of what he had almost forgotten--that he was Irish, and they needed him to rehearse their theatre ventures. Why did he not join them and return to Ireland? He hesitated; then England embarked upon the hateful Boer war and he hesitated no longer...He cannot have guessed how much more profound a change was to come about when he moved to Dublin" (Hone, p. 468).

During this period he took his brother's children out of his will because they did not know Irish and gave them one year to learn it to be included again (Hone).

Throughout his work on the theatre, the others were "alternately advised and embarrassed" by him (Kuch, p. 178). He "confessed" to Lady Gregory that "he was part author of [Martyn's The Heather Field] but had kept silent in the general interest. Not a line of the play was actually written by Moore, but he had shown Martyn the way throughout" (Hone, p. 220). Coxhead maintains that he only stayed at Coole once because Lady Gregory "could not endure him" (p. 62), and she never forgave him for referring to her beloved catalpa tree as a "weeping ash" (Kohfeldt).

A friend summed up his attitude as, "absolutely none of my living contemporaries are worth talking about" (in Rodgers, p. 91). Moore seemed to enjoy publicly making his friends uncomfortable, as exemplified by his rationale for why he wanted to publish a nasty article about his best friend, Martyn: "It was the best opportunity I ever had. What a

sensation it would have made. Nobody has ever written in that way about his most intimate friend. What a chance. It would have been heard of everywhere” (in Hone, p. 217).

He disliked Hyde instantly (Gwynn), and although the Bridge accepted his advice on plays, he definitely lost his patience with him (Daly). Moore decided he didn't like AE even before they met, but after they both left the group, the Angel became one of his good friends, and they visited each other often in Dublin (Kuch). Moore even changed his Yeats character in Evelyn Innes to be more like AE (Jeffares). Ulick O'Connor characterized his creativity as, “from his rows he got his art” (p. 312).

During his collaboration with Yeats on plays, nasty letters flew back and forth (Jeffares). When they worked on Shadowy Waters, AE was particularly hurt by the changes they were making because he and Yeats had worked on the same story back in the eighties; it had “sentimental value” for him (Kuch, p. 180). The usually “Angelic” AE wrote to Yeats, “I swore at Moore when I heard it. I suppose he is the fiend who suggested alterations I would like to strangle him...Tell Moore...his time would be better spent in putting some art into his own stories” (in Kuch, p. 182).

As we may well ask with all the Irritants, why did they keep him? When Yeats collaborated with him, Ellman said he learned to respect “his skill in construction” (p. 148). Creative artists learn to respect the work of others, separate from their personal qualities, a phenomenon we will look into more in the “The Effects on the Group” section.

At times Moore would show great support of the group's efforts. He gave speeches in support of the theatre, and even after he left, he defended Synge's Well of the Saints in letters to the Times, although he hated it in rehearsal. While in the group he kibitzed on many of the productions, but after he left he dismissed many of them with sneer (Ulick O'Connor).

What ultimately led to his withdrawal from the group was his fight with Yeats over a play they had discussed based on one of AE's Dublin friends. Moore claimed he had the rights to the story because “I have written a novel on that scenario we composed together. Will get an injunction if you use it” (Kuch, p. 206). Yeats and Lady Gregory quickly wrote the story as a play, Where There Is Nothing to protect the plot and had it published in two weeks (Jeffares). The fight ended with Moore leaving the group and Yeats cabling to

AE, the go-between, “tell Moore to write his story and be hanged” (in Kuch, p. 208). Quinn got the two to make up temporarily, but his rift with the group was permanent (Hone). Even so, Yeats said later that if he had let Moore write the novel it might have been a masterpiece (Kuch).

Moore’s tenure in the group only lasted three years, but he said himself that love (he was also known as quite a womanizer) only lasted two months for him (Hone, p. 153). His lack of insight into friendships is perhaps best illustrated by his astonishment when, upon publication of his three-volume memoir Hail, in which he trashed everyone he ever met, he was surprised that many of them--including Lady Gregory and AE--threatened to sue him (Kohfeldt).

### Lytton Strachey

Strachey certainly ranks as one of literature’s more bizarre characters, but was truly loved by the Bloomsbury group (perhaps more so than the other Irritants by their groups).

Even his mother described him as “eccentric” as an infant and “the most ridiculous boy I ever saw...He never ceases talking” when he was three (Holroyd I). In ill health, Strachey was dressed in petticoats as a youth (Edel), and he did play many parts in school plays in drag. Strachey wrote his first quatrain at age five, and by twelve, when he began keeping a diary, his teacher said he had “an ear for...queer and picturesque phrases” (Holroyd I, p. 48). He was writing parodies of Gibbon in his teens (Holroyd I).

He grew up to be a tall, slim, homosexual, sporting a long red beard, often seen hiking in the country in a bright yellow coat (Holroyd II). “Had he been a woman, he would have become a Victorian invalid with smelling salts, a corner chair and pile of novels” according to Edel, who also describes him as “the most eccentric and at time the least likeable” (p. 36-8) of the group. Bell calls him “an impossible character and...the arch bugger of Bloomsbury” (Vol. I, p. 129). Rose said he was “decidedly misogynist” and likened him to “a little boy dropping water bombs out of a second story window onto the grown ups below” (p. 77).

Thoby referred to Strachey at Cambridge as "The Strache"; he was "exotic, extreme...Lytton went into Thoby's room, cried out, 'Do you hear the music of the spheres?' and fell in a faint,...even the tutors and dons would come and listen to him" (Spalding, 1983, p. 38). At Cambridge, he took a leadership position in the Apostles and found that the milieu there, "with its high proportion of vocational bachelors, accommodated Lytton far better than anything he had...experienced" (Holroyd I, p. 102).

Strachey began having homosexual relationships at Cambridge, but one of the most significant was with Keynes, becoming "the most important friend Keynes ever had." After Strachey fell in love with Grant, he brought both of them to Rye so they could get to know one another better. In fact, they began a long term affair of which he was not aware for quite a while. His hostility to Keynes because of this deceit is one reason why "Bloomsbury was so tardy in accepting Maynard as a member" (Skidelsky I, p. 252). Grant always remained "genuinely fond of him, but Lytton's intensive emotionalism produced in him the terror of an affection greater than he could absorb" (Shone, 1976, p. 264).

One of the most striking, and probably annoying, of his entire family's characteristics was "particularly penetrating voices" (Holroyd I, p. 31) "that could strike terror" (Bell I, p. 102). In Strachey's case, "he spoke as all his friends have testified, with two voices. One was deep and manly; the other was tiny and a squeak" (Edel, p. 34). This voice eventually gave an identity to the whole group:

"And then, of course, there was the Bloomsbury voice, an appendage of the Strachey clan--'bringing to one's mind,' Wyndham Lewis commented, 'the sounds associated with spasms of a rough Channel passage'--which further cut off this abominable company of city intellectuals from the commonplaces of burgess life. Modelled on the infectious Strachey falsetto...this rare and peculiar dialect was taken up and soon spread...'the tones would convey with supreme efficiency the requisite degree of paradoxical interest, surprise, incredulity,' observed Osbert Sitwell, 'in actual sound, analysed, they were unemphatic, save when emphasis was not to be expected; then there would be a sudden sticky stress, high where you would have presumed low, and the whole spoken sentence would run,...at different speeds and on different gears, and contain a deal of expert but apparently meaningless syncopation.' By this manner of communication, Osbert Sitwell continues, were the true adherents to the cult of Bloomsbury to be recognized" (Holroyd I, p. 413-4).

Not just by his voice, but "by force of intelligence and personality, Lytton dominated the group" (Rose, p. 75-6), certainly in the public eye. Rose feels that despite her talents, Virginia's association with him "did her reputation considerable damage in the middle of her

career" (p. 277). It was Strachey who was responsible for the turning point in 1908 when "Bloomsbury became licentious in its spirit" (Bell I, p. 170), described by Virginia in "Old Bloomsbury" as "sexual inversion flourishing like German measles" (Spalding, 1983, p. 178):

"It was a spring eve. Vanessa and I were sitting in the drawing room. The drawing room had greatly changed its character since 1904. The Sargent-Furse age was over. The age of Augustus John was dawning...The Watts' portraits of my father and my mother were hung downstairs if they were hung at all. Clive had hidden all the match boxes because their blue and yellow swore with the prevailing color scheme...Suddenly the door opened and the long and sinister figure of Mr. Strachey stood on the threshold. He pointed his finger at a stain on Vanessa's white dress. 'Semen?' he said. Can one really say it? I thought and we burst out laughing. With that one word all barriers of reticence and reserve went down. A flood of the sacred fluid seemed to overwhelm us. Sex permeated our conversation. The word bugger was never far from our lips. We discussed copulation with the same excitement and openness that we had discussed the nature of good. It is strange to think how reticent, how reserved we had been and for how long" (in Malcolm, 1995, p. 62).

By being the group member to point out "the semen" so to speak, Spalding feels that Strachey's mere presence "released Vanessa from guilt and the need to conform" (1983, p. 65).

The next year he actually proposed to Virginia, and she actually accepted. But, as he explained in a letter to Leonard in Ceylon,

"As I did it, I saw that it would be death if she accepted me, and I managed, of course, to get out of it before the end of the conversation. The worst of it was that as the conversation went on, it became more and more obvious to me that the whole thing was impossible...I was in terror lest she should kiss me. [Added the next day] I've had an éclaircissement with Virginia. She declared she was not in love with me, and I observed finally that I would not marry her. So things have simply reverted" (Spater, p. 55).

He had many affairs and many fights with members of the group, and soon after the end of Bloomsbury he entered into a long-term relationship with the equally bizarre Dora Carrington (Holroyd II).

## Ernest Hemingway

From the time Hemingway was young, "he loved to dramatize everything, continuing his boyhood habit of making up stories in which he was invariably the swashbuckling hero" (Baker, p. 15). To this day he retains an image as the caricature of the macho writer.

In 1919, when he first arrived back in the US as an injured war hero, he wore a cloak to speak in schools in Chicago and greatly embellished the stories he told in interviews (Baker). In the early days in Paris he was slightly more subdued, in awe of his new environment, but still borrowed money from anyone who would lend it (Reynolds). But Stein

“was aware of the multiple personalities of the young Hemingway and was fearful that his need for protective disguises would eventually lead to his losing himself. The individual she knew on her own terms was obviously not the one in the legend he had begun to generate in the personality-conscious environs of the Dome and the Select” (Brinnin, p. 251).

McAlmon found him to be

“a type not easy to size up...At times he was deliberately hard-boiled and case hardened; again he appeared deliberately innocent, sentimental, the hurt, soft, but fairly sensitive boy trying to conceal hurt, wanting to be brave, not bitter or cynical but being somewhat both, and somehow on the defensive, suspicions lurking in his peering analytic glances at a person with whom he was talking. He approached a cafe with a small-boy, tough-guy, swagger, and before strangers of whom he was doubtful a potential snarl of scorn played on his large-lipped, rather loose mouth” (in Brinnin, p. 251-2)

He developed a “mean streak” (Reynolds, p. 302), and managed insulting remarks about all of his contemporaries. At six feet, 210 to 260 pounds, wearing a size eleven shoe (Baker), he was

“a physical bully with a feline talent for gossip. He was ostentatiously chivalrous, yet treated his wives and mistresses meanly. He made a cult of independence yet sought every subtle avenue of ingratiation and self-advancement. But he was a marvelous writer, commanding the purest American-English prose style of his generation. Every subsequent writer of the short story called him master” (Martin).

Although Hemingway began his time in the group as the attentive pupil, eventually most of his relationships with others soured; as Hoffman says, he “was in the habit of biting the hands that helped him” (p. 118). He was very competitive with Anderson (Townsend), and eventually “disavowed” (Hoffman, p. 16) Stein’s influence. Fitzgerald was also his rival “and, Alice thought, his victim” (Simon, p. 125). Reynolds says, “as with so many of Hemingway’s relationships, his friendship with Fitzgerald was brief but important,” since it was Fitzgerald who brought him to Maxwell Perkins at Scribner’s and gave him good literary advice (p. 284). He was only friends with McAlmon for three years (Reynolds, p. 107), although upon his initial arrival in Paris he became more fashion-conscious, and watched “the way men like McAlmon...dressed and moved” (Reynolds 13, p. 260).

Hemingway wrote and publicly read nasty poems about Parker's suicide attempts and her abortion. His marriages did not fair much better, as he had a different wife (all from St. Louis) for each major novel (Hadley for The Sun Also Rises, Pauline for A Farewell to Arms, Martha for For Whom the Bell Tolls, and Mary for The Old Man and the Sea and all the rest). Overall, Reynolds points out that he "had a way of burning friendships into ashes, intense three-to-five year bursts of correspondence with a friend who then disappears" (p. 107).

In the end his outstanding good quality was talent. As Brady says, his

"writing may not have been as rich and complex as Faulkner's, or as stylish and ballroom graceful as Fitzgerald's, his female characters left much to be desired, and at times he was a terrible failure as a human being--an out-and-out surly peasant, jealous, petty and downright cruel. But, for many of us, he defined a way to live honorably and with passion and fire, a way to taste, touch, see, hear and feel that was like new because it was so free and unencumbered" (p. 8)

## Alexander Woollcott

Of all the Irritants, Woollcott is the only one to have had his friends write a play based on his domineering personality, Kaufman and Moss Hart's The Man Who Came to Dinner, and then to appear proudly in it as himself (Meade).

From his earliest days he "liked nothing better than posing as a dandy" (Gaines, p. 8). He affected "bizarre mannerisms and dress" in college where he took his nickname "Putt" for "putrid" as a compliment (Gaines, p. 82). Like Strachey, he appeared in many parts in drag and in his early twenties, "still a virgin,...Alex adored dressing in women's clothing and fantasized becoming a mother" (Meade, p. 59). In school he wrote a parody of Romeo and Juliet, playing Juliet, and got a place as a monologist with the Glee Club, appearing often as "Mabel the Beautiful Shopgirl." A case of mumps in his twenties was his ostensible reason for a celibate life, but in reality, despite strong denials from early biographers, it was "clear most of the Algonquin set that he was a homosexual" (Frewin, p. 70).

Woollcott stories are legendary, and most of them paint him as a cartoon character. When he reported to Ross at Stars and Stripes and announced that he was the drama critic for the New York Times, Ross "howled with maniacal laughter" (Samuel Hopkins Adams,

p. 90). Back in New York he “indulged himself by wearing scarlet-lined opera capes, insulting friends with greetings like ‘Hello, repulsive!’ and eating enormously and exquisitely until his weight swung up to a blimpish 255 pounds” (Meade, p. 59).

From the war Woollcott got “a curious mix of male identity and sense of purpose that he would never again have to quite the same degree...consumed by a need to prove himself a competent ‘regular’ male.” Winning the approval of the other men “made the war ‘the peak of his career, in his own estimation’” (Gaines, p. 14-6).

Meade describes him at the start of the group as

“a fat, bespectacled man of 32 whose smallish features tended to sink like raisins into a pudding of jowls and double chins. A master of the insult, he already had acquired a considerable reputation for bitchiness. It was said that entering into conversation with him was like petting an overfed Persian cat who had just sharpened its claws. Those who found his personality uncomfortable dismissed him as a one-man freak show, but to his intimate friends--and in time they would be a cult...--he was an acquired taste” (p. 58).

The Algonquinites acquired a taste for him in the beginning; Gaines has described his role in the group as “ringmaster of their ritual play” (p. 92), and it is clear he relished having an audience. The Round Table was begun as a party to welcome him back from the war, and its nature was ideal for him,

“an exclusive lunch club, whose membership he controlled and where he could be the centerpiece, was a delicious idea to Alec. He adored a captive audience at lunch, and, in fact, had a compulsive need for company at all meals. He felt most comfortable when surrounded by friends who tolerated his affectionate abuse, giving as good as they got” (Meade, p. 73).

Helen Hayes, whom he got drunk on one of his special drinks, “the Alex,” said that he “believed he was the center of the universe and that, since he was the sun, everything and everybody revolved around him” (Frewin, p. 71). He certainly gave Parker competition for being the Star of the group. Most of his repartee consisted of insults (Meade), including anti-Semitic remarks, despite the number of Jews he counted as friends (Goldstein).

Gaines claims he “gloried in [sexual] perversion, real or imagined” (p. 8), and, although “the evidence of his homosexuality is presumptive...he left ample evidence of real sexual confusion...pursuing various women avidly and in all apparent seriousness” (p. 82). He escorted Jane Grant around New York before she married Ross (Gaines, p. 82), dated Edna Ferber (Samuel Hopkins Adams), proposed to Neysa McMein, apparently not

knowing she had just gotten married, but had a one-sided infatuation with Harpo Marx for years (Gaines).

Since he was thought of by many as, "if not one of the worst writers in America,... surely ranked among the top ten" (Meade, p. 58), his talent was not the secret of his attraction for the group, although they might have had some grudging respect for him. Kaufman claimed that he enjoyed his job at the Times most when he worked there for Woollcott (Goldstein). In Woollcott's first years as a drama critic he carried on a legal campaign against the Shubert's policy of banning him from their theatres for writing negative reviews. He and his employer "brought the American theatre to maturity. Before...theatre criticism was pap and promotion...Afterward, theatre criticism rose to its stature as legitimate journalism" (Samuel Hopkins Adams, p. 2).

Although he had many friends, in and out of the group, "there always came a time with Alec when you couldn't stand it anymore," in the words of Jane Grant (in Kunkel, p. 85). Ross had "a love-hate relationship" with him (Meade) and he quit *Thanatopsis* when center stage was taken over by Kaufman (Gaines, p. 90), who described him best as "improbable" (Meade, p. 58).

Most of his life he lived alone, but he moved in with Ross, Grant and Harley Truax after he burst into a meeting where they were making plans for their new apartment and announced, "I'm joining this little intrigue" (Gaines, p. 101). He threatened to boycott the housewarming because he didn't like the guest list (Kunkel), and then held huge parties there when the other owners were out of town. Eventually he turned the house into "a Woollcott fiefdom and a playground" (Gaines, p. 102) and Ross had his wife get rid of him (Gaines).

That same year, 1926, he formed a corporation to buy Neshobe Island in Vermont as a retreat for the Round Table crowd, and it became their country meeting place. However, he imposed strict rules of outlandish behavior and read his mail to all at breakfast. Benchley concluded, "I can't imagine a worse place to spend a weekend than one where your host is always boisterously forcing you to take part in games...about which you know nothing" (Frewin, p. 96), and never went back.

Woolcott did enjoy outstanding popularity as a writer and critic, and later as a radio commentator (Meade, p. 74). In 1927, Actors' Equity voted him "most discriminating" critic (Samuel Hopkins Adams), but he is remembered for having taste that was "questionable at best"--he was the only Round Table writer who actually liked Abie's Irish Rose (Gaines, p. 48).

His biographers list many of his unsung good deeds, from working to get bylines for assistants, to helping young men through school (Samuel Hopkins Adams), and supporting his brother and sister in times of sickness. Many of those who knew Woolcott, like Jane Grant (Gaines) and Parker, are quite kind to him in later years, indicating that they may have actually liked him and enjoyed his company, in retrospect at least, more than they wanted to admit at the time.

### The Angel: AE, Grant, Fitzgerald, Connelly

The Angel functions as the counterbalance or the flipside of the Irritant, a focal point for good feelings and affirmation in the group. If the Irritant provides conflict to keep the group members on their toes, most of the members agree on the Angel: they love him. He's seen as a good friend, well-liked, but he also brings with him a certain amount of emotion, often even a spiritual side, and definitely a hint of innocence. He makes them feel good about themselves by focusing their loving laughter on him. They functioned as Angels, not because they were always good, but because they brought a spiritual, sweet feeling to all they interacted with.

### "AE" (George Russell)

In their youth, Yeats' sisters referred to AE as the "strayed angel" (Kuch). On his death in 1935, Yeats' wife, Georgie, told him, "AE was the nearest to a saint you or I will ever meet. You are a better poet, but no saint" (Summerfield, p. 86).

From his earliest years, AE inspired emotion in all around him and of all the "Angels," AE is definitely the most spiritual. By the age of five he was meditating in fields (Summerfield) and had a major religious revelation in his early teens. Soon after, he began

having visions (Ulick O'Connor) and most of his early works, both in art and poetry, are based on these. Other art students "would gush when we spoke of him" said his oldest friend, Yeats.

"His manner seemed kind, gentle and dreamy. He was quiet, with the quietness of self-absorption. Though he could become animated in discussion, he rarely spoke...because he had a very bad stammer. Yet even when he spoke, his thoughts were so profuse and clotted that what he said was largely unintelligible" (Kuch, p. 1-2).

Ellman describes him as "an anomaly in the art school. While he was supposed to paint the model with the other students, a supernatural force seemed to guide his brush and produce a being from some extraterritorial world" (p. 32). His fellow students "never questioned [his visions'] existence and his fellow students did not question his seeing them" (Jeffares, p. 19).

In the early nineties Yeats and AE began their involvement with Madame Blavatsky, the Esoteric Society and the Theosophists (Summerfield), and, unlike Yeats, AE became "afame with theosophy; a red hot missionary" (Kuch, p. 58). One Sunday in the seaside suburb of Bray, he "threw off his customary shyness, climbed on a wall by the promenade and began to harangue the bewildered passers-by about the return of the gods" (p. 107). When AE lived in the Theosophists' Dublin Lodge he met his wife Violet there (Kuch). His spiritual explorations included studies of Hindu concentration, Druidic mysteries, and Celtic occult orders (Summerfield). He brought Yeats to look for Celtic spirits in Sligo and involved him with Hyde on the Castle of Heroes (Kuch).

Lady Gregory was not impressed with him at first, after Yeats' description, but she conceded, "his chief virtue is that he draws Yeats" (Kohfeldt, p. 115). During his first visit he told her "this life bores me, I am waiting for a higher one." At meals at Coole he "talked in a characteristic way of his past lives, his visions and the ether in which the memory of all things was preserved" (Summerfield, p. 95). She took him to local sites of supernatural occurrences, and she and Yeats both pressed him to describe his visions, but "as he had a strong aversion to being asked about his visions, he maintained a moody silence" (Kuch, p. 122). Much of AE's art work, which he continued doing throughout his life, concerned Irish gods, and he even designed tapestries for the Loughrea Cathedral (Summerfield).

In the organizations he was involved in, particularly the Theosophists, AE was often chosen to represent the group (Summerfield). During the years of the Irish Literary Renaissance, he served as an intermediary between warring factions, siding “with one and then other [Moore and Yeats] several times throughout his life” (Kuch, p. 209), and even patching up a fight between Yeats and his own sisters (Jeffares).

AE even won over Moore, who had decided not to like him before they met (Kuch). He wrote later, “recalling his first encounter with AE...: ‘He was more winning than I had imagined, for, building out of what Yeats had told me in London, I had imagined a sterner, rougher, ruder man’” (Kuch, p. 113). Shawe-Taylor describes the Irritant as “warming his spirit before the glow of AE” (in Hone, p. 468), when he first entered the group. He found Moore a house when he moved to Dublin and they stayed friends for years after the group broke up. “I love him...I love everything he writes!” said Moore, and AE became the novelist’s “chief literary friend in Dublin” (Hone, p. 236-7). A mutual friend, Monk Gibbon, believes that

“AE is the nearest thing Ireland has ever had to a prophet. I don’t mean a political prophet, they’ve always been six a penny...Now George...said that AE’s one fault was that he had no faults. Remarks like that embarrassed AE. He begged Moore to include his faults, but the only fault that Moore could discover was the AE couldn’t distinguish between turbot and halibut” (in Rodgers, p. 187).

In return, AE became one of the few who could enjoy Moore, and his view of him was “exceedingly sympathetic,” according to Frank O’Connor: “AE was awfully fond of him. He praised his industriousness, he praised his courage, and he used to describe him as a man who lived from his own will and center” (in Rodgers, p. 91).

One of the few in any of the groups to have a day job, AE put his mesmerizing skills to good use in his work for the IAOS, talking to crowds throughout the countryside. In this job, his “greatest strength as an organizer lay in his power to make the poor and uneducated share his dream of a community where each man by working for himself would work for all” (Summerfield, p. 101). In him, the agricultural movement and his boss, Plunkett, “discovered a prophet” (Summerfield, p. 99). Indeed, he represented an unusual combination of artistic temperament and practical administrative abilities, described as “the most practical of economists and the most mystical of poets” (Skelton, p. 135n). Lady

Gregory felt he had “the highest ideals and [he’s still] more practical than any of us” (in Kuch, p. 158).

AE had an open door policy for his Sunday evening salons in Dublin where

“there would be three or four three-legged easels stuck up in the corner where the tea-things were, and on these would be medium-sized canvasses, say about 20 by 24, of cherubim and seraphim...The conversation moved about them as if they had been pictures of actual facts. AE would simply say, ‘This cherub visited me at about half past three this morning’” (Cecil Salheld in Rodgers, p. 189).

On these evenings would take “pains to draw the shy and the humble into the conversation, and he himself embarked on long disquisitions” (Summerfield, p. 219).

Although all those in the group loved him, he has been described by Ulick O’Connor as “not easy to get along with” (p. 96). He wrote and published parodies of his friends’ works, including Yeats and Lady Gregory’s Countess Cathleen and Cathleen ni Houlihan, and wrote his own version of the Deirdre story as a protest against Yeats and Moore’s (Kuch).

But because of his role as a beatific presence, AE was able to organize the group to accomplish the administrative work of the theater. During the fights before they finally broke up, Yeats knew that AE’s organization skills could turn the Theatre Society into a professional company (Kuch). He wrote a new constitution with the actors being paid as employees (Summerfield). At this time Yeats wrote to him, acknowledging his own lack of interpersonal skills with the actors, “I am leaving the whole matter to you. I can only threaten the body, but you can put the soul in uncomfortable places” (in Jeffares, p. 148). Yeats then advised Lady Gregory, “we must leave as much as possible with AE who now advocates everything we insisted upon in our correspondence with him” (Kuch, p. 226). Although the Star didn’t like AE’s “often uncritical encouragement of young writers” he still admired his “honest heart” (Jeffares, p. 141).

But their final plans “signalled the end of his dream of an amateur theatre” (Kuch, p. 224), and AE left to found a rival Theatre of Ireland with Martyn.

Rodgers sums up his many facets as “poet, painter, playwright, philosopher, mystic and visionary; politician, rural economist, editor, memorable talker--AE was the Socrates of Dublin, the one writer in that irreverent city who was always spoken of with respect and affection” (p. 185).

## Duncan Grant

If the Angel’s role in each group can be described as “they all loved him,” in Grant’s case, it is almost literally true as at least three Bloomsberries--Vanessa, Strachey and Keynes--had long-lasting affairs with him.

Although Grant was not as spiritual as AE, he did hear a voice at age 18 that told him to go out and learn (Shone, 1976). The word “bewitching” (Spalding, 1983) is often used to describe him: “Shy and vague and elusive, but always bewitching...He moved in and out of people’s lives, silent, teasingly, soft-footed, hardly noticed by some, casting a spell on others that was to last a lifetime” (Shone, 1976, p. 89-90). His innocent appearance attracted others as well:

"As a youth he often wore a dirty collar, usually upset his afternoon tea, and never knew what time it was. When he spoke he blinked his eyes, and generally carried on in such an irresponsible fashion to convince his uncle, Trevor Grant, that he was a hopeless and possibly certifiable imbecile...entirely natural and unconstrained in manner...given to practical jokes" (Holroyd I, p. 262).

Spalding (1983) also describes him as someone who “could sometimes be mistaken for an idiot” mainly because of his “almost childlike delight in the absurd, the fantastic or unexpected...With beguiling simplicity and no apparent display of effort...Duncan got what he desired” (p. 116-7). His lack of education attracted Keynes, and even Lord Kenneth Clark said of him, “no man I have ever met...was more happily alive” (Shone, 1993).

Grant would design puppets for the performances at Bloomsbury parties and would paste geometric shapes of paper on book covers, perhaps because he “felt like making a collage that day” (Malcolm, 1995).

Virginia’s physical description of Grant emphasises his childlike charm as well:

“Forever hitching his trousers up in an almost parodic disowning of adult, masculine, middle-class decorum--Duncan radiated immense charm and insouciance. ‘I never saw a more remarkable figure than that adorable man--dressed in a nonconformist minister’s coat; but under that an astonishing mixture of red waistcoats and jerseys, all so loose that they had to be hitched together by a woollen belt, and braces looping down somewhere quite useless. He is more and more like a white owl perched upon a branch and blinking at the light, and shuffling his soft furry feet in the snow--a wonderful creature, you must admit, though how he ever gets through life--but a matter of fact he gets through it better than any of us” (Tickner, p. 79).

Strachey inadvertently brought him and Keynes together, and then was sick over losing him to his rival (Holroyd I). It was Grant who later “eased Keynes’ passage into Bloomsbury” (Skidelsky I, p. 252) when they took rooms together in Fitzroy Square. Even after their affair ended, Keynes remained in love with Grant all his life and took good care of him in his will (Skidelsky II). Vanessa began her emotional attachment with him through “unbounded admiration” (Shone, 1976) of his work, and for a long time was not able to admit her love for him (Spalding, 1983). When Grant finally took up what was to become permanent residence at Charleston he “slipped easily into Bell’s ambience, making no plans but staying as long as the weather and present company permitted” (Spalding, 1983, p. 119).

Grant was popular outside his group as well. When the unpleasant Wyndham Lewis formed a group of artistic groups, Grant was included, but Fry and Vanessa were not; he refused to show there. Unlike most critics, D H Lawrence didn’t care for his art work, but liked him so much he wrote him into Lady Chatterley’s Lover (Shone, 1976).

But like all good friends, Grant, too could be annoying. He would “wander into” Virginia and Adrian’s “hitching up his trousers, [borrowing] 2p for a train fare and presently wander out again” (Bell I, p. 128), and depleted Keynes’ liquor supply with “frequent midday champagne parties” (Spalding, 1983, p. 121). His many affairs broke many hearts; typically when he took up with Virginia and Vanessa’s brother Adrian, he didn’t give up Keynes, “he simply added Adrian” (Skidelsky I, p. 253).

As Virginia’s housemaid characterized him, “that Mr. Grant gets in everywhere” (Spater, p. 126).

## F. Scott Fitzgerald

Some of Fitzgerald's friends would be hard pressed to call him an "Angel," but most of them--including the not-easily-won-over Toklas (Brinnin)--had strong emotional feelings for him and just loved him.

Although Fitzgerald would not strictly be described as spiritual, he was raised Catholic, decided to become a priest at age 21, managed to get a letter from the bishop of St. Paul to arrange a papal audience on one of his first trips to Europe, and in the late twenties took catechism lessons at St. Sulpice in Paris (LeVot).

But Fitzgerald's more emotional and romantic side was apparent early on. He fantasized in his diary his origins as a foundling (LeVot), and wrote at least six times to Zelda in their courtship, "I used to wonder why they kept princesses in towers" (Turnbull, p. 94).

Even Hemingway--who later would try to avoid him--noticed his innocence in his first meetings with him:

"Fitzgerald, as Hemingway first saw him, frail and elegant in his impeccably cut Brooks Brothers suit and white shirt with button-down collar, also seemed a character in search of an author, a little incongruous among the ragtag bohemians of Montparnasse...Scott ordered a bottle of champagne and launched on a dithyrambic speech in praise of Hemingway while Ernest watched him coldly. He asked some overly personal questions that the other man avoided with joking answers. Suddenly, Fitzgerald's face was covered with sweat; it puckered, took on a deathly look. Then he passed out. He was taken home in a taxi" (LeVot, p. 196-7).

When Hemingway saw him again a few days later,

"All his affectation was gone; he behaved simply, spoke of his books with detachment, aware of their weaknesses. Of [Gatsby] he spoke with modesty and humility, 'puzzled and hurt that the book was not selling well,' but comforted by the praise it had received from the critics. The two Scotch highballs he drank did not appear to bother him, and Hemingway seemed amazed to be dealing with a rather appealing human being. Scott 'asked no shameless questions, did nothing embarrassing, made no speeches, and acted as a normal, intelligent, charming person'" (LeVot, p. 197).

Hemingway soon took him to meet Stein, at a time when Fitzgerald "still knew little about Paris and even less about the Americans who had more or less centered its artistic life" (LeVot, p. 195). At his first visit to rue de Fleurus, he was "charmingly modest" and gave her a copy of Gatsby (LeVot, p. 197). Hemingway soon read it as well and "it showed him an unexpected side of Fitzgerald and he decided to cultivate Scott's friendship":

“When I had finished the book, I knew that no matter what Scott did, nor how he behaved, I must know it was like a sickness and be of any help I could to him and try to be a good friend. He had many good, good friends, more than anyone I knew. But I enlisted as one more, whether I could be of any use to him or not. If he could write a book as fine as The Great Gatsby, I was sure that he could write an even better one” (LeVot, p. 197).

His sweet character made him “legendary” in Paris. Flanner described him as having “the visage of a poet...Charming, gentle...he was always willing to praise or learn from or to help other writers” (Hobhouse, p. 126-7). As a good friend, Fitzgerald brought Hemingway to his editor, Maxwell Perkins, and when rumors swirled that he himself would leave Scribner’s, he emphatically told Perkins, “Never” (Donnelly). Parker had an affair with him in the late twenties which she described as short but “ecstatically sweet” (Frewin, p. 137); she remained his friend all his life.

Fitzgerald’s “sickness,” and the root of most of his negative qualities, is more usually recognized as alcoholism. Throughout the early twenties he was on and off the wagon (Turnbull), and was arrested for drunkenness in Rome while hanging out with the cast of Ben Hur. Toklas insists that he was always sober at Fleurus, because Stein refused to acknowledge drunks (Hobhouse). In famous scenes, Gerald Murphy would shout at him lying drunk in the street, “Scott! This is not Princeton and I am not your roommate. Get up!” (LeVot, p. 217), or others would only stare in amazement as he knocked over a street vendor’s stand, handing the man 500Fr and saying, “wasn’t that funny?” (Meade, p. 128).

1925, when Gatsby was published and he first “entered” the Paris group, began the most “trying” time in his career. Despite the overwhelming critical praise the novel received, he was disappointed with its sales. He “did not know he had passed his zenith on a curve heading down into professional and personal darkness. The party was almost over” (Reynolds). Two years later, when he was “drinking heavily and had trembling hands” (Donnelly), he and Zelda were

“still the stuff of gossip columns, still living high, spending freely and playing outrageous pranks. But already it is clear that Scott is losing his battle with the bottle and with Zelda’s growing madness, and that his relationship with Hollywood will end in frustration and humiliation. Though he does not admit it, and perhaps does not yet know it, he is entering the abyss of his alcoholism and artistic decline” (McAuley).

By the beginning of the next decade, Zelda was in a sanatorium (LeVot) and his Paris years were over. At his funeral ten years later, following his untimely death from a heart attack, when he was living with Sheilah Graham in Hollywood, paying his debts, and

finally getting his life together, Parker looked at him in his coffin and said, “the poor bastard” (Turnbull, p. 352).

## Marc Connelly

Connelly, the “cheerful, bald...talkative leprechaun” (Meade) of the Algonquin group has had less written about him than most of the others.

One of the only friends to be really close to his Odd-One-Out-collaborator, in his angelic style he “could calm and cheer the sometimes dour Kaufman” (Goldstein, p. 54). “For four years [they] raced with Kaufman’s demons” (Goldstein, p. 81). His emotionalism served him well in his work with Kaufman who refused to write any scenes displaying sentiment. “He didn’t seem to have the stomach for it,” Connelly said (Gaines). His sense of romance comes out in most of his early work, but his spiritualism culminates in his only truly memorable work, The Green Pastures (Nolan).

At one of Parker’s low points, he got down on his knees and took her hands in his: “He started telling her how valuable she was, how wonderful life could be, how everybody had troubles, and she should cheer up. She didn’t say anything, but after he had left she said, ‘What a silly old fool’” (Meade, p. 168). Connelly later underplayed her suicide attempts as, “a little bit of theatre” (Frewin).

The playwright was also one of the unsung heroes of the birth of The New Yorker, until Kunkel, in his biography of Ross, brought Connelly’s role to light: “Present at the creation...[serving as] an especially diligent handmaiden to Ross, writing anonymous pieces, editing, even mediating” (Kunkel, p. 105), besides giving “enthusiastic” (Nolan, p. 73) support.

Perhaps because Connelly lived longer than any of the others, most of the works chronicling the group contain positive quotes from him about the others, and very few negative ones about him from them. “An unabashed ham,” who would tell “the same stories over and over again, in excruciating detail and at intolerable length” (Gaines, p. 40), is the worst to be written about him. He himself described the attraction of the group as, “we just hated being apart” (Meade, p. 86).

## The Sponsor: Martyn, Leonard, McAlmon and Ross

Although lacking in social skills compared to other more gregarious group members, the Sponsor provides the means to create outlets for the group members' work. The "human and physical resources" available to creative people form part of their Immediate Context, according to Dorris (1987, p. 3).

The Sponsors' function is clear-cut, but all four also have similar personality characteristics as well--relatively quiet in such a talkative crowd, intellectual in the sense of being quite bright, but a bit uptight and not quite fitting in socially with any group, a "nerd," so to speak. However, the more the Sponsor's contribution to the group was explored, the more it became clear that in each case what he lacked in social graces, he made up for by bringing the resources which ultimately lead to the creation of the group's outlets: The Abbey Theatre, Hogarth Press, Contact Editions and The New Yorker. An outsider who wants to be in, rather than become emotionally involved with his friends, the Sponsor supports their tasks in more practical ways.

## Edward Martyn

Living in a tower surrounded by his monograms, "in a cell-like room with a bare bed and a college mattress [and] naturally celibate" (Ulick O'Connor, p. 69-70), Martyn certainly holds a unique place in Irish lore.

Martyn brought abundant financial resources to each group he served: He inherited a fortune upon his father's death in 1867 (Ulick O'Connor), and the only other heir, his younger brother and only playmate (Courtney), died as an officer in the Irish regiments (Gwynn).

He grew up with his cousin, Moore, and in later years, although they were both among the few Irish Catholic landlords, they were also "unlikely friends since Martyn was particularly pious and averse to women; Moore the opposite" (Jeffares, p. 80). Martyn's mother banned Moore from coming to Tullira after she recognized a local priest as a character in his novel, A Drama in Muslin (Ulick O'Connor). Mrs. Martyn was devoted to

her son (Gwynn), and invited many young ladies to their home as suitable mates for him, to no avail (Courtney).

When Martyn was doing research for his first novel, Morgante the Lesser, he surprised the local bishop by applying for a special dispensation to read some related books which did not have the Catholic church's imprimatur. The perplexed bishop referred his request to Rome (Gwynn). An extremely devout Catholic, he was particularly sensitive to any references to sex. In one of their reported discussions, Moore told him "that he seemed to think sexual intercourse between men more natural than between women, and Edward had replied, 'Well, at any rate, it's not so disgusting'" (Ulick O'Connor, p. 83). Martyn threatened to stop his subscription to Art and Society Review if Moore's newly serialized novel was obscene, and cancelled his subscriptions to other magazines over lesser causes (Gwynn). When Yeats did incantations at Tullira, invoking a "lunar power" in a room directly above his private chapel, Martyn became hysterical (Jeffares).

Although he didn't contribute much to the group socially, the Irish Literary Theatre that he created with Yeats and Lady Gregory in 1897 never had to call on the guarantors they lined up for their first season because Martyn paid for it. He brought his enthusiasm for Ibsen (Gwynn), and was also the one to bring in Moore for his theatre expertise (Ulick O'Connor); according to Gwynn, "without Edward the modern Irish drama might never have been born" (p. 158). He and Yeats went to Dublin together to find a suitable theatre available for their productions, but just before the premiere of Countess Cathleen in 1899, Martyn was convinced it was heretical. Lady Gregory got him to agree not to make any public statements, and Yeats had a Jesuit assure him that the play passed the church's standards (Kohfeldt).

Martyn became as "fervent" (Ulick O'Connor, p. 84) an Irish nationalist as he was a Catholic, and a non-social member of other groups as well. The Kildare Club in Dublin tried to remove him because of anti-government letters he wrote to the Freeman's Journal in 1903. They changed the club rules to get rid of him and he took them to court and won. To celebrate his victory, Martyn brought anti-government friends to the club to pray the Rosary in the main room. The members were not pleased (Gwynn).

Martyn was also one of the financial sponsors of the organization AE worked for, the IAOS, and on the executive committee of Hyde's Gaelic League (Gwynn). He backed up his financial support with his writing talents as well, publishing a letter in the press about the Intermediate Education (Irish) Amendment Act. "Usually cautious and mild-mannered," Martyn wrote to Hyde afterward that he was worried his letter had been too "'violent'...but he had now decided that he believed in violence when dealing with the British government. 'Unless we shake up our rulers, they never attend to us...The only argument with such people is fear'" (in Dunleavy, p. 212).

He became president of Sinn Fein and Arthur Griffith got him to fund publication of his articles which became the model for the organization. When Martyn discovered Irish traditional singing he started the Feis Ceoil and worked to restore plain chant to the cathedrals. Indeed, as "a connecting link between so many intellectual activities...[and] the only Irishman with large private means...in full sympathy with the Irish Revival" (Gwynn, p. 13), "whether at first or last, pretty nearly every national effort that required financing, however small, had to depend on him to some extent" (Gwynn, p. 291).

By 1905 when the members of the Irish National Theatre Society were fighting among themselves, Yeats was able to keep Martyn involved to the point where he negotiated to buy the Abbey as the theatre's permanent home. But the following year he left with AE to form their own Theatre of Ireland to apply the Abbey model to amateurs, but not using peasant plays (Gwynn). Coxhead predicts, "if Martyn had not seceded from the Abbey group, he might most valuably have linked the two...Poor frustrated Edward Martyn, who made so little mark with his own talents, but helped others to make so great a mark with theirs" (p. 86-7).

As the last surviving Martyn, he left behind a huge estate, which went to sponsor religious causes and train Irish teachers. In the end he "arranged his death with as much eccentricity as he had shown in his life," ordering his own dissection and burial in a pauper's grave (Ulick O'Connor, p. 374).

## Leonard Woolf

Before the secondary research for this paper was begun, it was assumed that Leonard would fill the role of Hostess for his wife, Virginia. He was, in many ways, her helpmate. However, it quickly became clear that, not only because of Leonard's belated entry into the group, upon his return from Ceylon in 1911, but also because of Vanessa's incredible skills as a Hostess, that he more clearly fills the role as the Sponsor for Virginia and the group.

In the first volume of his own wonderful autobiography, Leonard admits that at school he "developed a facade or carapace" (in Spater, p. 8), to protect him from emotion; he learned "how not to feel" (Edel, p. 24). Although a member of the Apostles at Cambridge, he "was an outsider [there] and was conscious of it" (Spater, p. 157). He did take the organization very seriously his whole life and wrote about it more than the others (Spater).

Strachey wrote to him in Ceylon encouraging him to propose to Virginia and he had replied, "do you think Virginia would have me?...I'll take the next boat home!" (Spater, p. 55). When he did return to London after his stint in the Civil Service in Ceylon, he was "astonished...to find that whereas to have 'discussed some subjects or to have called a (sexual) spade a spade' in the presence of [Strachey's sisters] or Miss Stephen would have been unimaginable in 1904, there was now 'a much more intimate (and wider) circle in which complete freedom of thought and speech was extended to Vanessa and Virginia, Pippa and Marjorie [Strachey]'" (Tickner). He didn't broach this subject with Virginia, however, and after many proposals she gave in. "It was the wisest decision of her life," according to her nephew biographer (Bell I).

Leonard "accepted the irreverent skepticism of his friends but he did not quite accept their frivolity, or their worldliness" (Bell II, p. 9). He didn't enjoy parties, whether Clive's or Ottoline Morrell's, but he did like conversation and arguing "about political or literary life" (Spater, p. 144). He is described as having a "rigorous attitude to work" (Shone, 1993). Not entirely humorless, he is reported to have a sense of humor similar to Virginia and Vanessa's father, Leslie Stephen. According to Quentin, Clive however felt that he was

"too austere, too political, too critical of that which he considered frivolous or worldly. He missed all the jolly and decorative side of life; this made him censorious and puritanical and limited his appreciation of the arts. In short he was a 'kill-joy'" (in Malcolm, 1996, p. 15).

“Renowned for his stubbornness and eccentricity” (Spater, p. 130) in the group-- Keynes said it was “useless to argue” with him (Spater, p. 185)--Leonard had a strong work ethic and “outward severity [which] disguised...a man of great strength of feeling” (Shone, 1993).

Though he was the poorest of the group, with no private income, it was Leonard, with Virginia’s help, who organized the resources to begin the Hogarth Press. Although this marked the break up of the group in 1915, because of the Woolfs’ move to the Richmond section of London (Bell II), it became the principal outlet for many of their works-- Vanessa’s woodcut covers, Keynes’ treatises, and Virginia’s stories. Designed originally as therapy for his wife, (Greeves), it grew into one of the most prestigious small publishers of the time (Shone, 1993) and Leonard ran it, with the help of a changing cast of assistants, while serving as editor of the Nation and writing many works himself (Meyerowitz).

## Robert McAlmon

As one of the deservedly forgotten literary characters of the American expatriates in Paris in the 1920s, McAlmon was a type who in retrospect seems a hero for the number of outstanding writers he sponsored for the first time.

His only marriage, one of convenience to the heiress Annie Ellerman, known as Bryher, brought him access to her \$30 million. McAlmon was a heavy drinker who “liked the night life of Parisian cafes” (Mellow, p. 346), but Bryher didn’t so they mostly went their separate ways. By 1923, when he met Stein,

“everyone on the Left Bank knew McAlmon's blue eyes and his thin lips on the verge of a sneer. Robert had been around, knew the scams and the street life. If he was sometimes seen courting a pretty young man, his behavior was not remarkable in Paris” (Smoller, p. 130)

For the entertainment of the tourists, he was known to “vomit decorously and otherwise in front of the best Left Bank bars” (Smoller, p. 228).

Although he had many friends, McAlmon’s relationships with those both in and out of the group were marred by many social *faux pas*. With two of his best friends, both

William Carlos Williams and James Joyce, he managed to leave town just before he was to share a special event with them--for Williams his departure after a long stay in Europe, and for Joyce publication of Ulysses. Both were nonplused by his behavior. He particularly annoyed the ever-social Fitzgerald, who "virulently abused Robert and his work seeming far in excess of any just retribution for a palpable offense" (Smoller, p. 156). Hemingway said he "had a mind like an ingrown toenail" (Reynolds, p. 106), and for his part, McAlmon personally insulted Hemingway when lunching with his publisher, Perkins (Smoller).

But he was one of the first to publish Hemingway, Williams, Pound, H. D., and Djuna Barnes and gave Joyce much needed financial support. As Brinnin sums up, "his own work as a writer came to nothing much, but his services as the publisher of Contact Editions and the Three Mountains Press [with William Bird] were of enormous value" (p. 267-8).

### Harold Ross

Physically, Ross looked the part of a nerd: "His hands, feet, ears and mouth were too big, his gray eyes too small, a thicket of stiffish, mouse-colored bristles shot out of his scalp, and large gap separated his two upper front teeth" (Meade, p. 60). He wore his hair in a "tall, stiff...shock-coif...[adding] an extra three inches" (Kunkel, p. 79) to his stature so he would look taller. Although like some other Round Tablers he had better relationships with prostitutes than other women, actress Ina Claire confessed a desire to "take off her shoes and run through the rigid pompadour of" his hair (Goldstein, p. 68).

Always referred to as Harold, not Harry or Hal, he loved pranks and wore loud clothes (Kunkel). "Starchy in sexual matters" (Gaines, p. 98), at an early age in Aspen he developed a "lifelong fraternal fascination with prostitutes" (Kunkel, p. 20), but could never "bring himself to a scatological reference in a woman's presence," at least during his marriage to New Yorker co-founder Jane Grant (Gaines, p. 84). He had three wives, all of whom, Kunkel points out, had successful marriages after leaving Ross.

Algonquin owner Case described him as "a sort of adopted child, taken in on approval before the final papers were signed" (Meade, p. 74). Harpo Marx likened him to "a cowhand who'd lost his horse" (Kunkel, p. 82), and Ben Hecht said he "looked like a

resident of the Ozarks and talked like a saloon brewer” (Kunkel, p. 89). Kaufman thought him a complete misfit who “had a good chance of starving to death” (Gaines, p. 142). But Ross loved “playing the role of the country boy abroad in the big city. But it was just that--an act” (Kunkel, p. 18).

On their first meeting at Stars Woollcott told him, “you remind me a great deal of my grandfather’s coachman” (Gaines, p. 8), to which he had no comeback because he did always look “as if he had tumbled off the train from Sauk Center” (Meade, p. 60).

Although a founder of the Round Table, he was the “unlikeliest” member (Kunkel, p. 77-8), and “never got off a memorable crack” (Meade, p. 85). But, “his friends prized him and not just because he was a good audience. They appreciated the quality that escaped others: his droll sense of humor, intense powers of observation, and a wide playful streak” (Kunkel, p. 79). The ones who had worked with him on Stars during World War I in France also knew that he had “a respect for creative people that bordered on veneration; everyone else, himself included, was meant to be in their service” (Kunkel, p. 246). For his part, Ross was “astonished that [such] people...would take an interest in him” (Gaines, p. 98).

Not wealthy himself, and “a chronic loser” (Gaines, p. 88) at poker, Ross’ gamble on The New Yorker eventually paid off handsomely: “Straightforward, nonliterary, and never one for verbal calisthenics, Ross nonetheless succeeded in creating and perpetuating” the Round Table’s best outlet (Drennan, p. 18).

Gaines sums up the bewilderment of many chroniclers of literary history: “It is one of the persistent puzzles of publishing history that Harold Ross could found and edit a magazine as sophisticated as The New Yorker” (p. 142). As Ben Hecht asked, “how the hell could a man who looked like a resident of the Ozarks and talked like a saloon brewer set himself up as pilot of a sophisticated, elegant periodical?” (Kunkel, p. 89). Described as “the born outsider” by later New Yorker editor Brendan Gill “he still “had the outsider’s irrepressible longing to be inside” (Gaines, p. 98).

### *3. The Outer Circle*

Rogers and Kincaid identify four main categories of group members: (1) liaisons, who are not members of the clique but connect two or more cliques in the larger system together; (2) bridges, who are members of a clique, but provide a connection with at least one other clique; (3) isolates, who are not strongly linked with other members and (4) cosmopolites, who relate the system to its environment by providing openness (p. 125). By this definition, liaisons or isolates are not real group members and we are only concerned with those who were.

The Odd One Out, the Link and the Bridge are not liaisons, but regular members of the group; they are not isolates because they have clear communication connections to the Star and the Host/Hostess, but are a bit less tightly connected than the Inner Circle. Katz defines such roles as “those who move between a group and relevant points of the group’s environment--be it another group or a body of knowledge or anything else” (p. 113). In the later analysis of the cohesiveness of the groups it will be shown that overall these three have fewer communication connections to the leaders than the Inner Circle, but all three occupy positions “that subject them to opposing points of view” (Secord and Backman, p. 153) and provide necessary information for the members’ creative development.

Exposure to other points of view is one of the key factors in increased creativity, and the existence of these three contributes strongly to the success of the group.

#### **The Odd One Out: Synge, Clive, Thomson and Kaufman**

The Odd One Out is definitely in the group and provides valuable connections to other groups but stays just a bit distanced: Sometimes quiet, such as Synge, often traveling and with outside interests, such as Clive and Thomson, and sometimes just very odd, such as Kaufman. Examining the data in more detail revealed that this role category also provided a contrast to the rest of the group. To show this, it will be necessary to first demonstrate that each was definitely an included member of the group, but managed to keep his distance in various ways.

## John Millington Synge

Neither Yeats nor AE really knew Synge, the Odd One Out well, and Yeats actually wrote more about what he wanted him to be (Thornton). Much of Synge's time was spent being treated or recuperating from operations for the lumps which kept mysteriously reappearing on his neck and which led eventually to his untimely death at age 38 (Greene).

As a child his major interests were science and then music. Synge's mother was fanatically religious, and

“His backwardness in spoken English was undoubtedly due to the influence of his mother, who abhorred vulgarity and sought divine aid in confining the already restricted speech of the period and the class she represented, in which expression of feeling was almost paralysed. Synge's reaction found expression ultimately in his interest in the earthy language of the Irish peasant and in a fondness for profanity” (Greene, p. 15).

As a good listener and observer, Synge led others to talk (Coxhead), the perfect function in a group which included some of the most legendary talkers in Dublin. On the Aran Islands he listened “sympathetically” to gather his dialects (Kuch, p. 161), and Oliver St. John Gogarty later described him as “a drinker-in and not a giver-out of talk” (in Rodgers, p. 102).

Synge entered the Irish Literary Renaissance a year after the group was formed, invited by Yeats to join them at Coole (Greene). On that first trip he told Lady Gregory he had “never had a conversation with anyone who shared his view until he was 23” (Ulick O'Connor, p. 219). But her letters to him were “business-like and playful” (Kohfeldt, p. 182-3), and he was never “an intimate” of hers the way some of the others were:

“He had little in the way of demands to make on her. He had no need of mothering, being already over-supplied with maternal solicitude; he had no need of encouragement, being driven by his own daemon; he had no need of plots...[But they were friends and co-directors], possibly colored on his side by a certain affectionate amusement, for to one of his immense sophistication, she must always have seemed a trifle naive” (Coxhead, p. 112).

Once Synge saw Yeats and Moore's Diarmuid and Grainne and Lady Gregory and Hyde's Twisting of the Rope at the Irish Literary Theatre in 1901, he began writing his first play (Ulick O'Connor). From that time on he developed as “not merely as a member, but as a leader of the Irish renaissance,” according to Skelton (p. 70). It was Yeats who really championed his work (Rodgers), and Synge's inclusion as a director in the limited liability

company when the theatre was reorganized as the Abbey in 1904 (Jeffares) shows that he was truly included in the group as a member:

“whatever part Synge took in the discussions about the theatre is not known, but perhaps it was no mere coincidence that Yeats invited him to attend them. From this point on his friendship with both Lady Gregory and Yeats was the most important in his life, and he must have divined that whatever his future was a writer would be, it was bound up with theirs” (Greene, p. 90).

As the only director living in Dublin, Synge had a very active role in the management (Greene), taking the company on tour, and premiering his plays there (Kohfeldt). But as much as he was a part of the theatre, Synge also protected himself by “isolating himself and regarding others with detachment” (Kohfeldt, p. 183). Fred O’Donovan, in Rodgers, describes the scene in the Green Room of the Abbey after a play:

“There was this quiet figure, sitting behind the hat-rack in the corner, and I remember distinctly seeing beads of perspiration on his forehead. Nobody taking any notice of him, everybody around Yeats and Lady Gregory--and...I could see on John’s face he had one great desire and that was to escape from the room as quickly and unobtrusively as possible” (p. 109-10)

Synge said that all art was collaborative, yet he never collaborated with anyone in his short career (Coxhead). One account claims that he actually didn’t like Coole Park that much (Kohfeldt) and only stayed there five times, allying himself more with Lady Gregory’s son Robert there (Coxhead).

During the group’s fights over the theatre, he is described as being smart enough to use his silence, staying aside from the fray. Indeed, there was always something separate about him. No member of his family “was to see play of his performed during his lifetime” (Greene, p. 147). On his death in 1909 Lady Gregory wrote confidentially to Yeats:

“We can’t say and don’t want to say what was true, he was ungracious to his fellow workers, authors and actors, ready in accepting praise, grudging in giving it. I wonder if he ever felt a moment’s gratitude for all we went through fighting his battle over Playboy? On tour he thought of his own plays only, gave no help to ours, and if he repeated compliments they were to his own...Those who attacked him didn’t know him at all--they were never able to get at any vulnerable spot. We who are his friends and know him could find more than that to say against him but we won’t” (Kohfeldt, p. 182).

However, in her published memoirs she treats him more kindly: “I sometimes wonder whether much of my liking for him didn’t come from his being an appreciative listener--he would take out his cigarette and have a long comfortable laugh, and then put it back again. One never had to rearrange one’s mind to talk to him “ (in Kohfeldt, p. 183).

## Clive Bell

Clive came from a different background, "growing up in a Regency villa converted into a Tudor mansion" thanks to family money from a coal mine (Edel, p. 27). Unlike the others, he was a hunter and sportsman with "tremendous physical vitality" (Uricchio, p. 104). Thoby initially described him as "a sort of mixture between Shelley and a sporting country squire" (Malcolm, 1995, p. 60-1). Strachey detailed even more layers:

"There is the country gentleman layer, which makes him retire to the depths of Wiltshire to shoot partridges. There is the Paris decadent layer, which takes him to the *quartier latin* where he discusses painting and vice with American artists and French models. There is the eighteenth century layer, which adores Thoby Stephen. There is the layer of innocence which adores Thoby's sister. There is the layer of prostitution, which shows itself in an amazing head of crimped straw-colored hair. And there is the layer of stupidity, which runs transversely through all the other layers" (in Spalding, 1983).

Leonard referred to him as outside his own circle of "intimate, intellectual companions" (Edel, p. 42), which did include Strachey and Keynes. He was much better dressed and more conscious of it than the others, more hunter than intellectual (Bell I). Unlike his pacifist friends, in later years his politics turned decidedly "pro-fascist" (Malcolm, 1996, p. 14).

Virginia found her new brother-in-law to be odd, as well, writing to a friend upon her sister's engagement: "When I think of father and Thoby and then see that funny little creature twitching his pink skin and jerking out his little spasm of laughter I wonder what odd freak there is in Nessa's eyesight" (in Malcolm, 1995). In terms of class, Clive, the Odd One Out, displayed the most heterogeneity from Virginia and the rest of the group, and gave her necessary information from a different point of view, such as his family's "hideous and pretentious mansion in Wiltshire, decorated with fake-Gothic ornament and animal trophies. Numerous sardonic descriptions of the place have come down to us from Vanessa, who would visit there as a dutiful daughter-in-law and write to Virginia of the 'combination of new art and deer's hoofs'" (Malcolm, 1995, p. 63).

But Clive was a charter member of the Bloomsberries by education (at Cambridge), marriage (to Vanessa), and philosophy (his Art). His personality was a key ingredient to the salons, even the early ones hosted by Thoby; they wouldn't have been a success without him. Unlike Sygne, Clive had "a talent for starting good subjects of conversation and

encouraging others to pursue them” (Spalding, 1983, p. 50), and always “livened up the proceedings” (Edel, p. 125). Vanessa wrote to him of one evening when he was absent:

“At Fitzroy Square...The evening was awkward in the extreme I thought...[Irene and Tudor] Castle talked the whole time to each other. The goat [Virginia] was silent with occasional attempts at an affectionate whispered conversation with me which had to be curbed. Your presence would have been a great help.’ Then the dog threw up” (Spalding, 1983, p. 78).

His “ebullient” (Spalding, 1983, p. 78) personality meant that Clive was included in many of the formal activities of Bloomsbury--the Apostles and the Midnight Society at Cambridge, the Play Reading Society and letter writing novel game at Gordon Square, the Friday Club which he and Vanessa founded even before their marriage (Bell I), and Fry’s Second Post-Impressionist Exhibit (Shone, 1976).

Clive remained married to Vanessa until her death, and depended on her to make peace (Bell I) when he would fight or get disgusted with the numerous Gordon Square guests--Fry, Strachey, etc. But he also renewed his affair with a married neighbor, Mrs. Raven-Hill, within two years after his marriage, and later embarked on a long-term relationship with Mary Hutchinson, who was reluctantly accepted on the fringes of the Bloomsbury group for years. At one point he even considered moving to Chelsea to be closer to her group of friends (Spalding, 1983).

Unlike the others, “his chief gift...lay not in his own creativity, but in his ability to appreciate the work of others. He was unusually receptive, both to painting and writing, but had no driving need to turn his sensitivity to words into a vocation” (Bell I, p. 63).

Malcolm (1995) describes him as the “lightweight” of Bloomsbury; “today nobody reads his books on art, and his own friends patronized him” (p. 63). His function as a critic brought an outside view to Bloomsbury’s work, culminating, just before their break up, with the publication of Art: “Its basic tenets provide the theoretical standpoint which [Vanessa] Bell clung to all her life...[It] drew upon many of Roger’s ideas...[and] became a manifesto for the English post-Impressionist movement” (Spalding, 1983, p. 115).

## Virgil Thomson

In gathering the data, it was not clear initially whether Thomson should be considered the Odd One Out for his distance from the group, or the Bridge because of his expertise as a composer. Upon further analysis, however, it became clear that Ray, who was also removed from the group, but wrote very little, functioned as the Bridge, and that Thomson's was known in the group as much as a critic as a composer.

Indeed, Thomson functioned as a separate character in most of the groups he participated in. Growing up he was considered "surely an oddball to his many friends" (Wittke, p. 1), and in the National Guard during World War I, "he appeared to be one of the boys, but in his heart he knew he was a few steps ahead and several feet above" (Wittke, p. 3). When he studied with Nadia Boulanger in the early twenties, he "never completely fell under her spell...Virgil named the American acolytes the 'Boulangerie' (Wittke, p. 5). Indeed, although "Paris was his mistress," he returned often to New York to compose (Wittke).

But there is no question that Thomson was part of the Paris American *emigre* scene in the twenties, even before he met Stein in 1925. He and Janet Flanner were described as "already old Parisians" (Galantiere, p. 1) when the Hemingways arrived in late 1921. Wittke says that the "the city resonated a deep chord in him; he was endowed with a Parisian soul. All his life he remained a Parisian man of the twenties" (p. 10-1).

Although he is mentioned in the same context as Hemingway (Kathleen Hoover), and Fitzgerald (Wittke), outside of his presence at the 1926 Christmas party for Anderson and his kids at 27 rue de Fleurus (Souhami) there is not much evidence that Thomson had close connections with others in the group outside of Stein and Toklas.

Besides being the only composer in the group, Thomson provided contrast in other ways. He "shared the expatriates' discontent [in Paris] but not their disaffection" (Kathleen Hoover, p. 41). When he arrived at Fleurus with George Antheil about 1925, he was "already a mature artist...[so he] at first maintained none but a sardonic attitude toward the whole Stein circle" (Brinnin). Indeed, Thomson's presence had more impact on Stein than the group as a whole.

## George S Kaufman

None who knew him would doubt that Kaufman was “Odd,” even in a group with as many unusual characters as the Algonquin Round Table; Parker succinctly described him as “a mess” (Meade, p. 132).

He was always a man who kept his distance from his friends, his collaborators (he only wrote one play alone) and his wives. “His phobias were disabling, his hypochondria of textbook dimensions. Kaufman had a horror of being touched and after a single year of marriage was unable to have sex with his wife Bea, although apparently he experienced fewer problems with prostitutes” (Meade, p. 65). He has been described by close friends as “one of the strangest [men] I have ever met in a half century in show business,” “a deeply unhappy man,” “pretty neurotic,” and “scary” (Goldstein, p. 5). Gaines says, “keeping interpersonal distance seemed almost a matter of principle [to him. He] was as shy of sentiment as he was of physical contact” (p. 79). Though not “gregarious,” like most performers he loved having an audience (Goldstein, p. 43), and was a social being, belonging to many different New York clubs.

As arguably the most successful playwright in the group, he brought Broadway into their midst, providing connections with his other collaborators, such as Ferber, after he left Connelly. For his part, he described the group as “a motley and nondescript bunch of people who wanted to eat lunch, and that’s about all” (Grimes, June, 1994, p. B2).

That Kaufman was a key member of the group there is no doubt, whether at the Algonquin, at Polly Adler’s where he had a charge account (Frewin), at the Dutch Treat Club with Benchley, Connelly, FPA and Broun (Goldstein), and particularly as the best poker player and the official treasurer of Thanatopsis. But he never went to Neshobe because his wife Bea carried on a few affairs there, while he “had his own pursuits, amorous and theatrical, in the city” (Gaines, p. 94).

## The Link: Lady Gregory, Fry, Anderson, FPA

The Link provides direct connections for other group members to the establishment as well as the past, but this role is not defined solely by age. Moore was born the same year as Lady Gregory; Stein, Toklas and Anderson were all about the same age.

Secord and Backman identify seniority as one of the investments that group members make that "is apt to have at least some intrinsic value." They also describe the "coaching" function that is necessary in some groups to "ease status passage...[by] persons who have gone through a series of transitions to guide and advise those who follow" (p. 275-6).

In these creative groups, the Link has past experiences when he or she enters the group that makes him or her a bridge to other, more important circles: government, art galleries, publishers, etc. Whereas the Host/Hostess is the parent figure, the Link eases the way for the Star and others into the more established creative world of their time.

## Lady Augusta Gregory

Lady Gregory is the only character in the groups who clearly serves in two roles. Her function as the Hostess has already been described. However, it is apparent that within the Irish Literary Renaissance she used her links to the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy to advance their work.

In her role as Sir William's young wife, Lady Gregory already had hosted a salon in London where she had guests sign her ivory fan, and the two of them embarked on a campaign to free an Arab leader imprisoned by the British. Although neither saw any similarities between the struggles of the Arabs, which they supported, and the Irish Catholics, which they didn't, she published a pamphlet, Arabi and His Household. Their campaign was a success for the Arabs, but also for her personally:

"From the moment she began to write, she found her distinctive voice...[She] learnt how to organize: how to run a campaign, enlist sympathy, raise funds, use influence or wealthy acquaintances, of need be in ways of which they were not fully cognizant" (p. 26-7)

By the time she put these talents to use in the Irish Literary Theatre, she had traveled the world, been paid for writing articles (Kohfeldt), and published a biography of her late

husband (Ulick O'Connor). When she was widowed at age forty, "the pace of the creative changes [in her life] had accelerated" (Kohfeldt, p. 152).

Lady Gregory began to invite as guests to Coole anyone who could help their theatre, including her former lover, poet Blunt, MP Plunkett, and her cousin, author Standish James O'Grady (Kohfeldt). Through Lady Gregory the other members came in touch with these and other leading Irish figures of the time. When Yeats met Plunkett at Coole in 1898, he suggested AE for the IAOS position Plunkett was trying to fill (Kuch). A few years later, Plunkett gave a banquet at the Shelbourne Hotel to honor the theatre's accomplishments (Ulick O'Connor).

Besides raising money from her friends when the theatre first began (Kohfeldt), Lady Gregory also used her clout to get a law changed so that they could rent rooms in Dublin to put on plays (Ulick O'Connor). As an Irish citizen, she held the original license that allowed them to start their performances in the new Abbey theatre. When she wasn't pleased with the newspaper reviews of the performances, Lady Gregory summoned the critics to her Dublin hotel room to question them (Kohfeldt). Although Yeats had another wealthy rival patron, Gonne contrasted the two with amusement: "Miss Horniman brought back Italian plaques to decorate the Abbey but Lady Gregory carried off Willie to visit the Italian towns where they were made" (in Jeffares, p. 181-2). In the long run, as Lady Gregory herself said in her Journal, "Miss Horniman made the building, not the theatre" (in Kohfeldt, p. 168).

We have seen that Synge did not avail himself of her talents as Hostess as much as the others did, but as the Link she arranged readings for his plays in London (Ulick O'Connor), got them produced, and fought against the crowd's reaction (Coxhead). Lady Gregory got her friend and later lover, Quinn, to put up money for the plays and publish them in the United States to preserve their copyright there (Kohfeldt). She helped Hyde found a Kiltartan branch of his Gaelic League (Coxhead), and his fund-raising efforts made good use of Quinn's talents and connections as well (Daly). For his part, Hyde saw her as a "useful convert" for his organization (Ulick O'Connor, p. 198).

Lady Gregory lead the Abbey on its American tours, with and without Yeats, and she lectured at colleges there. Her friend Quinn helped with the arrangements and rescued the company when it was arrested in Philadelphia for performing Playboy (Kohfeldt).

She and Yeats continued to operate the Abbey together after the group broke up, and fought Dublin Castle together to produce Shaw's banned play, The Showing Up of Blanco Posnet (Kohfeldt). After the Treaty was signed, they decided they should no longer raise money in England (Jeffares) and in 1925 their theatre became the first in the western world to receive a government subsidy, primarily through her efforts (Ulick O'Connor).

In later years, when Lady Gregory became the patron of O'Casey and others, she embarked on a long and drawn out fight with the authorities to have a gallery built for the art collection owned by her nephew, Hugh Lane, drowned on the *Lusitania*, which wasn't settled until 35 years after her death (Kohfeldt).

## Roger Fry

Fry was 44 years old and married with children when he re-met Vanessa and Clive at the Cambridge Railroad station in 1910, three years after the Bloomsbury group had been formed (Spalding, 1983). He had already been in and out of the New England Art Club and served as a juror there; lectured; had one-man shows; been commissioned to write pieces on painters; raised money for Burlington magazine (Spalding, 1980), where he had reproduced Picasso's Portrait of Gertrude Stein (Stein, 1984); founded the Allied Artists Association (Shone, 1976); and turned down the directorship of the National Gallery to become curator and then European adviser of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York on the request of J P Morgan. By 1910, "he had turned his back on the knighthood that at one time seemed likely to come his way" (Spalding, 1983, p. 86). That year

“began as one of utter disaster...[the Met job ended; he was rejected by Oxford as Slade Professor of Art], and the need to certify his wife and have her permanently committed to an asylum became a brutal reality...Grief and despair gave birth to fresh energy which became allied with a new commitment to the present... Yet the chances of Fry being able to bring about [a renewal in art in England] were extremely slight...Roger had no influence with any official body of artists; he had no part in the Fitzroy Group that met at Sickert's studio...[He was out of touch with Slade and younger ones]. But early one Monday morning in January....while waiting on Cambridge station for the arrival of the London train, a chance meeting brought to an end his relative isolation” (Spalding, 1983, p. 123).

Soon after their meeting, the Bells invited him to lecture to their Friday Club (Bell I).

#### This friendship

“greatly helped him as he plunged into the sea of modernism...His supporters, his allies, and above all his friends...could assist [the Bloomsberries] in his official capacity by helping them to exhibit...and introduce [their work] to likely patrons...[Fry had] a less parochial, less cliquish attitude to life...while...completely at ease in the unworldly but not unsophisticated gatherings in Fitzroy or Vanessa and Clive's Gordon Square...[With him] Bloomsbury greatly expanded its contacts and its interests, [and] became a definite social and intellectual force” (Bell I, p. 36).

By the end of the year, with the Bells' help, Fry had put together his First Post-Impressionism Exhibit, demonstrating to his friends, admirers and enemies, that this

“highly respectable and well-established figure...had taken leave of his senses...that he had willfully and wickedly entered into a conspiracy with hoaxers, crooks and criminals of the Parisian underworld. In short, he had asked the British public to look at and admire the works of Cezanne” (Bell I, p. 167).

Afterwards, Fry arranged for Grant to do large-scale murals at the Boro Polytechnic, influenced Vanessa to start paper collages, and founded the Grafton Group to show their works (Spalding, 1983). His 1913 Second Post-Impressionist Exhibit, according to Benedict Nicholson “gave birth to the much more rigid doctrine of ‘significant form’” (in Spalding, 1980, p. 163) and provided employment for Leonard as secretary (Shone, 1976).

The following year Fry began the Omega Workshops and because he was so busy managing this enterprise, Fry turned over to Clive his offer from Chatto and Windus to write a book on Post-Impressionism (Spalding, 1983), which Clive turned into his best known work, Art.

Fry's interest in Vanessa was personal as well as professional. Their affair began in April of 1911 when she took quite ill on a trip with him and Clive to Turkey. By the time

Virginia arrived to help nurse her sister, she found Fry taking charge of the situation, Vanessa in love with him, ignoring her husband (Bell I). Their relationship lasted through the rest of the Bloomsbury group's years, until she turned to Grant in 1915, leaving the older man (Spalding, 1983).

Although Virginia later found the older man's "attempts to keep with the young rather pathetic" (Spater, p. 128), she characterized Fry to her sister as "the only civilized man I have ever met and I continue to think him the plume in our cap;...If Bloomsbury had produced only Roger, it would be on a par with Athens at its prime" (Spalding, 1980, p. 247).

## Sherwood Anderson

Anderson was actually two years younger than Stein when he came to her door in 1921, married and a father. But the difference in their status was that he had published at least one extremely popular novel (Hobhouse).

He had first written for house organs, spent many years working in advertising and had operated his own direct mail business. Having published at least four novels, contributed to Little Review, Seven Arts, and The Masses (Townsend), Anderson finally had his first big hit, the classic Winesburg, Ohio, which appeared in 1919 (Hobhouse). As Brinnin says, "in the long-delayed realization of his talent he had achieved a personal security that allowed him to be a sponsor of the expatriate movement, rather than a participant" (p. 235-6).

Before he even left for Paris, Anderson met Hemingway at the Domicile in Chicago. He helped him "as he would help [William] Faulkner, mostly by his example...He took him to [his house in] Palos Park to show him how essential it was to have a place apart in which to work" (Townsend, p. 173). When he returned to Chicago after his first trip to Paris, he gave Hemingway a letter of introduction to Stein and encouraged the young writer and his bride to move there (Baker). Soon after, Hemingway was writing to Anderson, "Stein and me are just like brothers and we see a lot of her," (Brinnin, p. 250), but, as Simon says, "in retrospect, the only mistake Sherwood made was sending Ernest to Gertrude" (p. 115).

Anderson also “opened the door for Hemingway” to have a story published in the Double Dealer, a New Orleans magazine (Reynolds, p. 5). He was asked by Liveright to write a blurb for their exciting young author (Townsend), just as Hemingway was writing Torrents, his merciless parody of both his mentors, Anderson and Stein (Mellow).

Soon after coming to rue de Fleurus, Anderson began to receive many awards and honors, especially a large cash award from Dial magazine (Townsend). As Hemingway and the others were published, their style was constantly compared to his (Reynolds), as the one who had done it first, at least publicly.

### FPA (Franklin P. Adams)

The “King Arthur” (Rosmond) of the Round Table, almost forty and married when they first started to gather, had already helped a few of them the best way he could--by publishing their quips in his daily column.

Kaufman had been the first of the Algonquin writers to benefit from the older man’s largesse, and he eventually found Kaufman a succession of full-time newspaper jobs. FPA published his poems in that column as early as 1909 in his original “Always in Good Humor” column (Gaines), and was so impressed that he invited Kaufman to lunch. After that, he “made what almost amounted a subsidiary career of finding ways to help George Kaufman” (Goldstein, p. 20). FPA got him a job with the anti-Semitic Frank Munsey at the Washington, DC, Times, and kept his name in front of the public by announcing his career triumphs and traveling plans. After Munsey asked loudly, “What’s that Jew doing in my city room?” and fired Kaufman, FPA brought him to the Mail and later to a job as Broun’s assistant on the Tribune (Goldstein).

When FPA went to the Tribune he renamed his column “The Conning Tower,” commenting “on anything and everything, and Adams did not so much write it as conduct it, printing the contributions of his readers” (Goldstein, p. 46). Later he added “The Diary of Our Own Samuel Pepys” (Frewin). At that time “all the New York papers published light verse,...the Mount Everest of verse publishing was the New York Tribune, where Adams conducted “The Conning Tower”” (Meade, p. 31).

From the Tribune FPA also first wrote to Benchley in Boston after hearing about him from a mutual friend (Benchley) and reading his first piece in Vanity Fair (Rosmond), offering him a reporting job on the Sunday supplement of the Tribune, which Benchley took after his first baby was born in November of 1915 (Benchley). As we have seen, Connelly and Kaufman first heard Benchley speak at FPA's annual "Contributors' Dinner" (Gaines).

When FPA served on Stars with the others, and back stateside, when they all began to lunch, he was the only one who already had a reputation, as "the best known non-presidential initials in the United States" (Goldstein, p. 18).

As a father figure, FPA left much to be desired, but he did watch over his younger friends on a personal as well as professional basis, showing Benchley and his young wife around New York when they first moved there (Benchley), and serving as best man for both Kaufman (Goldstein) and Broun (Richard O'Connor). Gaines points out that Kaufman "owed almost everything to FPA's intercession on his behalf, [but] everyone at the Round Table owed some part of his success to FPA."

### The Bridge: Hyde, Keynes, Ray and Broun

What are non-writers doing in these groups? An expert in another field, not primarily known as a writer, the Bridge provides two-way communication, necessary information, with other points of view. As we've already seen, there are painters in the Bloomsbury group, and a composer in the expatriates in Paris, who fulfill other roles. However, in each group there is a person whose main function, it appears, is to provide a Bridge, a two-way connection, to another creative field--politics, economics, photography, or union organizing--that is not directly related to the work of the other members. After looking at the cohesion patterns in the group later in this paper, we will see that this role, combined with the other two in the Outer Circle (the Odd One Out and the Link), contribute significantly to the success of the groups in developing the creativity of the Star and the others.

Although in the long-term the Bridge becomes identified primarily with his field, he usually starts out, and continues to a lesser degree, as a writer. This allows him to bring new input to the group from a different point of view, while understanding firsthand the needs of the writers.

## Douglas Hyde

At an early age, Hyde “more convinced that cultural regeneration was more important than political autonomy. He wanted Ireland to regain possession of her soul before she attempted to achieve more territorial independence” (Daly, p. xviii). In his teens he began keeping a diary in both Irish and English, which he continued off and on for the next 38 years. He used his unusually strong language skills to write poems and translate verses and folklore he collected. From the beginning his strong Irish nationalism was closely related to his talents as a writer, and later playwright, with the Irish Literary Renaissance (Dunleavy).

To placate his minister father, Hyde originally agreed to go to the Trinity College, Dublin, Divinity School. He graduated, without taking orders (Ulick O’Connor), and began to put his inspirational talents to good use in the cause of nationalism.

He first wrote of his support for the Irish language in an 1886 article in the Dublin University Review, which formed the basis for the beliefs he put into action by founding the Gaelic League in the early nineties (Daly). Hyde also received a law degree from Trinity while he was speaking on the need to “de-Anglicize” Irish (Ulick O’Connor) and becoming more active in such organizations as the Dublin National Literary Society with Yeats (Ellman). He always showed “a gift for getting things done...an ideal leader” (Ulick O’Connor, p. 171).

While Hyde was in the group, he didn’t really want to be a playwright; although he was good at poetry, he was mostly interested in the Gaelic League (Coxhead). An activist for teaching Irish in the schools, until the Intermediate Education (Irish) Amendment Act was finally passed in 1900, including it in the national curriculum (Daly), he led other Gaelic League protests, including a major movement to have the post office deliver mail addressed in Irish (Coxhead).

Hyde's political activities had an impact on the Renaissance, bringing them more in touch with the rising tide of nationalism in Ireland at the time. Lady Gregory wanted to include him in their theatre group because of his knowledge of the Irish language, in addition to her own affection for him (Daly). He enticed Martyn and Moore to support League activities (Gwynn), but saw through Moore's false commitment to the group (Ulick O'Connor).

As the Bridge Hyde also served as "arbitrator" between the two groups. As the Irish fight for freedom progressed, there were factions within the League that took to "swiping" at the theatre in the organization's newspaper and a fierce rivalry (Daly) developed. Hyde, as the Bridge, was caught between the two for many years.

By 1903, the Gaelic League was growing and there were files on both the organization and him in Dublin Castle. Just before the Irish Renaissance group was breaking up Hyde left on a major tour of the United States to raise funds for the League (Ulick O'Connor).

Yeats, not Hyde, was named to the first Irish Senate, in 1923 (Daly), but it was Hyde who was the unanimous choice as the first president of the Republic in 1938 (Dunleavy).

### John Maynard Keynes

In a non-writer-centered group, Keynes, "the Newton of economics" (Spater, p. 48), might be considered the Star. He began his economics career explaining the concept of interest to his father at age four (Edel), but also began writing essays and a family newspaper in his teens. He won essay prizes at Eton and was president of the Literary Society there, but studied political economics at Cambridge. The papers he read to his fellow Apostles formed the basis for his first major work, A Treatise on Probability. His first civil service job was in the India Office, but after a year he moved on to the Revenue Department (Skidelsky I)

Although he published some poems (Shone, 1976), most of Keynes' writing after Cambridge was confined to economics and politics. Through his years with the Bloomsbury group, he was lecturing at Cambridge, but was also writing and editing the

Economic Journal. At the outbreak of war in 1914, he was called to the Treasury for a meeting on the bank rate and his involvement with the government “marked the start of Keynes’ career as a radical economist” (Skidelsky I, p. 401). Just as the group was breaking up, in January of 1915, there was one last party, hosted by him at the Cafe Royal, to celebrate his new official Treasury position (Skidelsky I).

After the group disbanded, Keynes became an avid collector of art, arranging for purchases for the National Gallery, and a founder of the London Artists Association which supported Vanessa and Grant (Spalding, 1983). He bought their art, invested their money for them (not always successfully, Skidelsky II), and was published by the Woolfs’ Hogarth Press (Greeves).

## Man Ray

Ray’s creative life began with his “building, fixing, even inventing...fantasizing about ‘strange people that were geometric forms walking in the street” (Baldwin, p. 4) near his New York home, studying draftsmanship and architecture in high school (Baldwin) and going on to transform modern sculpture and photography.

He began painting and graphic design in his teens, and at age nineteen was recording all of his paintings with a Brownie camera. We have seen how Ray socialized with a very different “Round Table” in New York with other painters, and he studied at the avant garde Ferrer School with Robert Henri of “The Ashcan School” of painters. But in these years he was also experimenting with poetry, being published in small magazines, including Kreymbourg’s Glebe. By 1914 he had self-published Adonius: Poems by Ray and was working on The Book of Divers Writings, which was later self-published with his wife, Adon (Baldwin). Living in Ridgefield, New Jersey, with Adon and other artists, he helped publish their Ridgefield Gazook (Schwarz). There were other self-published works, but by 1919 when he began experimenting with different types of photography (Baldwin), his writing activities declined.

After working with Duchamp, who was to become his long-time friend and chess opponent, Ray also started experimenting in the new medium of film (Schwarz). By the

time Arthur Howald became his patron “he was fully formed as an artist” (Baldwin, p. 81) and had already had his photos included the “Gallery of Literary Celebrities” (Brinnin, p. 229) at Shakespeare and Co.

The input that he brought from his connections with the surrealist groups and other arts was primarily limited to the portraits he did of the other expatriates--particularly Stein, Toklas, Hemingway (Schwarz), and Thomson (Kathleen Hoover). Although Stein didn't think much of Ray as a painter, she did give him exclusive photographic rights. She and Toklas were among the first to visit his studio, when he first took their picture (Baldwin). In the Autobiography, she described her earliest opinions of his work:

“One day she told him that she liked his photographs of her better than any that had ever been taken except one snap-shot I had taken of her recently. This seemed to bother Man Ray. In a little while he asked her to come and pose and she did. He said, move all you like, your eyes, your head, it is to be a pose but it is to have in it all the qualities of a snap-shot. The poses were very long, she, as he requested, moved, and the result, the last photographs he made of her, are extraordinarily interesting” (p. 213-4)

Of all the Bridges, Broun is the one most remembered as a writer. After being graduated from Harvard, he had “made up his mind that he would make a career in journalism” (Richard O'Connor, p. 19), starting at the Morning Telegraph. He began in sports (Richard O'Connor), and went back and forth between that beat and drama (Benchley) on the Tribune, but was known early on as “the affectionate, scruffy, intellectual leftist journalist” (Frewin, p. 39).

In the early years of the Round Table Broun became a nationally syndicated columnist and contributor to Collier's, Judge, Vanity Fair and Atlantic Monthly (Richard O'Connor). On the “august” Morning World, he became a “licensed essayist” and would write about any topic. He published a few novels, but eventually became more involved in socialist causes. His radical views were “at bottom sentimental” (Gaines, p. 172), and in 1922 Broun agreed to become head of the Journalist Union, which was short-lived. He took on the KKK in his World column and as a result found a burning cross on his farm in Connecticut (Richard O'Connor).

Sinclair Lewis, however, dismissed Broun as a “an arrant sentimentalist who capitalized to the hilt on his liberal-humanist attitude” (Richard O'Connor, p. 116). No one can deny his love of the underdog (Richard O'Connor) and “his complete commitment to

radical causes” (Goldstein, p. 74), despite his many friendships with the “oppressors” (Drennan, p. 15).

In 1925, an ardent supporter of Sacco and Vanzetti, Broun had his first major break with his employers, writing one column on the trial referred to as “one of the polemic masterpieces of American journalism” (Richard O’Connor, p. 133). One week later the World announced that they wouldn’t publish his column and he went on strike. From this point he “began devoting himself wholeheartedly to the Sacco-Vanzetti case” (Gaines, p. 173). He went back and forth between the World and the Nation, eventually ending up for a while on the Telegraph with Scripps-Howard syndication (Richard O’Connor).

Although “from Broun’s first articulation of a burgeoning activism, it was clear that his Rose Room audience was less than completely receptive” (Gaines, p. 163), many of them, particularly Parker, did become actively involved in liberal causes, including Sacco-Vanzetti (Gaines). Despite his own upper class upbringing, it bothered him to be cast with the others in the role of “performing seals” (Meade), at publisher Herbert Bayard Swope’s Long Island parties. He once arrived late to a party at Averell Harriman’s and explained, “I was down in the kitchen trying to persuade your butler to strike for higher wages” (Drennan, p. 15).

In his post Round Table years Broun was the driving force behind the creation of the Newspaper Guild and was mislabeled a “New York Communist” when he was arrested for taking part in a demonstration. He changed it to “New York Columnist” on the police record. His fights with his publishers over his radical stands continued up until his death in 1939 (Richard O’Connor).

According to Goldstein, in the long run he will be remembered “by virtue of his pungent style...his complete commitment to radical causes; and his successful effort to organize the Newspaper Guild” (p. 74).

## D. Environment

Wilson defines the environment as “external factors that effect certain characteristics of the group and are affected by these characteristics” (p. 5), and he discusses three classes of environmental factors, physical, cultural and structural. Handy stresses the importance of the ecology, or the “relationship of an environment and its organism” (p. 125) and how it affects the behavior and attitudes of individuals. In this section we will look at the physical environment--the size of the group, their physical surroundings, their availability, both in proximity or functional distance and time--and the cultural environment or climate of the groups.

### *1. Size*

“A literary movement consists of five or six people who live in the same town and hate each other cordially” (Summerfield, p. 193).

These groups have between seven and eight members each, but each has eight role categories. As we have seen, Lady Gregory fulfills two roles in the Irish group.

This consistency is not a coincidence. Smaller size makes participation easier and more frequent, according to Handy. This in turn leads to increased “sentiments” and stronger commitment, as the participant thinks of his or her “participation as worthwhile and legitimate” (p. 125). Simmel also found that “relatively small groups required more participation on the part of members and subsequently a greater part of their personality becomes absorbed in the group” (in Wilson, p. 17).

Cartwright reports that many studies of group size, usually done with work groups or departments within large companies, show that the reverse is true as well. “As the size of these units increases there is a decrease in job satisfaction and a concomitant increase in absence rates, turnover rates and the incidence of labor disputes,” indicating a “negative relationship between the size of a group and the satisfaction of its members.” One study showed that “larger groups do have more difficulties of communication and less satisfaction from work.” Thrasher’s study of gangs showed that the “necessity of maintaining face-to-face relationships sets definite limits to the magnitude to which the gangs can grow...If all

members are present, what is said by one of the group can be heard by all” (in Hare, 1962, p. 38).

Handy points out two “conflicting tendencies” in size: “(a) the larger the group, the greater the diversity of talent, skills and knowledge and (b) the larger the group, the less chance of an individual participating” (p. 152). For these groups, eight seems to be an ideal size, particularly if a diversity of talent is present, as we have seen from the role categories described above.

The size of the group is therefore a “trade-off,” according to Handy:

“For best participation, for highest all-round involvement, a size of between five and seven seems to be optimum. However, in order to achieve the requisite breadth of knowledge or the requisite representation, the required size may be considerably larger...In work groups, size tends to be related to cohesiveness, which in turn is positively related to member satisfaction. Large work-groups tend to have more absenteeism and lower morale. Large in this context, however, seems to be twenty or over (p. 152-5).”

The Irish group began with three--Yeats, Lady Gregory and Martyn--added three more in the first two years --AE, Synge and then Hyde--and then took in Moore, who only stayed three years, bringing the total number for the last four years back to six.

The Bloomsbury group began with a smaller group at university--Strachey, Leonard, Clive, Keynes and Thoby--which expanded to include Thoby’s sisters, Virginia and Vanessa, when they left Cambridge and moved their location to Gordon Square. After the Bells’ marriage, and Virginia and Adrian’s move to Fitzroy Square, their “usual circle of friends...was not broken up, but enlarged” (Holroyd I, p. 397). Eventually Leonard and Keynes re-entered, and Grant and Fry were added, bringing the main group to eight.

The Paris group was even more fluid, starting with the requisite three--Stein, Toklas and Anderson--adding two within a year--Ray and Hemingway--then McAlmon in 1923, who only lasted three years, and two more--Fitzgerald and Thomson--two years later.

Goldstein and some other sources put the size of the Round Table as high as 30, adding “not every one of them could be present every day” (p. 66). Although all the main group members entered in the summer of 1919 and stayed for eight years, their popularity increased their size to the point where

“before long [Case] noticed the size of the group expanding as they pulled up chairs from other tables, overflowed into the aisles and to adjoining tables, and created traffic problems. For practical reasons, Case decided to move them to a front table in the Rose Room. That failed to solve the problem either, for even more people showed up to eat with them. Next he seated them at a large round table in the rear of the dining room and gave them a waiter of their own” (Meade, p. 75).

Obviously, not all of these “regulars” could be considered a strong influence on Parker’s creative talents. For our purposes, only the seven or eight main members of each group, not the “fringers” will be considered.

In informal groups of creative people, then, as long as diversity of points of view are represented (the Odd One Out, the Link, the Bridge), seven to eight seems to be an ideal size for maximum interaction and participation.

## *2. Physical Surroundings*

Handy reports that, in the business world, “managers often behave very differently outside the office and in, even to the same person. They use a change of location to indicate a change in role...Indeed, if you wish to change your roles you must find some outward sign” (p. 56). The 31 artists we are looking at found special places they could gather, where they felt comfortable in their roles as creative people. Many studies have focused on the influence of physical arrangements, particularly distance, on communication patterns.

The four groups would not have been as cohesive and as successful if they did not have specific places where they could meet. All four had both city and more isolated country places where they gathered most often. The character of these four cities at the time the groups were at their peak served as a background which also strongly affected their development.

The Irish group’s main location was Coole Park in the west of Ireland, but they also met often in Dublin. All the other groups had their main location in the city, but also got together in the country. The Bloomsbury group met in two homes a few blocks apart in Gordon Square and Fitzroy Square in London. They also had Little Talland House and then Asham in Sussex during the time of the group, and Charleston and Monk’s House after. Stein and Toklas’ 27 rue de Fleurus became a prime spot for creative people on the Left

Bank of Paris, but by the end of the twenties they spent summers in a house in Bilignin to which other writers and composers came. The Algonquinites came for lunch most days at the Hotel, which was near the offices of The New Yorker. The Thanatopsis poker club also met there most weekends. Woolcott got many of them to buy into a corporation to own Neshobe Island in Vermont for weekend retreats. By the end of the group, many of them had their own homes in Connecticut.

Handy cites three physical situations that affect communication:

\*"Physical barriers can prevent groups from forming...

\*The location of a meeting gives out signals...

\*Shared facilities, even shared discomfort, does much to help group identity...An isolated location, where all facilities have to be shared, will tend to create involvement in the group" (p. 167).

In Handy's discussion of ecology, he includes noise levels, variety, seating patterns and segregation among the factors in the physical environment that studies have shown are important. We know something of the settings in which the group met (only Coole Park no longer exists, but not all of the others are open for public inspection), but cannot explore seating patterns, etc., in detail.

However, we do know that the groups, and particularly the Host/Hostess, created a physical space which was conducive to communication, which "gave out signals" of comfort to the members. Because in many cases two or more of them actually lived together, they shared facilities, and their country places gave them an isolated location which enhanced "involvement in the group." They knew that when they were together at those places, they were not only permitted but also expected to be creative people. We will see that they also created climates that were conducive to their creative work.

## Coole Park and Dublin

Dublin at the beginning of the Edwardian age, "was on the threshold of a period so brilliantly creative that it has...become a legend" (Summerfield, p. 94), and the work of the Irish Literary Renaissance and others made it "the focus of a cultural and economic revival...drawing on the Celtic past" (Summerfield, p. 104). Although based in the west of

Ireland, the group also saw each other regularly in Dublin in the years when they were more involved with Abbey Theatre. Lady Gregory would rent rooms in a private hotel on Nassau Street (Coxhead), and Moore owned a house on Ely Place from 1900 on (Kuch).

Lady Gregory, Moore and Martyn all grew up near each other in the west of Ireland. Ulick O'Connor points out that, "from three great country houses in Connacht would come three of the four people who were to create the Irish Literary Theatre...Coole Park, Moore Hall and [Martyn's] Tullira Castle" (p. 37). Coole was actually originally bought from Martyn's father (Courtney), and Lady Gregory was born in Roxboro, seven miles away from Coole (Kohfeldt).

Coole Park is halfway between Galway and Ennis City, on the border of Clare and Galway, two miles north of Gort (Hazard Adams), where the nearest train station was located in the group's days. Built in the 1770s, the Gregory family's second son inherited it because the first was caught cockfighting. It then passed to the third son, William (Kohfeldt), and Lady Gregory came to live there after their marriage in 1880. She always loved it, feeling there was a "a strangeness and romance" about the house (in Coxhead, p. 21). Very different from the Roxboro she grew up in, Coole was made for pleasure, not hard labor (Coxhead).

While not architecturally impressive, Coole has been described as "a sleeping beauty place in a thick forest" (Coxhead, p. 22), with a two mile driveway and a white Georgian porch (Coxhead). A later visitor described the approach: "the impression is of something intimate, something retired yet cordial. It is as though the house, not wishing to be directly seen, wished to hide itself in the depth so that only friends should find it" (in Kohfeldt, p. 301).

Jeffares describes the house and grounds as "a delight with its library's shelves of leather and vellum mellowed by the passing centuries, with its walled gardens, its guardian row of beech trees, its flower bordered gravel walk, its woods and swan sheltering lake" (p. 106). Coxhead imagines the interior:

"Four cultivated generations had filled it with books, presents, statuary, records and mementos of wide travel, all bearing the imprint of personal taste and personal achievement. It was the house of people who had never been afraid to use their brains" (p. 22).

The Abbey's Lennox Robinson, recalling a comment by Yeats, remarked that "if Balzac had written of [Coole] he would have expended fifty pages describing the crowded walls, the library and pictures" in (Hazard Adams, p. 23).

Coxhead laments, "that 'her visitor's book was a tree' is the only thing many people know about Lady Gregory" (p. 32). The Hostess added signatures to the catalpa tree because "her fan, on which she would continue to accumulate signatures through the twenties, was not appropriate to commemorate the junction of personal with living place now occurring at Coole" (Coxhead). The autograph tree is located on the grounds (still), a short walk from the site of the house in a large tree-filled garden. The year after the group got together Lady Gregory began writing a verse play in Irish glorifying the house as holy ground (Kohfeldt).

Ironically, Lady Gregory never owned Coole Park, the place most associated with her. Her husband died in 1892 and their son Robert inherited it when he turned 21 in 1902. He and his wife Margaret felt that Lady Gregory couldn't live there anymore, but she believed that the will said she could (Jeffares), and she was allowed her to stay rent-free until she died (Kohfeldt).

In 1903 a "Big Wind" hurricane hit Coole, as Gonne married Sean MacBride to spite her French lover and Lady Gregory read Synge's Riders to the Sea to a literary group in London. When she returned, finding all the trees down, she planted 2,500 more (Kohfeldt).

In later years Lady Gregory rented out the house for shooting parties, but on Robert's death in World War I, Coole Park passed to his son, Richard, who was still a minor. Lady Gregory offered to leave, but her daughter-in-law said she could stay. "The irony was, of course, that [Richard] did not want to live in Coole and did not feel he could tell his grandmother that" (Jeffares, p. 238). In 1920 Margaret wanted to sell it because she didn't want her children to "marry peasants." Lady Gregory confided to her journal,

"I have lived there and loved it these forty years and through the guests who have stayed there it counts for much in the awakening of the spiritual and intellectual side of our country. If there is trouble now, and it is dismantled and left to ruin, that will be the whole country's loss" (in Kohfeldt, p. 266).

She convinced Margaret to hold off by agreeing to give her the income. Some of the land was sold to the Congested Districts Board and some to a group of tenants. But before

Richard turned 21, his mother sold Coole to the Ministry of Lands and Agriculture in 1927 (Kohfeldt). Lady Gregory was “allowed to live there during her lifetime for the payment of an annual rent of 100 pounds. Yeats sensed the nearness of the end” (Malins, p. 12). She wrote, “I long for another summer in garden and woods, but perhaps a clean cut may be best” (in Kohfeldt, p. 288), and began writing her own memoir of the house, Coole Park (Malins).

Yeats had published his “Wild Swans at Coole” in 1919 (Ellman), but he had promised his Hostess that he would write a poem on the house. “Coole Park, 1929” was written first in prose and unfortunately, it served as “a memoir in advance, [ending] in prophecy of what actually happened to the house” (Jeffares, p. 294).

Towards the end of her life Lady Gregory wrote in her journal,

“Last night in the library firelight, the lamplight, shining on the rich bindings of that wall of books, and this evening, by the lake, so silent and beautiful, Crannagh so peaceful--’the tilled, familiar land’; and later I went upstairs and looked from my window at the sunset behind the blue range of hills I felt so grateful, as I have often done of late, to my husband who brought me to this house and home” (in Kohfeldt, p. 288).

Her memoir, Coole Park, was published the year before her death:

“And I sit here [in the Coole garden] in the winter time or rough autumn weather I sometimes hear the call of wild geese and see them flying in the air, towards the sea. I have gone far out in the world, East and West in my time, and so the peace within these enclosing walls is fitting for the evening of my days” (Kohfeldt, p. 300).

## Bloomsbury and Sussex

During the late nineteenth century the Bloomsbury district of London was viewed as “a bit shabby” (Spater, p. 36) and known as a low rent home for students and artists. Vanessa’s first memory was from an early visit to family friends, who were “thought eccentric for living in Bloomsbury.” It seemed “remote, melancholy, foggy, square-ridden” (in Spalding, 1983). Eventually she was to become part of “that elite group in which all the couples were triangles who lived in squares” (Frewin, p. 38).

We have seen that the group began soon after Vanessa and Clive’s marriage, when they set up housekeeping in Gordon Square, causing Virginia and Adrian to move a few blocks away to Fitzroy Square, an area that was already known as “the home of the artistic avant-garde” (Skidelsky I, p. 252). They soon installed a bathroom (Edel).

At Christmas of 1910, Virginia made her first visit to Lewes, beginning “a link between the Bloomsbury Group and this part of Sussex that was to last for almost seventy years” (Monk’s House, p. 2). She rented Little Talland House in nearby Firle a few months later (Bell I). Later that year, when her beau, Leonard, would visit her there, they took walks and found Asham (Collins) which she and Vanessa leased. When the group dispersed in 1915, Virginia and Leonard moved out of Bloomsbury to Hogarth House in Richmond, eventually taking another home in Sussex, Monk’s House, and Vanessa established a creative setting nearby in Charleston.

Some descriptions of the physical surroundings of Gordon and Fitzroy Squares survive. Shone (1976) mentions the “large ground floor sitting room” (p. 26) and Adrian’s “book-lined study on the ground floor looking out to the trees and garden” (p. 29) at Fitzroy. This is where Virginia wrote her first novel “in comparative splendor” (in Edel, p. 140).

But Fitzroy was very different from Gordon Square (“no cubist paintings,” Holroyd I, p. 405-6), for “while all the world was sitting in gloomy Victorian furniture in dark parlors, the Bloomsbury artists decorated their houses in bright colors, with whimsical designs on the walls, chairs and floors” (Uricchio). She and Clive both “regarded their drawing room as a work of art and did not welcome intruders” (Bell I, p. 121) making it “a relaxed, elegant background for their talk” (Spalding, 1983, p. 66). After their involvement with the Post-Impressionists, “startling murals appeared, North African pots and bright Eastern textiles. Pictures by Vlaminck, Picasso, Gris and Marchand replaced the works of Watts and Augustus John” (Shone in Crabtree, p. 33).

Given her key role in creating this atmosphere for all of Bloomsbury, it is easy to see why Malcolm (1995) says, “though it is Virginia’s literary achievement that has given Bloomsbury its place in cultural history, it is Vanessa’s house that became Bloomsbury’s shrine” (p. 68).

## Paris and 27 rue de Fleurus

27 rue de Fleurus was built in 1894, but its heyday came in Paris in the twenties, when the city was “the capital of imagination” (LeVot, p. 185). McAlmon, in his biography, described its atmosphere in those days:

“It has been said that Paris is the parasite’s haven because it is easier to go to hell there comfortably than anywhere else. On the other hand, if somebody stands its racket for a long period and emerges purposeful and a producing person it means talent and strength, and it means that he has dissipated a quantity of sappy ideas and has a sounder chance of being an artist in a respectable sense, intellectually. For the rest, any art quarter is tolerant of weaknesses, and the hangers-on might as well go to hell in Paris as become equally spineless, futile, and distressing specimens in their home villages. A Parisian drunk is not nearly so sad to watch as the small town down-and-outer. He isn’t alone or lonely” (in Brinnin, p. 268).

In the early years of the twenties Americans came for this “haven” in a flood. There were 6,000 there by the end of 1921, 32,000 three years later, and twice as many British (Reynolds). “Like children let loose in a grand bazaar” (Brinnin, p. 234) they came

“prompted by the European currency inflations or supported by Guggenheim fellowships. They arrived at a moment when the Right Bank had come to life, glittering with luxury and vibrant with new energy--the theaters of Dullin and Baty, a brilliant film world and, above all, the seasons of the Ballets Russes. It was here that Diaghileff, the most extraordinary animator of the arts since the Renaissance patrons, found employment for so many painters and composers--and without which Stravinsky’s music might have gone long years unperformed. On the Left Bank the light brightened, the cafes became more animated, and a general air of happiness spread from the homely fact that so many who frequented them were writers and artists actively at work. The miseries they may have known were of a private order; for them, at any rate, the time was not out of joint” (Galantiere, p. 1).

By the end of the decade “fancy American-style bars” had replaced the traditional French bistros and *bal musettes* (Smoller, p. 188).

Baldwin determined that on December 7 of 1921, about six months after Anderson first came to meet Stein and Toklas, Ernest and Hadley Hemingway had just arrived and were at the Dome; Pound was holding a reading of The Wasteland; Joyce read Ulysses at a party at Shakespeare and Co., and Stein and Toklas were preparing for their Christmas dinner party, an alignment, or “a conjunction of literary influence was about to take place which would forever change the topography of American literature” (p. 11).

Physical descriptions of Stein’s salon, including photos, abound. Leo rented it first, in 1903, when

a central archway led to a small paved city road. On the left was the concierge's office. To the right was a two-story apartment. A small entrance hall separated the kitchen from the dining room; the two bedrooms and bathroom were on the upper floor. The studio, adjacent to the apartment, was angled to catch the north light" (Mellow, p. 62).

Two years later they began hanging in tiers the paintings they bought (Mellow). When Toklas arrived in Paris in 1907, she described the atelier with "its own entrance, one rang the bell of the pavilion or knocked at the door of the atelier, and a great many people did both, but more knocked at the atelier" (Autobiography, p. 9-10). When she came to dinner, she rang the bell:

"and was taken into the tiny hall and then into the small dining room lined with books. On the only free space, the doors, were tacked up a few drawings by Picasso and Matisse... We went into the atelier which opened with a yale key the only yale key in the quarter at that time, and this was not so much for safety, because in the those days the pictures had no value, but because the key was small and could go into a purse instead of being enormous as french keys were... Against the walls were several pieces of large italian renaissance furniture and in the middle of the room was a big renaissance table, on it a lovely inkstand, and at one end of it notebooks neatly arranged, the kind of notebooks french children use,... and on all the walls right up to the ceiling were pictures. At one end of the room was a big cast iron stove that Helene came in and filled with a rattle, and in one corner of the room was a large table on which were horseshoe nails and pebbles and little pipe cigarette holders which one looked at curiously but did not touch, but which turned out later to be accumulated from the pockets of Picasso and Gertrude... But to return to the pictures. The pictures were so strange that one quite instinctively looked at anything rather than at them just at first. I have refreshed my memory by looking at some snapshots taken inside the atelier at that time. The chairs in the room were also all italian renaissance, not very comfortable for short-legged people and one got in the habit of sitting on one's legs. Miss Stein sat near the stove in a lovely high-backed one and she peacefully let her legs hang... [The pictures] completely covered the white washed walls right up to the top of the very high ceiling. The room was lit at this time by high gas fixtures. This was the second stage. They had just been put in. Before that there had only been lamps, and a stalwart guest held up the lamp while the others looked" (Autobiography, p. 12-4).

Not until Toklas moved in with Stein two years later did it "smell of beeswax and lavender" (Souhami). Within six years, they added electricity and "now the atelier is attached to the pavilion by a tiny hall passage" (Autobiography, p. 10). In 1926 they installed electric radiators which smelled during their Christmas party for Anderson that year (Autobiography, p. 266).

Even during the writers' salons with which we are concerned, "the paintings remained the focal point of interest around which the deeper life of the salon revolved" (Brinnin, p. 270).

## New York and the Algonquin Hotel

In the year that war broke out in Europe, Yeats stayed at the Algonquin Hotel, then twelve years old, on his US tour, and there were thirty legitimate theatres in New York. Three years later there were 126 productions there. By the time the war was over and the writers were lunching regularly, "Edith Wharton's New York was giving way to...Fitzgerald's" (Kunkel, p. 72), and the city was becoming the capital of a new business, mass media--publishing, film production, radio (Keats):

"Not yet the artistic capital of the world, New York was at least the artistic capital of the United States, in the new era signaled by the Armistice its creative energy brought forth new canons of taste and judgment. Novelty was in heavy demand. Eugene O'Neill...was not only revolutionizing American drama, he was winning the attention of Europe. F. Scott Fitzgerald, spokesman for the young, was bringing contemporaneity to the novel of manners. Jazz was becoming respectable...The city itself was rising in a building boom...; where isolated towers had stood, skyscrapers erected side by side created canyons of brick and limestone. Prohibition, as the 'wets' had predicted, was not working, and the particular way in which it failed, with the emergence of the speakeasy as a center of social activity, added to the hectic pace of urban life. In the course of an evening those who liked their liquor followed a trail from bar to bar in search of guaranteed imported scotch and gin (as opposed to the synthetic stuff concocted out of who knew what substance in some Greenwich Village cellar)" (Goldstein, p. 65).

The business of theatre in particular, which supported many of the Algonquin members, was experiencing an "unprecedented and still unmatched boom" (Gaines, p. 39-40). It cost \$10,000 to mount a production, and by charging \$3 to \$5 ahead for a few hundred people in the audience, the show would have a long run. The number of productions in the theatres between 1926 and when the group broke up two years later varied from 208 up to 268, a number not since equaled (Gaines).

The Hotel was then (and is now, owned and operated by the Camberly Corp.), at 59 West 44th Street, between Sixth and Fifth. Still "small and unpretentious," its clientele in those days "consisted principally of actors from the adjacent theatre district...The hotel's decor was comfortable and homely, and there was kind of magic to the young people in seeing actors and actresses at other tables around them" (Keats, p. 43).

Case, the manager, gave them "a free clubhouse" (Meade, p. 74). A year after they started to meet, he moved them from the small room on the left (the Pergola Room, now the Oak Room) to a Round Table in the more central Rose Room, but stopped the free appetizers. He sat them in front of a mirror (Frewin), displaying them "like gems in a

jewelry window” (Richard O’Connor, p. 101). There was no alcohol there, at least not officially (Keats).

Lois Long, writing in Ross’ New Yorker at the time, described the scene:

“Upon entering a lobby that looks exactly like any other lobby to be found in the West Forties, you will see before you an entrance into a dining room...In the center of this room, which is done in pink, is a large round table, surrounded by one or two woeful-looking gentlemen munching. At about 1:30, others come in and sit down beside them. These, my children, are the Celebrities...The great luncheon dish among them now seems to be stuffed date, pecan, and cream cheese salad, and this is the high point of a menu that is otherwise a lot like other menus” (in Gaines).

Case bought the Hotel in 1927, and the next year, as the group was dissipating, moved them back to the harder to find Pergola Room because too many tourists were coming (Meade).

These places were frequented by the members because they were conducive to their creativity. The fact that they were conveniently located to most of them, particularly the Star and the Host/Hostess, was also important. In looking at their Broader Context, we have seen that they were also able to take advantage of the climate and happenings in their larger settings during their years together--the rise of Irish nationalism, new art forms being introduced to London, the explosion of creativity in Paris and the mass media boom in New York.

### *3. Proximity*

People can only socialize with each other if they are available, in time and place. Secord and Backman report that “proximity or nearness, as well as other physical features which increase the probability of contact, also affects the frequency of communication between members and the amount of interpersonal attraction. Presumably, this occurs because of the lowered cost of communicating under these circumstances” (p. 293). One of the factors of success in the groups was that they had the time to spend together, and were within a proximate distance of each other, or, as Shone (1976) calls it, “accidents of geography” (p. 14-5).

Two aspects of physical location that Handy points out, in addition to the lack of barriers, etc., mentioned earlier, are that

- \* "Physical proximity increases interaction...[and]
- \* Interaction normally increases co-operative feelings" (p. 167).

In Rogers and Kincaid's study of communication flows in Korean villages, they found proximity, i.e., space, "a very important predictor of who is linked to whom," with spatial distance "usually...the main determinant" (p. 301). However, this relationship is "not linear." They found many connections are at close distances, with a sharp decrease until middle distance, and then a slower decrease for greater distances. Although they were analysing where people lived in relation to each other, we will see, in the analysis of cohesiveness, that the leaders--the Star and the Host/Hostess--had much closer relationships with the inner circle (the Irritant, the Angel, and the Sponsor) than to the more distant outer circle (the Odd One Out, the Link and the Bridge) who had more connections to other groups.

Claude Fischer and others (in Rogers and Kincaid) found that if a relationship is kept up under further distances, it must be particularly rewarding. "Longer-distance network links are less stable over time, and unless other social structural variables are involved (for example kinship), they are not maintained" (p. 302). Therefore, it may be that the connections with those who are closer to the external environment, or the outer circle, are more rewarding than those that require less effort to maintain.

All of them, however, had the benefit of a physical space, described in the section above, where they could go to "contact each other accidentally," as Rogers and Kincaid describe it: "Even small distances affect the rate at which individuals form network links, especially when a system is homogenous in social characteristics...Spatial propinquity increases the chances of accidental contact" (p. 302).

They quote Festinger as describing this concept, "functional distance," as not exactly the same as "physical distance." For example, having a "common facility increases the probability that the two individuals will meet and perhaps communicate" (p. 302). Their example is a common stairway in an apartment complex under study; in this situation it becomes the convenient space each group created which increased their contact.

One thing all members of the four groups had in common was a propensity to travel. It would be possible, but difficult, to track their many trips, especially between Dublin, London, Paris and New York, to see how much time they actually spent in the same city with each other. Indeed, Kuch calculates that Yeats spent 34 of his 73 years outside of Ireland. It is clear, without such a quantitative analysis, that during the time of their greatest contact, they lived relatively near each other. The groups usually broke up when one or two key members, usually the Star and or the Host/Hostess, moved away from the central location. However, during their peak times of contact, they did have little distance separating them.

Lady Gregory grew up so close to Moore that her brothers kept hoping one of their sisters would marry into his family so that all the land could be joined for hunting (Kohfeldt).

Soon after Moore entered the group in 1899, he moved to Dublin as an anti-Boer War protest and to spend more time talking with his fellow Irishmen (Hone). That year, however, AE was in Ireland when the group began rehearsing in London for their theatre's premiere, and he couldn't help out much (Kuch). Synge made it back to Dublin just in time to catch some performances (Greene).

Two years later, when English theatre companies were brought to Dublin to do new Irish plays, "one may picture Coole humming with excited conferences under the catalpa tree on the lawn, Martyn walking constantly over from Tullira and staying to dine,...Moore finally staying (for the first and last time, for she still could not endure him) in the house" (Coxhead, p. 62). But Daly maintains that Moore stayed the whole summer in 1899 before, the same time when Yeats had an "extended stay" (Kuch, p. 180).

The first summer Yeats stayed at Coole his visit lasted two months (Coxhead). In 1901 and 1902, he spent most of the year there (Ellman), but three years later, just the summer (Kohfeldt). We have seen that Synge could not endure "too much Yeats" and only came about five times (Coxhead, p. 112), his longest stay, two weeks, taking place in 1904 (Kohfeldt).

When they were all working on the Abbey, Yeats observed, "often for months together [Synge] and I and Lady Gregory would see no one outside the Abbey theatre."

She described these as the “theatre years in Dublin when none of us saw anyone from the outside. We just moved from the Abbey to the Nassau and back again, we three always” (Kohfeldt, p. 182).

Bloomsbury itself is a relatively small section of London, bounded by Euston Road on the north, Gray’s Inn Road on the east, New Oxford Street and Holborn on the south and Tottenham Court Road on the west. Its closeness to the British Museum and Fleet Street (Spater) is what first attracted students and artists. The Bloomsberries of course originally met at close quarters in Cambridge, where Strachey, Leonard and Clive were friends with Virginia and Vanessa’s brother Thoby, and then invited Keynes to join them.

Once the group set up house in their two main residences, they were an ideal distance apart. Fitzroy Square was “not so close to Gordon Square that the Stephens became a mere annex of Gordon Square; not yet so far that the two households could not meet whenever they chose. It was ideally a place for the purpose of friends who got into the habit of visiting one of the houses and then strolling over to the other” (Bell I, p. 115).

Keynes then entered the group when he took rooms with Grant in 21 Fitzroy Square, and “established a physical presence in the Bloomsbury district” (Skidelsky I, p. 242), instead of spending all his time at Cambridge. A year after Fry entered, he took a lease on 33 Fitzroy Square for his Omega Workshops (Spalding, 1980). Later that same year, however, Virginia and Adrian thought about moving in with other friends in Bedford Square, where Ottoline Morrell held her salons. By the next year their lease had expired and they did move to Brunswick Square with Keynes and Grant. Leonard was invited to join and Virginia wrote out for him the “Scheme of the House”:

“Meals are:

Breakfast 9 am

Lunch 1

Tea 4:30 pm

Dinner 8 pm. Trays will be placed in the hall punctually at these hours. Inmates are required to carry up their own trays; and to put dirty plates on them and carry them down again as soon as the meal is finished” (Bell I).

Towards the end of the group, Virginia and Leonard were married and living on their own nearby, but Keynes would rent Asham from her and Vanessa (Spalding, 1983). Grant moved out of Brunswick and into 46 Gordon Square with the Vanessa and Clive (Shone, 1976). When the group broke up, Virginia and Leonard moved to Richmond (Bell II); Vanessa went to the Sussex coast with Grant and his lover (Spalding, 1983), with Clive following (Shone, 1976), and Strachey was spending more time at Garsington with the Morrells (Holroyd II).

In Paris, two years after they met, Toklas moved in with Stein and her brother Leo, but he left them alone a year or so later (Bridgman). They were handy to the Louvre, the Luxembourg Gardens, Beach's Shakespeare and Co., and for some of the others, the cafes of the Left Bank. In 1923 they made their first trip to Belley and returned there many summers, finding their dream house in Bilignin in 1928. They asked around about its availability, and soon the owner was mysteriously transferred to Africa (Mellow). They leased the house the next year (Bridgman), and began hosting writers and composers there. They kept Fleurus until 1937 the landlord wanted it back and, as Stein told Anderson, it "got so historical it just couldn't hold us any longer" (Souhami, p. 225).

The Round Table "affixed itself to a central Manhattan hotel, thus following the pattern of similar bohemian gatherings in European capitals" (Frewin, p. 37-8), and it was nearby to where the key figures--Parker and Benchley--worked (Meade), first at Vanity Fair and then The New Yorker.

Parker, after moving from apartment to apartment in midtown Manhattan, just moved into the Algonquin in 1923. "She quickly discovered that the simplicity and lack of responsibility connected with hotel living suited her taste perfectly" (Meade, p. 123). Staying there off and on "where Round Table lunches had become less frequent" (Meade, p. 193), in 1928 she moved uptown to East 54th. That year, Benchley left for Hollywood, and many other members had Connecticut homes (Meade).

Benchley, who technically lived in Scarsdale with his wife and children, pointed out the down side of having such close distance to all his friends. After he moved into Algonquin, he typed "the"; went downstairs; came back up; typed "hell with it" and went downstairs. He soon told Frank Case he couldn't work there and Case promised he would

keep people away from his room. Benchley replied, "You might keep them from coming up, but you can't keep me from coming down" (Frewin, p. 115). He then moved across the street to the Royalton Hotel.

In 1923 Woolcott started going to Neshobe (Gaines) and three years later formed a corporation with some of the others to buy it (Samuel Hopkins Adams).

The groups also had certain times when they met, certain evenings of the week, for example, and stayed up late, either talking, or talking or drinking.

The Irish salons in Dublin had set nights: Yeats' on Tuesdays, Moore on Saturdays, AE on Sundays, according to Ulick O'Connor. Rodgers maintains that Yeats' was on Mondays and "very select," Moore's, "select," and AE's "most popular," and (p. 187). At Coole, Quinn reports that he, Yeats and Hyde "used to sit up every night until one or two in the morning, talking" (Ulick O'Connor, p. 210-1), which was mostly frequented in the summers. AE would make a point of visiting at 9:30 in the morning so Yeats couldn't force him to play croquet (Ellman).

Thoby's early salons were designed to recreate "a graduate Apostolic establishment in London...[so it was necessary] that there be a meeting place...like student accommodations at the University--where neither the hours of coming and going nor the conduct of the occupants would be impeded by parents or other elderly relatives" (Spater, p. 36). He began by just letting it be known that he would be "at home" one evening a week (Shone, 1976, 25), which began at 9 pm so there was no food served (Spalding, 1983). In the peak years, people would appear at 10 o'clock, and "continue to come at intervals till twelve o'clock at night, and it was seldom that the last guests left before two or three in the morning" (Holroyd I, p. 407). In addition, they would spend weeks (Holroyd I) at a time at each other's places, even if Grant's intention when he would come to Asham was to just stay for the weekend (Spalding, 1983).

The Stein salons started on Saturday nights, but Hemingway would sometimes come and stay all day: "He came to the house about 10 o'clock in the morning and he stayed, he stayed for lunch, he stayed all afternoon, he stayed for dinner and he stayed until about 10 o'clock at night" (Autobiography, p. 230-1), although that particular day he was distraught that his wife was pregnant. If Fleurus became a "perpetual open house" (Brinnin, p. 287), once Stein and Toklas found their house in Bilignin, they would move their location there

each spring and return to Paris each autumn, “the shape of each year now happily established” (Brinnin, p. 297).

The Algonquin group didn't limit themselves to one or two evenings a week, but they

“were by no means alone in spending so much of their time with one another,” says Keats. This was the pattern of life in New York in the twenties. People tended to go out in groups, playing together, staying up all night together. The Algonquin group lived and worked in Manhattan, and could conduct all of their social and working lives, every day, within a few blocks of Manhattan's West Side between the forties and fifties” (Frewin, p. 91-2).

They became famous for lunch, yet they were definitely night owls. Parker would

“return home late at night or in the early morning, sleeping only a few hours before getting up around 11 to meet her friends for lunch at the Algonquin. After lunch they moved on to the speakeasies and, later, to a play, a film, an art opening and more speakeasies--followed by an impromptu party at either Ross's, Woolcott's, Neysa's studio, Swope's New York apartment, or somewhere else” (Frewin, p. 74-5).

And at their favorite place, Tony Soma's, closing time was whenever the last person left (Meade).

#### 4. Availability

Spending so many hours socializing automatically would cause today's writers and artists to ask, where *did* they get the time?

We have seen when and where they met, but as Handy says, “participation takes time. If you want it you must allocate the time” (p. 126). Working people today would surely ask, didn't these people have jobs? Families? How did they support themselves if they spent all their time walking around the lake, eating lunch, staying up late talking and drinking?

There are three answers, consistent among all four groups:

- (1) They all came from middle to upper middle class family backgrounds, with varying degrees of family money to support them;
- (2) Many showed a lack of attention to their family obligations, and
- (3) They were all very creative in finding ways to support themselves short of “nine-to-five” jobs.

## Their Backgrounds: Middle Class to Upper Middle Class

We have seen that the members came into the groups with basically middle class values; most of them also had middle class money. In keeping with the times, as the nineteenth century flows into the twentieth, the ability of creative people to live solely off their inheritance wanes.

## The Irish Literary Renaissance

Most of the members of the Irish Literary Renaissance were part of a specific upper class unique to Ireland at the time, the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy, i.e., landowners. In addition, many of them were from professional families.

We have seen that Lady Gregory was born to a well-to-do family near Galway, and then married William Gregory, already knighted. When he died, her son by rights inherited the house, but she was able to live there, rent-free (Kohfeldt).

Moore was born in a house built in 1795 into a Catholic family that had been in County Mayo for three generations. His father had been an MP for Mayo off and on, and he was sent to Oscott College in Birmingham, England, which was "more expensive than schools in Ireland, but [attractive to] Irish parents who wanted...advantages of the system without...the Protestant atmosphere of ordinary English public schools" (Hone). Moore eventually inherited his father's money in 1873 and was able to live a life free of financial problems. His cousin Martyn had more money than all of them, descended from the Martyns who came over with Strongbow. A special Act of Parliament let the family, as Catholics, retain their own land (Ulick O'Connor). His mother came from "new money" (Gwynn) and was given her weight in gold as a wedding present (Courtney). Martyn inherited the family money and commissioned a house to go with the tower at Tullira (Independent, November, 1993).

Synge also came from a land-owning family and had a private tutor at home. His father was a lawyer, who died from smallpox when the oldest of the children was only fifteen. Still, Synge and the oldest, Robert, were both able to go to Trinity, and his brother Edward became a legendary bad landlord for his ruthless eviction of tenants (Greene).

Yeats' father was a Trinity law grad who gave up his practice to go back to art school; his wife's family had been thrilled when she married what they thought was a future lawyer. Within a few years the family was living in London and Dad was getting no commissions (Jeffares). In the late eighties, Yeats' family had to sell off their lands to get money, and their fortunes took another slide when his wife had a stroke and became an invalid for the last fourteen years of her life (Ellman). By that time, the Star was living on his own.

Hyde also came from a relatively humble background, Elizabethan planters who had land and Castle Hyde in County Cork (Ulick O'Connor), and his father, grandfather and great grandfather were all ministers (Daly). He was originally sent to boarding school in Dublin, but after a bout of measles returned home and there was never enough money to send him back. He was able, however, to attend Trinity, as his father had (Dunleavy).

Only AE, George Russell, came from a working class family. His father was a bookkeeper for a manufacturer and the family moved to Dublin from the north of Ireland in 1878 so his father could start a new accounting job (Summerfield).

## The Bloomsbury Group

Shone (in Crabtree) explains the Bloomsbury backgrounds,

“Although none came from very wealthy families, poverty was never a real threat, though it should be said that Woolf had no private income, and Duncan in the early years had a barely adequate allowance from his father. Only Maynard eventually accumulated a fortune...Bloomsbury came...from ‘good families,’ but not from the highest ranks of society. The Stephens or Stracheys did not live in Mayfair or Belgrave Square, but found their dark, unlovely homes in Kensington and Bayswater. The boys were well educated but not at Eton or Harrow; the girls ‘came out’ but were not expected to be presented at Court. Some of the Strachey girls however attended university whereas the Stephens did not--though Vanessa was free to cycle off to Sir Arthur Cope’s School of Art each day and Virginia to explore her father’s library at liberty” (p. 28-30).

In keeping with times, the families had servants in their huge houses, and we have seen that many of the males, if not the females, went to Cambridge (Malcolm, 1995).

Their class background was important in that the Bloomsberries spent much of their creative careers rejecting it. If Virginia believed in the “absolute need for personal freedom,” as Spalding (1983) points out, “among Bloomsbury, moreover, such freedom was, for the most part economically feasible” (p. xvi). Vanessa was able to attend art

school, "part of a great upswell of women who studied in the ateliers and public art schools of Europe in this period" (Tickner, p. 69). Their brothers attended private preparatory schools, and then Trinity. Dad was eventually made a KCB (Bell I).

Strachey's father was knighted (Holroyd I), and Grant's was Maj. Bartle Grant (Shone, 1976). Fry's father was an attorney, became a judge and Lord Justice of Appeal, and was also knighted (Spalding, 1980).

Keynes came from an academic family, but one of means. With investments in dahlias his grandfather "restored the family fortune" (Skidelsky I, p. 4), which Keynes' father then inherited. He taught at Oxford, published textbooks on political economy and became a top administrator at Cambridge. Keynes went to both Eton and King's on scholarship (Skidelsky I).

No two members were farther apart in class than Clive and Leonard. Clive "came from a rich family that had made its money from mines in Wales and had built a hideous and pretentious mansion in Wiltshire" (Malcolm, 1995, p. 63), also described as "a Regency villa converted into a Tudor mansion" (Edel, p. 27). Leonard, however, the only Bloomsbury Jew, was born, only five minutes away from the Stephens' (Spater), to a father who was a barrister and was sent to prep school. Then, in 1892, Dad died suddenly. The family moved from the "big house in Lexham Gardens to...an ugly Victorian house on Colinette Road, Putney...Woolf never again found any safety and civilization to equal that of the gas-lit nursery" in Lexham Gardens (Edel, p. 21-2). He later went to St. Paul's and Trinity on scholarship (Edel).

## The Americans in Paris

Although not from the highest ranks of society, the Bloomsberries had enough family money to support them while they were starting out in their careers. By the time the Americans in Paris were supporting themselves, the family money was running thinner.

Stein's father owned a textile store, first in Baltimore (Souhami), then in Pittsburgh (Bridgman), where they lived on "the most high-hat street" (Souhami, p. 18). When the Steins lived in Europe there was enough money for Mom to take them on a spending spree in Paris. After her father's death, the older brother, Michael, a student at Johns Hopkins, became legal guardian of the others:

“[Michael] Stein’s sense of responsibility towards his brothers and sisters was keen. As Alice put it: ‘He saw not any one of them would ever earn any money. None of them were made for a business career. And he didn’t think of any profession in which they would succeed’...[Michael sold franchises for a project to] consolidate the various street railroad systems in San Francisco...His acumen in dealing with his father’s affairs secured for Gertrude and the others a modest income for life...Gertrude and Leo’s income was enough to keep [the Stein children] ‘reasonably poor.’ It allowed them to travel, buy books and pictures and be free forever of the burden of work” (Souhami, p. 33).

Toklas came from a similar background, as her father was a wholesaler in Seattle and she was sent to private school. Her grandfather left money upon his death, but in general Toklas had “debts and no money,” and was forced to borrow for that first trip to Paris. Years later, she and her brother Clarence “quarreled over their father’s will and stopped all contact” (Souhami, p. 40).

The rest of the Americans in Paris came from middle or working class families. McAlmon’s father was a minister (Mellow), Hemingway’s a doctor (Baker) in Oak Park, Illinois (Donnelly). The money in the Fitzgerald family was on his mother’s side. When his father lost his job with Procter and Gamble in Buffalo, the family had to move back to St. Paul to live off his mother’s family (Turnbull). Fitzgerald said of his father’s firing, “he was failure the rest of his days” (LeVot, p. 6). When his maternal grandmother died, the money passed into the family (LeVot); Fitzgerald was already in private Catholic school and on his way to Princeton (Turnbull).

Thomson’s father worked on cable cars, at the post office, and failed in running a hardware store. The Thomsons “were genteel folk...a wisely tolerant middle-class family” (Wittke, p. 1). Anderson’s father owned a saddlery and harness business in Ohio (Townsend), and his mother was a “hired girl.” As the family moved from town to town, “the Andersons gradually slid down the gently inclined social scale of agrarian Ohio” (Howe, p. 11-2), till Mom was taking in washing (Howe).

Ray was the son of Jewish emigrants from Russia. His father was a factory worker and tailor, but Ray turned down the opportunity for a New York University architecture scholarship to pursue an art career on his own (Baldwin).

## The Algonquin Round Table

The Americans in Paris came from working to middle class backgrounds, but were able to live a good part of their lives in Paris. The Algonquin writers were all middle to upper middle class, but by the end of the nineteenth century, most of the family money was spent.

Parker was born a Rothschild--"My God, *no*, dear! We'd never *heard of those Rothschilds!*" (Meade, p. 3). She had "the greatest salesman of them all" for a father, who owned sweatshops and went in to the cigar business (Meade). She was taught that servants did housework and so she never learned how to cook (Keats). Parker maintained, however, that there was no money, but Frewin speculates that when her father died in 1913, "it was unlikely that he left her penniless" (p. 30).

Broun came from the most well-to do family of them all, that had made money in New England in the stationery and printing business. He attended private school and his name had been put in for membership at the Racquet and Tennis club when he was born (Richard O'Connor). Benchley's father was a clerk in the Worcester, Massachusetts, mayor's office his whole life. His son attended Exeter and Harvard through the beneficence of Lillian, a woman who claimed she was engaged to his brother Edward when he was killed in the Spanish-American war (Rosmond).

Connelly came from an entertainment family that ran a hotel in McKeesport, Pennsylvania, but he, too, was able to attend private school (Nolan). Kaufman grew up nearby in Pittsburgh with rich uncles and "always a maid" (Goldstein, p. 13). His paternal grandfather was a pants manufacturer and his own father founded a machinery company in New Castle, Pennsylvania. Later Dad moved the family to New York City where he founded a Silk Dyeing Company and they lived on the Upper West Side (Goldstein).

It should come as no surprise that Woollcott had the strangest upbringing of all, on the Fourier commune called the Phalanx, in New Jersey. There were periods when his father "struck it rich in the stock market" or went to work at the Kansas City Light and Coke company, but they would always move back to the Phalanx. He attended public high school, however, in Philadelphia (Samuel Hopkins Adams), where he lived with relatives (Gaines).

Ross was the only westerner, whose father was a "carpenter, grocer, contractor, scrap dealer and...supervisor of a mental hospital" (Goldstein), but "always at heart a miner."

When the price of silver plunged and took Aspen, Colorado, with it, his father opened a meat market and grocery and then moved the family to Salt Lake City for the copper mining (Kunkel).

#### Their Priorities: Lack of Attention to Their Family Obligations

Since most of the members were in the early stages of their careers during the groups' peak years, one would think that they would also be starting families and be taken away from socializing by family obligations; however, this does not seem to be the case. Another work could be written on the strain their socializing put on their marriages and families.

#### The Irish Literary Renaissance

The Irish did not seem to allow any family problems to get in the way of their time spent creating a new theatre. By the time Yeats began the group, his mother was an invalid in London and he had already moved out on his family to live with Arthur Symons (Ellman) and then on his own (Ulick O'Connor). When Mrs. Yeats died in 1900, he seemed to barely notice (Jeffares), and he did not marry and have children until 1917 (Ellman). We have seen that Lady Gregory was widowed and her son was sixteen by the time she embarked on her playwriting career (Kohfeldt). Neither Moore nor Martyn ever married. Moore's parents had died (Hone) and Martyn lived with his mother. Synge never married, although during part of his time in the theatre he was engaged to one of the actresses (Greene).

Hyde married in 1893 and had two daughters by the time he entered the group. His wife Lucy took ill in 1900 and had health problems throughout the rest of her life. She was never pleased with his work for the Gaelic League and did not enjoy living out in the country (Daly).

AE had moved out on his parents in 1891 to live at the Dublin Lodge of the Theosophist Society (Kuch), describing those years later as "the happiest in my life," but was living back at home six years later when he entered the group (Summerfield). He married a woman from the Theosophists the following year (Kuch), but came to Coole "a few weeks after his marriage" (Summerfield). He and Violet had five children during the

time of the group, one of whom died soon after birth. It appears that he would have had the most family obligations, but by reports was “remote” from his children (Summerfield, p. 131) and even came to Coole rather than be with them (Kohfeldt).

## The Bloomsbury Group

For the British writers and artists, time spent with the group was time spent with family in some cases; in others it was a substitute for a traditional family.

As we have seen, the Bloomsbury’s family obligations overlapped with the group, since many of them were married, or had a committed relationship, to each other. Tickner reports that “it was [Vanessa’s] strength that although she did, for a time, take marriage seriously, she never gave up her work” (p. 70). Her sons with Clive were born during the group’s time (Spalding, 1983), but soon after that he resumed his many affairs outside the group and the marriage transformed “into a union of friendship” (Bell I, p. 169). She had affairs first with Fry (Bell I) and then with Grant, as the group was breaking up (Skidelsky I). Virginia and Leonard never had children, and Keynes and Strachey were having affairs with Grant during some of the group time (Spalding, 1983).

Fry perhaps had the most serious family obligations, but found in the group a way to cope with them. He had married in 1895 and had a daughter, but his wife, Helen, suffered from mental illness (Spalding, 1980). At the time he entered the group, in 1910, she had been permanently committed and he was “leading a patched together domestic life” (Spalding, 1983, p. 86).

## The Americans in Paris

Of all the dyads, Stein and Toklas had the most traditional, long-term, committed relationship. Stein proposed in 1908 and from that time on they were together (Autobiography). All of the other Americans in Paris were in heterosexual marriages at one time or another, but not all were successful.

Hemingway had married shortly before he came to Paris (Baker) and they had a son, Bumby, two years later (Mellow). By 1927 he had left Hadley and married Pauline; they

had a son the following year (Baker). Fitzgerald had married Zelda at the beginning of the decade and their daughter Scottie was born the next year. By the time he entered the group four years later, Zelda was already showing signs of the mental illness that would have her committed in 1930 (Turnbull). Anderson had first married in 1904 (Howe) and had two sons and a daughter (Townsend), but by the time he entered the group in 1921 he was near the end of his second marriage, to Tennessee. Two years later his divorce was final and he married Elizabeth, who unsuccessfully tried to civilize him (Howe). Ray had had a brief marriage to Adon, but they had separated by the time he arrived in Paris, where he had many long-term affairs (Baldwin).

McAlmon had the most unusual and financially productive marriage. When he met Bryher in 1921 she was in love with H D and her adopted daughter Perdita. She proposed a marriage of convenience to McAlmon so that they would have both have access to her inheritance but live their own separate lives in Paris (Souhami). As we will see, McAlmon made good use of the money to support other writers (Smoller). Although he and his wife spent some time together (Reynolds), they began divorce proceedings in 1926 (Smoller).

Except for Stein and Toklas, the Americans in Paris either neglected or ignored their family obligations, leading to many broken marriages. But the Algonquin Round Table members took this pattern and perfected it, as there was not one loving, long-lasting marriage in the group.

## The Algonquin Round Table

Parker had married Eddie in 1917 and by the next year, “a few weekends together, scattered over nine months of a year, and the letters and this was Dottie’s marriage” (Keats, p. 37). When he came back from the war addicted to drugs and alcohol, she tried to get help for him to no avail (Keats). They were not divorced until 1928, and she had quite a few affairs, but never any children, even after she remarried Alan Campbell, twice, after the group broke up (Meade).

Woolcott never married, was not regularly in touch with his family (Samuel Hopkins Adams) and had no recorded long-time companion. Connelly had a long-running

relationship with actress Margalo Gilmore (Goldstein). Eventually he married Madeleine Hurlock (Gaines) who, after the group broke up, left him to marry one of his best friends, Robert Sherwood (Meserve).

Right after the war Ross married Jane Grant, who was a major factor in starting The New Yorker, but they had separate bedrooms by 1926, and “began to grow apart” (Gaines, p. 84). “His career was their mutual obsession but his success and the magazine’s seemed to overwhelm the marriage” (Gaines, p. 186). They separated in 1928 (Gaines) and never had any children.

Broun had married Ruth Hale in 1917, and they had a son the following year. Although they were very close, she believed in an open marriage and he took the most advantage of this situation. They did not divorce until 1933 and he did not remarry until after her death the next year (Richard O’Connor). Kaufman had married Beatrice in 1917, but after their first child was stillborn, they never had physical relations again. They did adopt a daughter who Kaufman was very close to in later years. He married twice after the group broke up, and had many well-publicized affairs (Goldstein). FPA, the oldest, had married Minna in 1903, but they “were living almost entirely separate lives” (Gaines, p. 100) by the time the group began. That marriage failed and he remarried and had a daughter in 1926 (Gaines).

Benchley had the most unusual situation, staying married to his childhood sweetheart Gertrude until his death; they had two sons (Rosmond). However, from 1919 on, when the group began, she and their boys lived in Scarsdale and he visited some weekends. The family would take vacations together (Frewin), but he had numerous affairs and, by 1924, Gertrude “had been granted a Victorian divorce, with all the legal rights of a wife but none of the conjugal privileges of companionship...They began to live a lie” (Meade, p. 129). Her explanation was that “he just didn’t like Scarsdale” (Rosmond, p. 9).

Summing up, Meade, who uncovered the realities of many the relationships that had been painted in a rosier light in earlier biographies, claimed that they didn’t know any good marriages:

“Benchley...was in a dreadful mess. George [Kaufman] had stopped sleeping with Bea. Adams bedded a succession of young women...Nothing inspiring about the marriages of Heywood and Harold. [Their wives, Ruth Hale and Jane Grant], paragons of feminist strength, may have kept their maiden names, but they spent much of their time running households and entertaining their husband’s friends” (p. 91).

By the time the group began to fall apart, “the delicate balance of certain marriages was thrown off by their gathering fortunes” (Gaines, p. 183-4).

Overall, few if any of the group members had traditional marriage and family situations to call them away from their creative activities. It can be seen that in many cases their family relationships suffered because of the time and attention they devoted to their work and the group.

#### Their Work: Creative in Finding Ways to Support Themselves

Very few of the group members worked in nine-to-five jobs, and they found other ways of getting support. The ways they did earn money through their creative work--being published, selling paintings, etc.--allowed them the luxury of very flexible hours, although it probably did not pay much until later years when their reputations were established. In looking at the ways they had to support themselves, we will assume that having works published, or plays produced, or showing paintings at exhibit, would yield some income eventually. Some also did “commercial” writing, such as advertising, and these pursuits would all amount to earning some money while they were socializing and creating. The result was that they were able to live quite well and still have time to spend with friends.

#### The Irish Literary Renaissance

AE and Hyde, with the least family money behind them, spent the most time in conventional employment, particularly before they began working on the theatre. AE did have his first book of poems, Homeward: Songs by the Way, published in 1894 and it was a hit, but by the time the group began he had taken on his “day job” as a cashier at Pim’s, a Dublin drapery store (Kuch).

Hyde was published and known before the group began; his first book, Leabhar Sgeuglaigheachta in 1889, was “the first of its kind ever published in the native language” (Daly, p. 104). The next year the first chapter of his most well-known work, Love Songs of Connacht appeared in the Nation, and then the book was published in 1893. Hyde put his language talents to good use, teaching in Canada for a year. He tried to get another teaching post (Dunleavy), but was rejected by Trinity.

Before the group started, Yeats had worked with a minor painter and poet, Edwin Ellis, on an edition of William Blake (Ellman), had had an article, about AE, in the National Observer (Kuch). Then his first hit, Celtic Twilight, appeared in 1893, followed by the Book of Irish Verses the next year (Ellman). His first hit play was produced in London in that year, financed by Miss Horniman (Jeffares).

Lady Gregory had received her first pay for writing, for a travel article, when she was thirty (Kohfeldt). Moore, the other older member, was the most well-known. He had already had numerous novels, books of poetry and articles published, as well as plays produced (Hone), and his Confessions of a Young Man in 1888 had established him as a writer (Ulick O’Connor).

During the time of the group, of course, they all worked on plays together, most of which were produced. Lady Gregory held the record with nineteen plays, seven translations and 600 performances in the seven years beginning in 1904. She also had some articles appear and a hit with Cuchulain of Muirthemne in 1902 (Kohfeldt). Their theatre overall was quite successful, and some of their plays were produced in London (Ulick O’Connor) and the States (Gwynn). Hyde also appeared in some of the productions, worked for the Gaelic League and published quite a few books of poetry (Daly).

Of all the 31 group members, AE had the most traditional “day job” during the time of the group. The job Yeats got him with Plunkett’s IAOS the year the group began (Kuch) allowed him to travel the countryside not far from Coole (Summerfield). AE was very loyal to his job, as Moore recounted “somewhat testily” in Ave: “AE took out his watch, and said that must he be getting back to his office. ‘Damn that office!’ I answered. It seemed to me that all my life was on my lips that afternoon and I begged him to stay. He said he couldn’t, and bade me good-bye quickly” (Kuch, p. 173).

Yeats said later he regretted forcing him into the job because he felt it hurt his poetry, but AE used his creative skills as an orator and did stay in touch with the roots of Irish nationalism. His popular The Earth Breath appeared the year the group began (Kuch), and he continued to write articles and reviews for newspapers. By 1901 he was brought back to Dublin to edit the IAOS house organ, The Irish Homestead (Kohfeldt), a day job more in line with his writing talents. Yeats' sisters published AE's poems, Nuts of Knowledge, in 1903 (Kuch), and the following year he had a highly successful exhibit of his paintings and showed regularly in Dublin for the next ten years (Summerfield).

Most of Yeats' work during the group was centered around plays; he did not publish any other major works during those years (Kohfeldt, Greene). Indeed, in 1900 the Inland Revenue investigated him because they couldn't believe someone so well-known could have so little reported income; AE served as a character witness (Ellman). Yeats had reviews published (Kuch), but didn't begin to make any money until he toured the United States in 1903. This was "the first money he had ever earned beyond the need of the moment," and he gave it to his sisters' new publishing business and his Dad (Jeffares). Lady Gregory would not let him pay her back the 500 pounds he owed her by that time (Kohfeldt).

Moore published at least one novel, Sister Theresa (Courtney), during his short time in the group. Martyn published many articles on sacred music (Gwynn, Courtney), and Synge's articles on folklore and Aran appeared (Greene).

Any other support the group members received came primarily from Lady Gregory. She lent Yeats money, "rather against his will, which he was not in a position to repay for many years" (Ellman, p. 159), leaving it behind the clock on the mantel in his London apartment. She would tell him: "You must take this money. You should give up journalism. The only wrong act is not doing one's best work" (in Kohfeldt, p. 121). AE wrote to her "advising her to make Willie pay for his meals with a fixed quantity of verse: 'Treat him as the Balearic singers did their children. No work, no breakfast'" (Kuch, p. 179-80). Yeats said later in his Autobiography that because of Coole Park and her loans, he was able "through the greater part of my working life to write without thought of anything but the beauty or utility of what I wrote" (in Jeffares, p. 131).

## The Bloomsbury Group

As would be expected of members of their class, the British tried for academic jobs, sometimes getting them, but mostly supported themselves through family money and their art.

Virginia taught at Morley College for a few years (Bell I), and Strachey had hoped to get a fellowship from Cambridge after graduation (Edel). Fry had not received one either, and had also been rejected for the Slade position at Oxford (Spalding, 1980). Keynes assumed he would be made a fellow of Cambridge and was “furious...[It was the] worst academic blow” when he was not. He had already taken the civil service exam and was working in the India Office for a few years when he finally did receive a lectureship in Economics at Kings in 1908, just as he entered the group (Skidelsky I).

But even in these years before the group, the Bloomsberries were quite successful in earning money from their creativity. Strachey started having book reviews published in 1903, and had enough money that year to invest in The Independent Review's first issue. He was also commissioned by his friend Desmond MacCarthy on a regular basis for the Speaker (Holroyd I). Virginia began sending articles to the Women's Supplement of The Guardian in 1904 and from the next year on she was always employed as a writer (Bell I).

At about the same time Virginia was first published, Vanessa received her first commission from a stranger and had her first exhibit. She founded the Friday Club with Clive to exhibit her and her friends' works (Spalding, 1983), and by 1907 she was also exhibiting with the New England Art Club. Grant, who never held a regular job, received commissions from family members early on. By the time of his entry into the group in 1908 he had exhibited with the United Artists' Club and was with the New England Art Club as well (Shone, 1976). Clive had paintings in the Friday Club exhibit (Spalding, 1983) but, as we have seen, had no need for outside income.

As the oldest, Fry had the longest history of exhibits and art-related jobs by the time he entered the group. He had done book illustrations, exhibited with the New England Art Club, had one-man shows, and given a successful series of art lectures with the Cambridge Extension (Spalding, 1980). By 1900, his reputation was established (Spalding, 1976)

based on many reviews and a monograph on Bellini. He had been the art critic for the Athenaeum (Edel) and the editor of the Burlington (Spalding, 1980). In 1906 he turned down the job as director of the National Gallery (Spater) to become curator of the Metropolitan in New York City, a job that did not work out. By 1910, when he re-met Vanessa and Clive, he had fought with his boss, J P Morgan, and left (Spalding, 1983).

During their time in the group, the Bloomsberries all earned money from their creative work, although Virginia taught again for a few months at Morley College (Bell I), and Keynes became a true academic developing his most famous lectures at Cambridge (Skidelsky I). However, even this Bridge member was involved with writing: Poems (Shone, 1976), articles in the New Quarterly, and editing the Economic Journal. At the end of the group, he started his government job in the Treasury Department (Skidelsky I).

Skidelsky (Vol. I) points out:

The cultural influence which Bloomsbury eventually acquired was based on the clarity of vision of its publicists and the mutually supporting achievement of its members. But two further ingredients must be added: its relative financial independence and its power of patronage. Bloomsberries were not rich. But they were never forced into dependence on institutions alien to their spirit...Equally important, Bloomsbury over the years was able to find outlets and platforms for its work and theories in influential journals and art galleries and thus, to some extent, become an arbiter of taste. Through this position members were able to get their younger friends jobs, commissions and shows" (p. 250).

Vanessa, Grant and Fry exhibited together and separately, not only at her Friday Club, but also with other London galleries and clubs, in Paris, and in Fry's Second Post-Impressionist Show. Grant also received a commission to design costumes and sets for Copeau's ballet Twelfth Night. As a prelude to the Omega (Shone, 1976), Fry founded an exhibit society, the Grafton Group, which also featured their work (Spalding, 1983). Soon all three were working for the Omega, receiving commissions through that group (Shone, 1976), although Fry never covered his costs there and had to fold it in 1919 (Spalding, 1980).

Strachey continued to publish in the Spectator regularly (Holroyd I) and by 1912 was also writing for Edinburgh Review. That year his first book, Landmarks in French Literature, was published and sold well, and he soon had other offers to write similar works (Holroyd II). Clive also published his first and most famous work, Art (Spalding, 1983).

Once he arrived back in London, Leonard began his writing career with articles on the co-operative movement (Meyerowitz) and two unsuccessful novels. In 1913 he was introduced to the editor of the New Statesman and began his fifty year career writing for that publication (Spater). Virginia published nothing of note during the group time, but did well with Hogarth Press later (Bell II).

As the least well off in the group, Leonard was known for his “care with money and record-keeping” (Spater, p. 158). Keynes was able to use his own resources to support the artists’ work, but also was able to organize financial backing from others (Skidelsky I). Grant borrowed money from the others (Bell I), and Vanessa did buy a few of his paintings (Shone, 1976). Therefore, through each other, family money, and flexible work in their chosen fields, the Bloomsberries were able to avoid the time-constraining rigors of “day jobs.”

## The Americans in Paris

The Americans had the distinct advantage of beginning their creative careers when small magazines looking to publish their kind of writing were flourishing--as Stein said, “they died to make verse free” (in Mellow). The Chicago Evening Post Literary Review took on contemporary writers in 1911, and within the next few years Harriet Monroe’s Poetry, Margaret Anderson’s Little Review and the Double Dealer in New Orleans all began publication (Howe). Although most of these paid little or nothing for submissions, particularly from new writers, publication often led to reprints and paid publication, so they did serve as a means of support. In addition, there was no US income tax to pay until 1913 (Richard O’Connor), and, in Paris, “rents were cheap and food was good” (Stein in Souhami, p. 64): “With the postwar devaluation, [Americans] could live cheaply and comparatively well. For less than \$100 they could book passage and leave home” (Simon, p. 108).

But before entering the group, Hemingway, Fitzgerald, McAlmon and Anderson all toiled in some non-creative work. We have noted that they also, along with Ray, began their creative careers working in advertising.

Before becoming a newspaperman, Hemingway, the future Irritant, worked for a brief time as a companion for an invalid (Baker). Fitzgerald worked on the railroad (wearing a polo shirt), but quit the day his first novel was accepted by Scribner's (Turnbull). During college, McAlmon "labored in the desert alongside poor Blacks and Mexicans...[and] did his bit as movie extra" (Smoller, p. 23). Anderson had the widest variety of odd jobs, and even as a youth was known as "Jobby," "a penny-hunting, preternaturally shrewd boy, always on the lookout for a better part-time job" (Howe, p. 14). He worked in and eventually owned a manufacturing business for many years before becoming a full-time writer (Townsend).

Michael Stein's wise investments supported him, his wife--they moved to Paris in 1903--and his siblings. Stein and her brother Leo used their share to live on but also to buy paintings by unknown artists--Gauguin, Cezanne, Renoir, Matisse--rarely spending more than 300Fr (Souhami). When Leo left he sold three Picassos to her (Autobiography), which she sold back to the dealer, Kahnweiler, and she kept all but one Cezanne (Souhami), which were just about to increase in value (Brinnin). During the war, Stein sold her last Matisse for \$4000 so she and Toklas could stay in "peaceful cheap, Spanish and sunny" Mallorca (Souhami).

With this support, Stein was able to write and publish without making much money from it. When her first book, Three Lives, appeared in 1909 (Mellow), it was published by a vanity press that printed 1500 for \$660. After one year they had sold 73 copies (Souhami). Her portraits began to be published three years later (Mellow), but many publishers she sent them to "wrapped up her portraits up and sent them back to her" (Souhami, p. 103). Van Vechten worked to get her Tender Buttons published by Clair Marie in 1913, but she never received any money from them. During the war she had poems published in Life (Souhami), but by 1917 had had only eight submissions accepted. From the end of the war until the middle of the group, 1925, however, she had 23 pieces and two books published (Bridgman).

In the early years of the war when Toklas was "anxious" about not earning money, she wired home to her father (Souhami). When the war was over, "there was not enough

money for the former Saturday evening gatherings” (Simon, p. 108), and they began economizing (Mellow).

Hemingway began his career when his Dad got him a reporting job on the Kansas City Star in 1917, but he soon left to go to Chicago and spent some time writing advertising and articles for Cooperative Commonwealth (Baker). When he went to Paris he was the correspondent for the Toronto Daily Star (Mellow), and he also lived on his wife’s trust fund in the early years of their marriage (Baker).

McAlmon spent his youth “drifting in the hinterlands...writing ‘sob stuff’...and copywriting at an ad agency” (Smoller, p. 17), but by 1919 began to publish poems in small magazines, including Wyndham Lewis’ Blast (Smoller).

Anderson, as the Link, was already successful when he arrived at Stein’s in 1921. He also began his writing career in advertising, which at that time “was then losing its dignified nineteenth century approach and assuming that intimate wheedling tone which would soon become a staple of American salesmen...Sherwood was especially gifted” (Howe, p. 73). He shared an apartment with friends from home when he first came to Chicago (Howe), and contributed to business publications such as the Agricultural Advertiser and eventually left the agency for a while to take over a mail order business.

After his legendary walk-out on his job in 1912, he and his wife lived with her family. In 1915 he had some of his stories published (Townsend), and soon began contributing to The Masses and his friend Waldo Frank’s new magazine Seven Arts (Howe). His first novel, Windy McPherson’s Son was published in 1916 by Lane, who had such faith he bought the rights to his next three books (Townsend), bringing out one the next year (Howe). Two years later Anderson was doing some public relations work and wanted to resign from the ad agency so much that he suggested he be fired (Townsend). Instead, they set him up with his own sub-agency within the firm (Howe), and he continued to publish stories and poems. The following year his biggest hit, Winesburg, Ohio (Hobhouse), was published, followed by Poor White (Howe), and his career was launched. His friend Rosenfeld financed his first trip abroad (Mellow), but he found the money to pay for his second wife, Tennessee, to come along (Townsend).

Fitzgerald, who always “wanted to be a serious artist yet make a great deal of money” (Turnbull, p. 104), entered the group at the peak of his career. Before 1925 he was already supporting himself and the extravagant Zelda on his writing income. When checks came in he would give Zelda “huge wads of bills for the most trifling expenditures” (Turnbull, p. 111). His first sale, a poem, had been in 1916, but it was never published (LeVot). Three years later he had an agent, Harold Ober, but still worked as a copywriter at an ad agency. After hundreds of rejections, he had many stories published in Scribner’s, Saturday Evening Post (Turnbull), and Smart Set (Sklar), and Broun tried to recruit him as a feature writer for the World (Richard O’Connor).

But by 1920 when This Side of Paradise, his first novel, was published, he was already thinking of his Post stories as pot-boilers (Turnbull) and asking for advances from Scribner’s (LeVot). His editor told him he could draw against his account there anytime, and he got \$600 for their first trip to Europe in 1921 (Donnelly). Paradise was followed by a short story collection, Tales of the Jazz Age, and his second novel, The Beautiful and Damned, in 1922 (Turnbull). He also sold the movie rights to Paradise (Donnelly) and produced his only play, The Vegetable, which was not a success (Sklar). In 1924, when he sent Gatsby to Scribner’s, he received an advance and agreed to take a lower royalty so he could pay back his already mounting debt to them (Donnelly).

Thomson began earning money in music, as an organist in churches and movie theaters, at age 21 (Kathleen Hoover). However, he knew that his parents could not afford to send him to college (Wittke), so he got a friend’s father to lend him money from the Mormon church. At the New England Conservatory he received scholarships and continued to work as an organist. He began reviewing in 1921, and his pieces began to be performed the following year when he was studying in Paris with Boulanger on a traveling fellowship (Kathleen Hoover). Back in Boston later that year, Harvard turned him down for a scholarship, but they “softened the blow by appointing him assistant professor...and making him organist at historical King’s Chapel” (Wittke, p. 6). After graduation, he received another scholarship to study at Julliard (Wittke) and continued to work as an organist (Kathleen Hoover). By 1924, his

“finances were shaky, even though his income was nourished by checks for the periodicals he had begun to write for...his career as a professional writer was initiated by H L Mencken...of the prestigious American Mercury. Mencken suggested that Virgil should write an article on jazz...From then on he wrote pieces for Vanity Fair and other fashionable, quality magazines” (Witke, p. 6).

Thomson went back to Paris the next year, preferring “to starve where the food is good” (Kathleen Hoover, p. 49). Besides Stein he met millionairess Mrs. Gross, the wife of the United States’ ambassador’s first secretary, and helped her plan salons which featured his music and that of other composers (Kathleen Hoover). He also began to receive commissions (Witke).

Ray, the Bridge, had lots of jobs after high school, including doing graphic design for an ad agency. He received his first portrait commission two years after graduation (Baldwin), and his first exhibit, in a student show, two years later (Schwarz). In 1913 he was staying in his teacher’s studio, and took a job with the McGraw Book Co., designing maps and atlases, while he was “hanging out” at Arensberg’s salon with Duchamp at night and getting up to go to work the next morning. His patron, Howald, bought his Madonna in 1914 and financed his trip to Paris seven years later (Baldwin). In the intervening years he was working on magazine covers for Mother Earth News (Schwarz) and Kreymbourg’s Others, and self-published his own Book of Divers Writings in 1915. That same year Ray had his first one man show, to bad reviews, but sold paintings to Arthur Eddy, a Chicago collector. The following year he had a studio in Manhattan and was spending more time painting than working at McGraw. Ironically, the year he went to Paris and was instantly offered shows, he had a period when he was too broke to concentrate on working well (Baldwin). That same year his album of “rayographs” was published, which has now “become a rare item that the richest collections are proud to possess” (Gruber, p. vii).

So before they entered the group, most of the Americans destined for Paris were able to support themselves with family money and creative work, including flexible “day jobs” such as advertising that at least allowed to them to write. During their time in the group expenses in Paris got even cheaper for them. A bottle of wine cost 10 cents (Baldwin), and favorable rates of exchange--the dollar went from 15Fr in 1922 (Reynolds) to a peak of 36Fr four years later (LeVot)--prompted Americans to come “in a flood” (Galantiere) until

the stock market crash in late 1929 (Skidelsky II), just before the group broke up. None had to take “non-creative” jobs. Stein “had sufficient money to conduct a salon...Some went because her teas were bountiful, and they were hard up and hungry,” according to McAlmon (in Boyle, p. 4).

Malcolm Cowley, in Exile's Return, points out the difference between the two generations of writers:

“Dreiser, Sherwood Anderson, [Edward Arlington] Robinson, [Edgar Lee] Masters and Sandburg were all in their forties before they were able to devote most of their time to writing...It was different with the new group of writers. Largely as a result of what the older group had accomplished, their public was ready for them, and they weren't forced to waste years...writing advertising copy, like Sherwood. At the age of 24, Fitzgerald was earning \$18,000 a year with his stories and novels. Hemingway, Wilder, Dos Passos and Louis Bromfield were internationally known novelists before they were thirty” (in Gaines).

When Anderson returned to the States from Paris in 1921 he resumed work in public relations (Howe) and advertising, but by the following year was able to give up all his advertising accounts (Mellow). Winesburg was included in the Modern Library that year, and he received the first annual Dial award of \$2000, which enabled him to spend time writing stories and his next six books. During the years of the group he also brought out a book of poetry, and collections of his newspaper (Howe) and magazine pieces (Townsend).

In 1925 he began lecture trips for money, but hated it, writing to Stein that he “made a little money and often an ass of myself” (Howe, p. 200). His third wife Elizabeth had her own retail store, and a friend, Bab, with whom he had a long-time correspondence, set up a fund for his children. Also that year he signed a five year contract with Liveright, with a \$100 per week advance, for one book each year (Townsend). By the end of 1927 he returned the money and cancelled the contract because he couldn't fulfill it. That year, Burton Emmett, a “wealthy advertising man with a fabulous passion for every scrap of paper on which Anderson ever scribbled” (Howe, p. 199) became his patron. He decided to give up trying to make living by just writing and used the Emmett money to buy two newspapers in Marion, Virginia, which he filled with short stories (Townsend).

When Stein and Hemingway first met in 1922, as Lady Gregory had done to Yeats, she encouraged him to get out of journalism:

“Look here, you say you and your wife have a little money between you. Is it enough to live on if you live quietly. Yes, he said. Well, she said, then do it. If you keep on doing newspaper work you will never see things, you will only see words and that will not do, that is of course if you intend to be a writer. Hemingway said he undoubtedly intended to be a writer” (Autobiography, p. 230).

He continued as a correspondent for a bit, and had some poems and stories published (Reynolds, Baker, Smoller). But in mid-August of 1923 he told Stein,

“He had made up his mind. They would go back to America and he would work hard for a year and with what he would earn and what they had they would settle down and he would give up newspaper work and make himself a writer...[He and Hadley] went away and well within the prescribed year they came back with a new born baby. Newspaper work was over” (Autobiography, p. 231).

While in Paris Ray sent pictures to his patron, Howald (Baldwin) and also did photo covers for magazines (Schwarz), including one bought Hemingway bought for This Quarterly for 100Fr (Baker). He published some poems as well as photos and “rayographs” in small magazines. His first show at Soupault’s in December 1921 had no sales, but within a year, Crowninshield came to his studio to buy pictures for Vanity Fair. Ray was soon commissioned by Vogue to document the Exposition Internationale des Arts Decoratif and Industriel Moderne and he began doing double assignments for that magazine (Baldwin).

Ray received many other commissions including one from an Indian prince to do a chess set in silver (Schwarz), and from Arthur Wheeler and Vincent Charles de Noailles to do films which played in Europe and New York (Baldwin). In 1926 he was doing well enough to buy his first car and set up a bank account in New York City, which came in handy when he was trying to leave France during the war. By the end of the decade, he was having more shows of his paintings and sent Stein the famous bill for “500Fr for the last series of photographs,” which was “never paid” (Baldwin, p. 162).

We have seen that McAlmon had private income enough to publish others’ novels as well as his own. His poems appeared in magazines, and he was able to lend money to his writer friends, including Joyce (Smoller). McAlmon first published Hemingway’s Three Stories, although the author

“made no money from Three Stories...or from in our time, for no royalties were involved. McAlmon published the first book on a handshake and no promise of payment. [With William Bird’s Three Mountain Press] nothing was promised Hemingway, nor did he expect any royalties. Bird, he knew, was barely meeting his printing expenses. The money, he told himself would come eventually” (Reynolds, p. 181).

In his Contact Collections McAlmon used Bryher’s family money to publish Stein (Mellow), Hemingway, himself, his wife and others (Souhami). His friends returned the favor. His tribute to Joseph Conrad was published in the special edition of Ford Maddox Ford’s transatlantic review that Hemingway edited (Smoller), and his “Revolving Mirror” by Thomson in the journal he edited, Larus (Brinnin). When Hemingway worked as commissioning editor for transatlantic (Souhami), financed by Quinn (Mellow), he talked Ford into serializing Stein’s Making (Souhami), but had to fight hard for her to get paid (Reynolds). McAlmon in turn published the full length Making as a book in 1925, but after one year had only sold 103 copies (Mellow) out of the 500 printed. Eventually, as the group broke up, Toklas decided to publish Stein herself (Souhami).

Thomson performed pieces using Stein’s works as lyrics around Paris, and commissioned her to write the libretto for their opera, Four Saints in Three Acts (Mellow). She in turn got her American friends to give him money to write the music (Souhami).

On her own, Stein was published in other little mags, “often the only outlet for her writing” (Mellow, p. 341). Her 1926 British lectures, Composition as Explanation, were published by Virginia and Leonard’s Hogarth Press. When she did begin to earn money from the Autobiography in the thirties, she and Toklas both “took great delight in Gertrude’s success, when it happened late in their lives, and in spending the money she earned” (Souhami, p. 15). They added telephones, servants and other conveniences to their homes, had clothes made for themselves, and traveled together to performances of Stein’s works and just for pleasure (Souhami).

By 1924 Hemingway was back in Paris, editing transatlantic review (Reynolds) which published his stories, writing reviews of Stein’s and Anderson’s novels, seeing his work published in Paris and German magazines and being rejected by Vanity Fair and Dial. Hadley’s money was dwindling, he was winning at poker (Baker) but borrowing from McAlmon and Stein (Reynolds). In the fall of 1925 his In Our Time was re-published by Boni and Liveright and Beach sold her first copy for 48Fr (\$2.25). She had already sold

eleven copies of his Three Stories and Ten Poems, “making Ernest not a best seller in Joyce’s category, but a steady one. There in her window were both of his books and with them was Anderson’s Dark Laughter, also published by Horace Liveright” (Reynolds).

That year Hemingway had enough money to buy a Joan Miro painting on time. He signed his Scribner’s contract early the next year (Reynolds), and his first novel, The Sun Also Rises, appeared that fall (LeVot). When he broke up with Hadley at about that time (Smoller) he gave her cash (Turnbull), doing a new will to have all the income from his books go to Bumby (Baker). His affair with Pauline had given him a new companion who was “a better drinker than Hadley, [and] had another advantage. She could pay the bar bill” (LeVot). When they married in 1927 her wealthy family back in Arkansas sent money. He continued to publish stories in magazines and wrote articles on bullfighting. A Farewell to Arms was on the best seller list in 1929, and he sold the movie rights (Baker) as the group broke up, when he was “Scribner’s most successful author” (Donnelly, p. H-44).

When Hemingway brought Fitzgerald to Stein’s in May of 1925, “he was the kind of novelist Hemingway wished to be. He was handsome, charming, rich and his writing was a critical, as well as commercial success” (Hobhouse, p. 126). Although he had lots of Hollywood offers (Donnelly), he was disappointed with his Gatsby sales.

The next year Fitzgerald cleared his debts by selling the film rights to Gatsby, which was then appearing on Broadway (LeVot). His stories and articles continued to appear (Sklar), and Scribner’s brought out a short story collection, All the Sad Young Men in 1926 (LeVot). Fitzgerald received an advance and began the following year to work on Tender Is the Night (Donnelly), also doing his first writing in Hollywood (Turnbull). By 1929, the year before the group broke up, his short stories had earned \$27,000; his books, \$31.77. The next year he had to ask Scribner’s for \$500 to cover the previous year’s Christmas bills (Donnelly).

Thomson entered the group the same year as Fitzgerald, 1925, and by then he was premiering and conducting his own works (Kathleen Hoover), and sharing an apartment and expenses with Maurice Gosser. He “was always attracted to women of intelligence and sophistication and they were drawn to him...Some were patrons who helped him during

difficult times but he was never a sycophant playing a game for financial support” (Wittke, p. 14). Also, in 1930, he received a much-delayed war bonus (Kathleen Hoover).

Even without a lot family money, the Americans in Paris were able to live quite well off their work and each other.

## The Algonquin Round Table

The Algonquinites, like the Americans in Paris, had the advantage of choosing careers in fields that were beginning to boom and before there was an income tax (Richard O'Connor). Benchley even wrote, “Don’t be silly” on his first IRS forms and sent them back (Benchley). The Drama League of America, the Dramatists Guild, Actors Equity (Meserve), the Author’s League of America, Goldwyn Pictures Corp. (Goldstein) and Vanity Fair were all founded between 1910 and 1916 (Meade).

FPA tried to sell insurance, but when he called on a professional writer who didn’t have to get up until noon, he knew what career he wanted. During the time he was writing “Always in Good Humor” in the Evening Mail and then the “Conning Tower” at the Tribune, he also collaborated on a musical with O. Henry, which flopped (Gaines).

Broun, too, was always a newspaper man, starting in summers at the Morning Telegraph in 1909. Four years later he was covering baseball for the Tribune, and was made drama critic there for one year before going back to sports. When he was graduated from Harvard he

“had...made up his mind that he would make a career in journalism...Harvard merely demonstrated that it would be better if he didn’t waste his time writing plays, or take economic problems of larger scope than his laundry bill too seriously, or try to approach too precipitously the high table of American literature. Doors closed quietly in his face, thus sparing him years of frustrated effort. Journalism then provided a sanctuary for young men in Broun’s condition. It was a low-paid vocation, and its practitioners, to an alarming degree, succumbed to alcoholism, insanity, or careers in public relations if they weren’t nimble enough to ‘get in, get wise, get out,’ as Professor Copeland prescribed” (Richard O’Connor, p. 19).

Benchley, Woolcott, Ross, and Kaufman all worked in nine-to-five jobs in their youth before being able to make a living writing.

Upon graduation from Harvard, Benchley worked as a secretary at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Rosmond). Although he was planning to marry, and had even entered a crossword puzzle contest to win enough money for his wedding, he was relieved when he was fired two years later (Benchley). His alma mater got him a job in the personnel department of Russell Paper (Rosmond).

He began free-lancing, writing copy for Crowninshield's Century, sold a free-lance story which was returned, and three editorials (Benchley). He had also been offered a job on the house organ of Curtis Publishing Co. (Rosmond), and turned down the offer of a column. In 1914, he gave into Crowninshield's prodding and began to write for Vanity Fair (Benchley).

Two years later, full-time on the Tribune thanks to FPA, he found he wasn't a good reporter because he was "too polite to ask people questions; he didn't believe in pestering anybody" (Rosmond, p. 51). Within three months, FPA moved him to his Tribune magazine. Benchley would write a feature about New York, a review, and a "Popular Science" series, i.e., "Do Jelly Fish Suffer Embarrassment?" By the end of the year he had left the Tribune, was working as a press agent and writing free lance for Vanity Fair again, and then took a job in Washington, DC, doing public relations for the Aircraft Production Board (Rosmond).

By the beginning of 1917 Benchley was back in New York as a part-time drama assistant at Vanity Fair (Benchley). The next year he was full-time on a newspaper for \$75 per week (Rosmond) but was soon fired along with the entire staff and went back to free-lancing, doing some advertising copy, and trying serious writing for Atlantic Monthly, which was rejected. Crowninshield talked to him vaguely about being full-time at Vanity Fair, but didn't hire him as managing editor there until May of 1919 after he had been approached for the same job at Collier's (Benchley).

Woolcott had summer jobs in high school and college, in the cannery at the Phalanx, and at culture spas such as Chautauqua, until a family friend got him a job as a bank messenger in 1909. He had sold his first story three years earlier, and showed up at the New York Times with a lukewarm letter of reference from Samuel Hopkins Adams. He was hired as a reporter that fall (Samuel Hopkins Adams) and made drama critic three years

later (Meade). In 1917 he began branching out, and wrote an article for Century which he turned into a book, wrote a one-act which had offers of production, and the next year published a Tourists' Guide to Chateau-Thierry (Samuel Hopkins Adams). When he returned from the war, he was Kaufman's boss on the Times (Goldstein) and published his articles from Stars as The Command Is Forward (Samuel Hopkins Adams).

Ross started out in his Dad's Aspen store, hauling beer to saloons and groceries to brothels. He traveled around the West, working as a timekeeper, laboring on the Panama Canal, and ending up in 1914 in the family business, which did not work out (Kunkel). He began his writing career out West at both wire services and "too many dailies to remember." He tried to get jobs on New York papers, but enlisted and edited Stars.

Kaufman started as a surveyor and clerk in the Allegheny County tax office and became controller of the Pittsburgh Coal Co. until his father got him a sales job in his company, the Columbia Ribbon Manufacturing Co. in New Jersey, which he worked at off and on from 1909 until 1912 (Goldstein). FPA published his first poem during that time (Gaines), and Kaufman also invested \$100 in a Troy, New York, stock company to get the job as manager, but it didn't last. FPA got him a position on the Washington, DC, Times two years later. In the middle of 1914, FPA hired him on the Tribune as a reporter, and got the Evening Mail to hire him the next year. In 1917 Kaufman went to the Times as a drama reporter, under Woolcott, and began rewriting plays on the side. He had his first New York production the next year, which ran for 32 performances. Even in these early years, his wife Bea was an assistant to a press agent, "earning a little money of her own and [they were] able to afford a cook" (Goldstein, 56).

There is no record of Connelly toiling in non-creative jobs, as he took his first newspaper job on the Pittsburgh Sun around 1908, to support his widowed mother (Goldstein). By 1913 he had sold lyrics for a musical, and two years later he left his Sun job because an "angel" suggested he do book and lyrics for a new play (Nolan). The Amber Empress ran for only two weeks in 1916 in New York (Goldstein), but he went on to adapt plays for producer George Tyler. "I was mad," he said. With no money to go home he stayed in New York (Nolan), supporting himself "by writing verse for the original Life...and next by hiring on as a reporter" (Goldstein, p. 135).

Parker never had a non-creative job. She started in New York as an accompanist for a dancing school but was already sending poems to Vanity Fair (Meade). In 1915 her "Any Porch" was in Vogue (Frewin) and she was hired the next year:

"I had to work, you see [after her father died], and Mr. Crowninshield, God rest his soul, paid twelve dollars for a small verse of mine and gave me a job [on Vogue] at ten dollars a week. Well, I thought I was Edith Sitwell. I lived in a boarding house at 103rd and Broadway, paying eight dollars a week for my room and two meals, breakfast and dinner" (Keats, p. 30-1).

She was soon writing full-time for Vanity Fair (Meade) and working as a fill-in theatre critic (Frewin).

During their entire time in the group, like the Americans in Paris, none of the Algonquin group had to take jobs outside their field. They all wrote to make money (Frewin): "They came to writing as a business from the beginning and so it remained for all but a few of them" (Gaines, p. 124). They were "hardworking and not well paid" (Keats, p. 51-2), but "with the somewhat unpredictable hours and duties imposed by the crafts of journalism, theatre and fiction writing" (Goldstein, p. 66), making them more available for lengthy lunches.

The fact that the economy in general was booming, and the Algonquinites were favorites of a very rich crowd, also helped. Conde Nast used them as "performing guests...The returns in food and good liquor were plentiful. They cemented important connections with publishers and editors and, as time went on, they compiled from these parties a roster of angels for their work and play" (Gaines, p. 130).

Their chosen fields actually peaked in the twenties when New York "was just then becoming the capital of the proliferating mass media communications industry" (Richard O'Connor, p. 109), and "New York's columnists played much the same role as TV chat show hosts do today" (Fagan, p. 10). In that environment, "the promising beginner in any of the popular arts had a chance to prove himself. If he or she belonged to one of the cliques which made such opportunity easier, so much the better" (Richard O'Connor, p. 100). They did, and it helped.

At the time the group started, except for FPA, none of them had done anything: "Woollcott, despite his affectations, was beginning to achieve some popularity. Broun and

Benchley were highly regarded journalists but without big followings. Nobody had heard of George [Kaufman], who was earning \$4000 a year at the Times" (Meade, p. 74).

Even so, they were "indulging themselves" (Keats, p. 43) by eating at the Algonquin, but Case helped out by letting them eat on credit (Frewin) and giving free starters for the first year. After he bought the hotel (Gaines), he didn't press any of them to pay up their debts (Frewin). Parker, in particular, hardly ever paid him, figuring that she was good publicity (Meade). At the end of her life, Parker claimed that neither she nor Benchley were never really there "for the simple reason that we couldn't afford it. It cost money, and we weren't just poor, we were penniless" (Frewin).

If they weren't yet getting rich, they were able to live off each other cheaply. As Keats shows, Parker, for example,

"went frequently to the theater, for in those days there were as many as nine openings in a single week during the season, but this cost nothing because she attended plays together with Mr. Woollcott or Mr. Benchley, and theater critics were always assigned two free seats. The books she read were review copies given her by magazines and newspaper friends. And her greatest source of amusement cost nothing at all, consisting as it did of the company of her friends. She was so seldom home that her private life was, in a sense, nonexistent. She would wake at mid morning and at noon meet friends for lunch. The working hours of many of the Algonquin group were elastic and nocturnal; this was particularly true of the newspaper columnists FPA and Heywood Broun and of the motion picture and theater critics...Benchley and Woollcott...After a leisurely lunch, someone might propose a thing that seemed fun to do" (in Frewin, p. 89).

Frewin adds that eating was not a big priority for her:

"When she dined out (she did not cook for herself), it did not seem to matter to her what she ate. She would routinely order a steak and a salad, no matter how ambitious the restaurant's menu. Food was more of a humdrum necessity for her than it was a source of pleasure or recreation, and her attitude toward food would have helped to keep its cost low for her, wholly apart from the fact that many of her evening meals would be provided by her male escorts" (Frewin).

The Round Tablers supported each other with more than free tickets during their years together. Also, for the good players, there was revenue from the regular Thanatopsis games, earned from the bad players (Gaines). Broun, probably a compulsive gambler, "lost \$30,000 one evening and had to sell his apartment" (Kunkel, p. 82). In fact, Swope and Kaufman bringing their rich friends into the game, "who would finally outprice the original members [and] the incursion of economic realities with the Crash probably did more to dampen their group spirit than any other single factor" (Gaines, p. 183-4).

Parker and Benchley were on Vanity Fair together, until she was fired and he resigned in protest. They then began to free-lance, and their friends Woollcott and FPA publicized their services in their respective newspapers, “the sort of invaluable publicity that the unemployed can’t buy” (Meade, p. 69). One of Parker’s pieces became a collaboration with FPA (Frewin), and she and Benchley worked on an advertising piece together. Their friend Sherwood, who left Vanity Fair with them, went to Life as an assistant editor and immediately hired Benchley as drama critic for \$100 per week. He also used Parker, Connelly and Kaufman (Nolan, p. 52).

This incredibly successful writing duo formed just before the group did and hit it big with their first work, Dulcy (Nolan), based on a character created by FPA in his column:

“To be young and talented and living in New York in the twenties, with money to spend and the promise of plenty more of it to come--this...was the best life imaginable...The possibilities were limitless! Whatever the team [of Connelly and Kaufman] wrote, there was sure to be a producer and an audience for it. They were home free” (Goldstein, p. 65).

Over the next few years they had hits and also sold the film rights to two (Goldstein). Even their less successful works did have short runs in New York.

FPA and Broun wrote about each other on the World (Gaines), to which Woollcott soon was lured for a great salary and permission to still write for magazines (Samuel Hopkins Adams). Ross used them all as a fictitious advisory board for his New Yorker (Meade), which eventually provided a paid outlet for a lot of their work.

Most of Parker’s short stories appeared first there (Acocella), but throughout the twenties she was also contributing to other magazines and was now the author of “more than nearly 130 prose pieces and nearly seventy poems for Life” (Frewin, p. 68). Ainslee’s gave her a monthly column, and she had regular income and the “freedom to write what she wanted” (Frewin, p. 70). Her first play ran for only 24 performances in New York (Frewin), but her books of poetry, did well, Enough Rope “making publishing history by becoming a best seller, an almost unprecedented achievement for a volume of poetry” (Meade, p. 177). Towards the end of the decade she began her column for Ross, and was lured to the movies.

Throughout the twenties Parker “made a great deal of money but her purse was always empty (Keats, p. 11-2). The wealthy men she dated were usually glad to oblige with dinner and other favors (Frewin). When she was dating Seward Collins, the publisher of the Bookman, he had her write for him, and paid for her trip to southern France and Spain in 1926. In fact, she was always drawn toward “men with money, [but] she secretly abominated them and undertook it as her mission to punish them” (Meade, p. 141).

Benchley worked free-lance (Benchley), and had two collections of essays published (Rosmond, Gaines). After his performance of “The Treasurer’s Report” in No Sirree!, he was hired by Irving Berlin to do it for the Music Box Review for \$500 a week (Nolan). When it closed in June of 1924, he had to ask Sherwood for an advance on his Life salary because “he had been on a spree for nearly a year, and he remained on it through the rest of his life” (Meade, p. 129). Two years later 1926 Jesse Lasky was asking him to come to Hollywood to write subtitles (Gaines), and he went back the next year to film The Treasurer’s Report. He was writing regular columns (Rosmond, Benchley), but when Benchley had a serious feeler from Lasky to move to movies permanently, he “discussed the offer with Parker and Sherwood. Their warm encouragement persuaded him to accept. But it wasn’t a hard decision to make. He needed the money” (Frewin, p. 113).

Before making a living from The New Yorker, Ross was made editor of American Legion Weekly on the day of his marriage, so he and Grant could live on her New York Times salary while they saved his for the magazine. The Weekly bought Judge and made Ross co-editor, and “almost immediately he realized it was terrible mistake” (Kunkel, p. 90). When he left there, he turned down offers to devote himself to starting The New Yorker.

Woollcott worked as a critic on various papers during the twenties, moving from one to the other for higher salaries, and still published in magazines (Samuel Hopkins Adams, Gaines, Kunkel), including his regular column in The New Yorker. His books during the time were mostly collections of his works, on of which never made its money back because he bought too many copies for friends (Samuel Hopkins Adams). He also began his career as a product endorser with testimonials for Muriel cigars in 1925 (Gaines). When the stock market was crashing Woollcott had a co-op on the East River, a Minerva car, and a full-

length fur (Gaines), and was able to donate money to his alma mater for scholarships (Samuel Hopkins Adams).

Connelly started the twenties as a press agent for a play, but he forgot to send out an announcement of opening night and was fired (Nolan). He rewrote plays for George Tyler, wrote his own which ran for 139 performances (Goldstein), and had numerous stories in The New Yorker from the beginning (Nolan). By age 33 he was “corpulent...[and] enjoyed to the full the comforts that success had made possible” (Goldstein, p. 102-3).

Connelly’s writing partner, Kaufman, collaborated with Ferber, George Gershwin, Morry Riskind and the Marx Brothers. He had only one solo effort but directed others. But the dour Kaufman’s wife, Bea, “enjoyed her husband’s success more easily than he did” (Gaines, p. 151).

FPA had his last “Conning Tower” in the Tribune in 1921 (Goldstein), but moved it to the World where Broun had just gone for “more freedom of expression” (Richard O’Connor, p. 82). He began to personalize his column more and earned \$25,000 annually there. Broun published a novel, collaborated on a biography which was a Literary Guild first selection, and continued to contribute regularly to magazines. In 1928 when he wrote a column in the Nation criticizing the World’s anti-birth control stance it cost him his job, but he moved to the Telegraph with national syndication (Richard O’Connor).

The Algonquinites not only supported themselves and each other with their work, they did quite well, became famous, and eventually moved on to even more lucrative pursuits in movies, radio and even television. Their careers with flexible hours made it possible for them to spend time socializing, but their success in those careers kept them so busy that eventually they didn’t have time for each other’s company any more.

##### *5. Activities*

With all this to do to support themselves, what did they do when they were together? Given this environment--seven or eight creative people, in creative surroundings, with time and money enough to spare--what was it like? “To have been There” (Allen, p. G6)? How did they interact?

Talk. Gossip. Read out loud. Play games. Plan creative projects that did--or did not--take place. What were their interactions like?

## At Coole Park

Out in the western Ireland countryside at Coole, the activity was calm but ordered:

“There was a regularity of life... a typical day included reading after breakfast, a turn in the garden, writing from eleven till a late lunch, then fishing in the lake, afterwards reading and working at lighter tasks, then dinner and good conversation and a walk after dinner” (Jeffares, p. 117).

Quinn recounted that “the mornings were devoted to work, the afternoons to out-of-doors, and the evenings to the reading of scenarios for plays, the reading of short plays” (in Kohfeldt, p. 156-7). He also remembered, “Yeats, Hyde and I used to sit up every night...talking...the evening to the reading of scenarios for plays...in English by Lady Gregory and in Irish by Hyde. [They] read to us.” AE would “sit up talking poetry, Shelley” with Lady Gregory (Ulick O’Connor, p. 210-1). Moore and Yeats read their Diarmuid and Grainne, written there, to AE (Kuch); Lady Gregory read Synge’s Aran Islands manuscript to Yeats (Greene).

Hyde knew that

“at Coole it was never possible to predict just how many would arrive in the morning or sit down together for an evening dinner or come and go unexpectedly in the middle of the afternoon. It was only possible to say that the conversation, whatever its source, would be interesting” (Dunleavy, p. 217).

The Irish group worked hard there. As Lady Gregory told her former lover, Blunt, “Coole is said to be the workshop of Ireland...I expect people to do so much when they come” (Coxhead, p. 60). And indeed, one summer, she and Yeats wrote so many plays “in so few weeks that if I were to say how few, I do not think anybody would believe me,” as she wrote later (in Kohfeldt, p. 142).

On the very first visit, we have seen how Lady Gregory invited Yeats and Martyn to put together the prospectus for the theatre they were planning. In succeeding summers they would collaborate. Yeats and Moore wrote Diarmuid and Grainne (Jeffares) and re-wrote Martyn’s Tale of a Town there. Yeats and Lady Gregory wrote their masterpiece Cathleen ni Houlihan. She and Hyde worked on The Well of the Saints.

In Dramatis Personae Yeats has “left a charming description of Hyde scribbling away at his desk all morning, with a facility the other two envied, and then being drawn away by Lady Gregory for an afternoon’s fishing on the lake” (Coxhead, p. 108). But Dunleavy has a more detailed description that gives a clear idea of how these creative people worked together in 1900:

Aug. 26, Hyde and his wife come to Coole, Yeats is there and talks Hyde into writing The Twisting of the Rope.

Aug. 27, Yeats has a scenario for Twisting sketched out; Hyde takes Yeats’ notes, locks himself in a room for two days (no shooting, talking, etc.).

Aug. 29, in the late afternoon, Hyde finishes the manuscript of Twisting; tired, he “dressed and joined the others for dinner. A bottle of champagne provided by Lady Gregory to celebrate the event helped restore him in both body and spirit.”

Aug. 30, “translating into English, Hyde begins dictating his play to Lady Gregory, who had offered to make a clean copy of it on [her] typewriter. That evening Martyn came to dinner and Hyde read him the translation of his play; Martyn was pleased with it.”

Aug. 31, “Lady Gregory having finished her typing, Hyde returned to his room and wrote part of another play” (p. 219).

“Yeats set me writing a package in The Twisting of the Rope,” said Hyde later (Dunleavy). Four years later, this same threesome wrote a play called Where There Is Nothing to keep Moore from stealing the plot; Yeats had the idea and the outline; Lady Gregory and Hyde the dialogue, “as if the play were a jigsaw puzzle laid out on the table” (Kohfeldt, p. 142). In later years, the Abbey would have important meetings there, reorganizing and fighting (Kohfeldt).

The other members of the group would come to the country for other activities as well. Hyde spent “a good deal of time at Coole collecting folklore and translations” (Ulick O’Connor, p. 210). He also came to hunt, and he and one of his language teacher associates put on a Punch and Judy show in both English and Irish for a school feast there one Christmas (Coxhead).

AE would sometimes paint (Ulick O’Connor) and Yeats would sometimes sketch. On one of AE’s first trips, Lady Gregory took him and Yeats “to a nearby cromlech, where [AE] saw a purple Druid” (Kuch, p. 120). He did sketches, which they showed to locals after he left and they agreed they had seen it, too. On a later visit, she lead them to a house in Balinamantane where a woman had seen things. Yeats and Lady Gregory pressed AE to describe what he saw, but “as he had a strong aversion to being asked about his visions, he maintained a moody silence” (Kuch, p. 122). On his next trip, Robert Gregory’s tutor

spent a summer there and told them there was a intersection nearby where quite a few accidents occurred. Yeats and AE went to investigate and the Angel declared that there was a gnome at the tree who would stretch his arms out; Yeats had to admit he saw nothing. These three would work on rituals together there, and she would record them (Kuch).

Even after their days as a group were over, Lady Gregory hosted Yeats and AE at Coole in 1931 to discuss the formation of an Irish Academy of Letters (Jeffares).

## At Gordon and Fitzroy Squares

For visitors to Fitzroy Square, there was less solitary activity than at Coole, as described by Adrian:

“Thurs. Jul. 1 On my way home I went to Gordon Square where I found the Goat and walked home with her. We dined alone together and after dinner waited a long time before anybody appeared. Saxon as usual came in first but was quickly followed by Norton and then by James [Strachey] and Lytton. We were very silent at first, Virginia and Lytton and I doing all the talking. Saxon being in his usual state of torpor and Norton and James occasionally exchanging a whisper. Later on Vanessa and Clive came in bringing with them Grant. After this the conversation became more lively. Vanessa sat with Lytton on the sofa and from half heard snatches I gather they were talking about his and James’s obscene loves. Whatever it was they were discussing they were brought to an abrupt stop by a sudden silence, this pleased them very much, especially Vanessa, and I kindly added to their job by asking why they stopped...James and Lytton left and we played an absurd game which Vanessa and Clive had learnt at the Freshfields....She is always trying to bring out some bawdy remark and is as pleased when she has done it as a spoilt child.... At last everybody went except Saxon...Virginia and I were however so sleepy that we managed by sheer indifference to oust him. We got to bed as the dawn was coming up about five” (in Bell I, p. 146-7).

For the Bloomsberries, talk was all. After visiting and talking at one house, usually dinner at Gordon Square, they would “stroll” over to the other (Bell I, p. 115). They had no “programmed aim, but simply...talk” (Spalding, 1983, p. 65). They were a group “who were dedicated to free discussion and the pursuit of truth and who stimulated one another’s literary, artistic and intellectual achievements to a remarkable degree” (Crabtree, p. 2). From the beginning, Virginia was thrilled with the new level of conversation compared to what she had heard from Hyde Park Gate relatives:

“a kind of conversation that had never come her way before. A chance remark, a discussable statement, something, let us say, about beauty in pictures, would suddenly breed loquacity. The question would be discussed at a higher and higher level and by fewer and fewer people. ‘It filled me with wonder to watch those who were finally left in the argument, piling stone upon stone, cautiously, accurately, long after it had completely soared above my sight...One had glimpses of something miraculous happening high up in the air. Often we would still be sitting in a circle at two or three in the morning. Still Saxon would be taking his pipe from his mouth as if to speak, and putting it back again without having spoken. At last, rumpling his hair back he would pronounce very shortly some absolutely final summing up. The marvelous edifice was complete, one could stumble off to bed feeling that something very important had happened. It had been proved that beauty was--or beauty was not--for I have never been quite sure which--part of a picture’” (Bell I, p. 98).

Unfortunately, Edel points out that this type of conversation is rarely recorded. And

“when it is recorded by accident or design, it sounds strangely disconnected and fragmented. It needs cigarette smoke, gestures, color, a ballet of body postures, smiles natural and artificial, the nuances of verbal warmth or venom. Accounts of Bloomsbury parties across the years (and we have more accounts of the later years than of the nascent period of Gordon and Fitzroy) sound like intellectual parties anywhere. We must take it on trust that they were remarkable” (p. 150).

Adrian records he, Virginia and Strachey doing most of the talking in the group (Bell I, p. 146-7), but sometimes she would spend most of an evening talking to Keynes (Rose).

The sisters described it best, each in her own way. Vanessa’s painting, A Conversation, shows “three women in animated conversation”: “three heads lean together and the brilliant color and energetic brushwork of the flowers obtrudes into the space between them, a floral speech-bubble, a visual metaphor for concentrated and uninhibited talk” (Tickner, p. 74). Virginia wrote, “Talking, talking, talking--as if everything could be talked--the soul itself slipped through the lips in thin silver discs which dissolve in young men’s minds like silver, like moonlight” (in Holroyd I, p. 407).

If indeed conversation “was all,” they did find time for other pursuits, such as snacking on “whisky, buns and cocoa” (Holroyd I, p. 407). In the city there would be the Play Reading Society, which met on and off throughout the group’s main years together (Bell I). In the country there was badminton (Spalding, 1983) and painting. And in both places, partying, with performances and puppets (Skidelsky I). But “against such a background” it is important to remember there was “hard work and constant occupation” (Shone, 1976, p. 18).

Like the Irish, the English had their conflicts as well. Virginia and Adrian didn’t always get along. The evenings at Fitzroy “often ended in dismal failure. Adrian stalked

off to his room, I to mine in complete silence” (Spater, p. 40). Teasing was a favorite sport and Clive “came in for more than his fair share of abuse. Everyone agreed that he talked too loudly” (Spater, p. 130). Although there was a “generally smooth melody of friendship,...rows, jealousies and sharp differences of opinion add a lively counterpoint” (Shone, 1976, p. 15).

After the group broke up Vanessa kept this creative and exciting setting alive elsewhere:

“A chance visitor arriving at Charleston...might reasonably have thought the house empty until one by one the inhabitants emerged from studio or library, from the pottery or a corner of the garden, to meet for an unhurried lunch or lingering tea. Then it was back to a History of the Roman Empire in French, to a still life in the studio or an evening landscape, to proofreading or writing a review, to weeding or sewing or sitting in a deck chair to talk, cigarette smoke curling blue against the flint wall of the garden and floating over it with drifts of conversation and laughter” (Shone, 1976, p. 18).

### At 27 rue de Fleurus

Throughout Paris in the twenties, there was an “Americanization” going on: “If art was in the air, so was talk of jazz, skyscrapers, the newest tango from Argentina, machines and advertising slogans” (Brinnin, p. 229).

Hundreds of firsthand descriptions of Stein’s salon survive, most emphasising her dominance of the scene. Brinnin describes the whole atmosphere there in the twenties, “something between a court and a shrine,” where the paintings still competed with Stein for attention:

Proximity to the throne, where Gertrude sat with legs crossed, one sandal dangling from her big toe, was much to be desired by the young men who curried royal favor. There was, in the course of time, always one among them who, unofficially yet with authority, served as major-domo to the royal establishment while all about him jockeyings for position went on. In the background, over the noise of the teacups, one could hear the sound of rolling heads, the rumble of dead reputations being carted away. Not the least noticeable things about the *salon* was the way its *dramatis personae* changed from month to month, week to week. Both Gertrude and Alice preferred variety in their relationships; and Alice often blithely quoted the jingle, ‘Give me new faces, new faces, new faces. I have seen the old ones’...As a shrine, the atelier was already historic and impressively decked with propitiatory gifts. A patina of fame had settled on the paintings, the brushing of thousands of pilgrims had mellowed and polished the heavy furniture. It was only natural that Gertrude...should have become its aureate and heavysset madonna...The paintings remained the focal point of interest around which the deeper life of the salon revolved...[Stein rearranged them often]...Because of this lively changing attitude, there was always some new point of interest in the salon which so easily might have taken on the dead air of a museum” (p. 269-71).

At Fleurus, Stein talked, others listened. She ran her salon with a tight fist, always treating drunks as if they were sober, even Fitzgerald (Souhami). They talked about his drinking, his writing, his disappearing “golden youth” (Brinnin, p. 240), and Hemingway. If Hemingway were present, they would bait him about his latest work (Mellow); if he weren't they would tell Hemingway stories (Sklar).

Stein and Hemingway gossiped and mostly discussed “premonitions of their own success” (Brinnin, p. 253). She didn't discuss “particularities” of writing, but stuck “strictly to general principles” (Mellow, p. 317). Hemingway came rushing in to announce that he had talked Ford into serializing her Making in transatlantic, or stayed all day finally blurting out that his wife was pregnant. Or Stein and Hemingway fought about the talents of other writers, especially Anderson, after Hemingway parodied him viciously (Autobiography).

There were parties, on most Christmas Eves (Mellow), or Thomson would play and sing his scores for Stein's pieces, including Four Saints (Wittke).

Stein delighted in quarreling, either with Toklas, or, according to Imbs, by deliberately “framing contretemps which were apt to result in emotional fireworks”:

“With so many personalities to deal with, [it was Stein's] favorite sport...taking a deep malicious pleasure in the all but mortal combat she had encouraged among her guests. She was not only extremely versed in the French art of 'brouille' but had this extra accomplishment of stirring up quarrels between people without ever once stepping into the shadow of blame herself” (in Brinnin, p. 280).

But Toklas alone talked to the wives. One, Hadley Hemingway, recalled Toklas “would dart questions, like arrows, and in three minutes would know your place of birth, your environment, your family, your connections, your education, and your immediate intention and she never forgot what she acquired” (Reynolds, p. 36).

## At The Algonquin Hotel

Because of the fame of the Round Table, descriptions of their lifestyle abound as well, from the very first lunch. No one remembered exactly what happened, but “the only certainty was that Alex had held center stage recounting his wartime adventures at length and

that the others were good natured about allowing him to spout off...[starting all with],  
'When I was in the theater of war...'" (Meade, p. 61)

"Conversation was like oxygen to us" said Connelly (Meade, p. 76). In the early days, "nobody strained to make an impression. Conversation was relaxed and stories flowed unrehearsed" (Meade, p. 84). As time went on and the group became more competitive, some used "cheat sheets" for their one-liners, and Broun would even bring his son "to feed him straight lines" (Grimes, June, 1994, p. B1-2). They began to fight verbally with each other, "with opinion, fact and fancy, changing the subject whenever fatigue threatened" (Frewin, p. 72), eventually becoming "New York's trade center of vituperative vipersions...sometimes profane in dialogue...a secular site of theatrical shop talk, bitchy gossip, epicene epigrams and rapier ripostes" (Frewin, p. 42).

Sherwood said they never really talked about their work, except "I had a deadline to meet, and Robert [Benchley] would have to get out one of his theatre reviews, and there were various jokes over the telephone about the poor editors, such as 'Hasn't that piece got there yet?' when you hadn't started to write it" (Keats, p. 72). They are described as "always laughing and joking, clearly having a terrific time" (Meade, p. 74). Mostly,

"there was wit. Before television, before radio, human beings entertained themselves by pursuits that included talking. Some did it well, and some of the best of them got to the Round Table...Much laughter around the table. The glazed eyes of people scouring their psyches for comebacks. Anita Loos, author of Gentlemen Prefer Blondes, had a character in another work say that the Round Table geniuses 'are so busy thinking up some cute remark to make that they never have time to do any listening.' They ate breakfast and dinner together. They went on vacations together, slept together, went to the same doctors and talked about it all at parties thrown for them by the rich on the north shore of Long Island" (Allen, p. G6).

Their conversation and gatherings were not limited to the hotel. The critics in the group would attend the theatre together (Keats), go to weddings together, sail to France together, frolic on the Riviera together, and play cards at Thanatopsis on weekends where Ross would pass the hat to raise money for his magazine idea (Meade). Once Woollcott bought Neshobe, the party continued in Vermont, but by his strict rules (Samuel Hopkins Adams). They played croquet (Goldstein), cards, and lots of word games. And, despite Prohibition, they drank. Not at the Algonquin, of course, but at the speakeasies (Frewin) particularly Tony Soma's (Meade), at Swope's places in the city during the week (Frewin)

or in Long Island on the weekends (Meade), at Polly Adler's brothel, at Neysa McMein's studio, at Ross and Grant's, at Woollcott's (Frewin).

Although the ambience has been described as "joyous," that doesn't mean that all were kind to each other all the time. Woollcott would set the tone by greeting Parker with "Hello, repulsive!" (Frewin). She would respond with "sharp, nasty, vengeful" barbs:

"She took pleasure in galloping to the punch line before her victims got there. She could be witty on paper, but her forte was oral agility. She was truly at her best in conversation, where she presented the routine she had perfected: demure, deadpan expression, the disparity between a patrician voice modulated to just above a whisper and her inexhaustable repertoire of obscenities...She was developing a bad habit of flattering people to their faces and then condemning them behind their backs. 'Did you ever meet such a shit?' she would exclaim" (Meade, p. 82).

## 6. *Climate*

What type of climate or atmosphere did these activities add up to?

Every gathering and organization has an intangible feeling that is difficult to define in concrete terms. Katz defines this as "climate" or "culture," and cites experiments by Lewin where he used "experimentally created social climates: democratic, authoritarian and laissez-faire" (p. 91). Without going into detail on these variations, the informal social groups would operate in a "laissez-faire" climate, which Lewin found led to less restricted "volume of conversation." In comparison to the authoritarian climates, "members made more requests for attention and approval from fellow members" in both the democratic and laissez-faire climates. In addition, "the laissez-faire group exceeded the other groups by far in the category of requesting information of the leader" (Katz, p. 92).

These patterns of communication will be analysed in more detail in the cohesiveness section of this paper. Here we need to better define the "climates" or "cultures" that the groups operated in because, according to Katz, they "influence the patterning of interpersonal communication. Like the structural characteristics of interpersonal relations, 'climatic' characteristics must be accounted for if we are properly to analyze the varied character of the channels of flow of information and influence among interacting individuals" (p. 94).

The descriptions that appear most often describing the atmosphere in the different group are "excited" (Kohfeldt, p. 127; Autobiography, p. 232-3; and Townsend, p. 241)

and “informal” (Spalding, 1983, p. 63; Hoffman, p. 104; and Keats, p. 43), filled with “ease” (Spalding, 1983, pp. 111 and 180; Brinnin, p. 275), and “wit” (Spalding, 1983, p. 79; Shone, 1993; and Allen, p. G6).

The climate at Coole is described as one of “order” (Hazard Adams, p. 116 and Kohfeldt, p. 9), unlike that of the other groups. The “stability of routine” (Jeffares, pp. 117 and 310; and Hazard Adams, p. 116) is referred to.

The Bloomsbury atmosphere is most commonly described as one of “freedom” usually attributed to the atmosphere that Vanessa personally created (Spalding, 1983, pp. 111, 153, 180) and also in comparison to their collective past (Bell I, pp. 41 and 46-7 and Tickner): “46 Gordon Square came to symbolize freedom and independence precisely because [their previous life at Hyde Park Gate had been] hidebound and restricting. Gordon Square was deliberately kept free of clutter, both material and emotional” (Spalding, 1983, p. 45). “Intellectual” (Rose, p. 40 and Crabtree, p. 2) conversation and a feeling of “intimacy” (Bell I, pp. 41 and 46-7) in a “less masculine” (Spalding, 1983, p. 79) and more “feminine” (Holroyd I, p. 408) atmosphere are also mentioned.

Vanessa was very conscious of creating this atmosphere, and described it to Angelica in a Memoir as not just dependent on the presence of certain people, but “on the absence of others, who inevitably prevent the ease and freedom necessary for saying anything which comes into one’s head. It is that which matters not the subject of conversation which must change to according to the topics of the day” (in Spalding, 1983, p. 180).

“Genial” (Brinnin, p. 275) is used to describe Stein. Both she and Lady Gregory are seen as using their salons to “share”--Stein with Anderson (Brinnin, p. 35) and Lady Gregory with the Irish nationalist movement (Coxhead, p. 43). The combination of paintings and creative people in Paris also lead to “fresh interest” (Brinnin, p. 287).

The Algonquin shared with the Bloomsberries a “relaxed” (Spalding, 1983, p. 111, and Meade, p. 84) feeling. Parker got “support” from the others (Meade, p. 86), in the same way that Yeats, Synge and Lady Gregory “gave each other the kind of non-practical, non-verbal support” they needed (Kohfeldt, p. 182).

For each group their unique climate contributed to the type of writing and other creative work that they accomplished. The “peace and dignity” (Hazard Adams, p. 116) at Coole, lent “inspiration” (Coxhead, p. 46) to those who, like AE, came to cheer up (Kuch). The quiet, slow pace produced country, peasant plays, in the lilt of the local dialects. The Bloomsberries post-Victorian “casual” (Spalding, 1983, p. 111), “irreverent” (Shone, 1993), “Bohemian” and “improvisatory” (Shone, 1976, p. 18) feeling helped them to break with the past and look at old forms--the novel, the portrait--with a different point of view.

Stein and Toklas’ salon provided a “refuge” (Brinnin, p. 234) which was “cordial” (LeVot, p. 197) with a tone of “strict and formal politeness” (Brinnin, p. 276-7), allowing the participants “an atmosphere of passionate experimentation” (Kathleen Hoover, p. 62) in which to destroy old patterns and create new ones. At the “unpretentious...comfortable and homey” (Keats, p. 43) Algonquin lunch table there was a “vitality and pleasure” (Meade, p. 74) that was filled with “self-deprecating” humor which eventually became more “jaded” (Frewin, pp. 46 and 159). Their witty jabs are reflected in their one-line wisecracks and irreverent short stories and comedies.

Each group created for themselves, with the active help of the Host/Hostess, the atmosphere and climate that was most conducive to the type of work they were trying to do.

## IV. Analysis

### A. Structure

Katz describes two major approaches to small group research, (1) the diagnostic, which “attempts to single out key roles--what we shall call strategic points--which are crucial for the flow of information and influence within a group”; and (2) the approach which considers “the patterns of interpersonal transmission and the links which hold communicating individuals together” (p. 83). We have already used the first approach in describing the role each member played. Here we will look at the patterns.

Secord and Backman refer to these as the “affect structure or sociometric structure” of the group, pointing out that any group “observed over a period of time” shows some sort of pattern:

“Where members can choose whom to associate with in a given activity, some persons are chosen more frequently than others. Each individual, moreover, regularly chooses certain persons and ignores others. Where the interaction takes the form of social-emotional behavior, choices are based upon liking or positive affect toward the other person. We may conceive of these attractions among group members as forming a pattern or structure” (p. 235).

They also cite a study by Klein who suggests that “in informal friendship groups, the affect structure provides a fairly accurate picture of the communication structure” (p. 294), so here we can consider these two structures as the same.

Most research done into these structures, however, involves living human beings who can be observed in action and/or questioned. The usual method used to determine these patterns and connections in a given group is either to observe who talks to whom, or ask members which other members they prefer to interact with, and then construct a diagram or sociogram to visually represent these relationships. In this case, we are only able to observe the members’ interactions filtered through biographers’ and others’ reports. Using this secondary information, we cannot ask, but we can analyse the content of recorded interactions among members. We have already looked qualitatively at what is observed about their roles, their environment, and their values. To determine the structure, we need to look quantitatively at the interactions reported.

As described before, the information from the biographies and other sources was all collected in matrices, categorized as "Pre," "During," and "After" the time in the group, and by year. Also, members' names were printed in boldface to make them easily identifiable, and considerable editing was done to eliminate duplications, etc. As a result, the interactions are organized in a manner that makes it easy to simply count them. The complete matrices for each group "During" their time together--which includes each interaction that involves three or more group members as well as pertinent background information--is included in Appendix B.

Any interactions among three or more group members during the group time, as well as any descriptions related to their structure, were collected together and counted. Only the "During" matrices were used for this quantitative analysis, so only interactions that involved the group--as defined as three or more members mentioned in one interaction--were counted. Interactions between only two group members are on their individual matrices and were not counted. Interactions not attributable to a given year (included in the "Other Relationships" section of the matrix) were distributed evenly over the years involved.

The limitations of the qualitative data collection from secondary sources prohibits extensive quantitative analysis. However, this count of the interaction frequency was done as a check on the patterns that appeared above in the analysis of the roles. If the two were inconsistent, a different analysis of the roles would have to be developed. It turned out that the relative frequency of interactions among the dyads was consistent with the role patterns found in the qualitative analysis.

### *1. Communication and Affect Structure*

#### Frequency

Each member was in a group for an average of 7.9 years, ranging from a low of 3.3 years for Moore and McAlmon to a high of 9.5 for all the Algonquinites. The number of total interactions in the group in any given year ranges from a low of 14 for the first year of the Paris group to 368 for the seventh year, the peak, of the Bloomsbury group, who were also related to each other. The Irish group lasted for a bit less than nine years, and their

peak of interaction was in Year 3 (p. 271); the Bloomsberries for just short of nine years, peaking in Year 7 with their record 368. The Paris group had fewer interactions, but they stretched over almost ten years, peaking in Year 6 with 180. The Algonquinites also lasted almost ten years, peaking in Year 4 with 216 interactions.

Cartwright cites research by Hill and Trist that shows that members can withdraw from frequent participation in a group without withdrawing from the group. They mention “illness, competing obligations, or the need to avoid tensions arising from participation” (in Cartwright, p. 104) as major factors. The latter might apply to Synge, the Odd One Out’s, reduced participation level; Moore did not come often either, but as the Irritant, he may have caused the tensions.

However, in the Paris group, the lack of proximity among members led to the lower number of interactions, although they remained a group. Few besides Stein and Toklas actually lived in Paris during the entire ten years of the group. But Brinnin points out that Stein and Anderson, for example, “meeting but infrequently during the course of their lives,” were still able to keep up “an intimacy” (p. 236-7). Hemingway, according to Reynolds, saw Stein only six weeks out of his first nineteen months in Paris, but it was “just enough time to learn the lessons he needed” (p. 41). Hobbhouse reports that Stein liked Fitzgerald best, “despite the rarity of their meetings” (p. 126), and Mellow concurs that their relationship “did not encompass many meetings, but they wrote admiringly to each other” (p. 330). Where this correspondence is quoted in a source, it is included as an interaction.

Despite their high level of interactions, even the Algonquinites “did not go there every day” (Keats, p. 51).

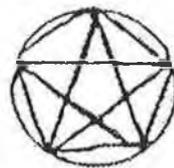
Homans hypothesizes is that “if the frequency of interaction between two or more persons increases, the degree of their liking for one another will increase, and vice versa” (in Cartwright, p. 99). We will see that this contributes to the cohesion of the group.

## Distribution

More important than just frequency of interactions together is who interacted with whom. For if all 271 encounters in the Irish group that year were between Yeats and Lady Gregory, is it a group? So the number of interactions for dyads need to be counted as well.

The only dyad which had no reported interactions during the time of the group were McAlmon and Thomson, although soon after the Sponsor left, Thomson did publish one of his pieces in a journal he edited, and later got another journal to take one of his poems. We can infer from this that they had known each other before, even if it doesn't show up in any source. So by Bavelas' definition of distance in a group as "the number of communicative links which must be utilized to get by the shortest route from one position to another" (in Leavitt, p. 223), all the members are connected directly to each other because they all communicated directly to each other.

Handy describes this communication pattern as "all-channel," and it has the same structure as we saw in Macy's "Pinwheel" system described in the Methodology section above (see Diagram 3).



PINWHEEL

**Diagram 3**

Handy also found that, compared to other patterns such as a circle or a wheel, also described in the Methodology section, "in complex open-ended problems [the all-channel pattern is] most likely to reach the best solution," and that satisfaction levels are "fairly high" in this pattern, depending upon the importance of the task. However, when time or competition pressures were added to a task, the all-channel system "either restructured itself into a wheel or disintegrated." Overall, Handy concluded that all-channel systems "are participative and involving and good for quality but they take time and do not stand up under

pressure” (p. 171). Since our groups were meeting informally, under no pressure to complete a task, and, in theory, had open-ended time, this pattern served them best.

A chart was made for each group, totalling the interactions for each dyad. This total number of interactions was then divided by the number of years those two were in the group together, to determine their average interactions mentioned per year. For example, there were 129 group interactions which mentioned Virginia and Vanessa over their eight years, giving them an average of 16.1 per year.

Then, given the average number of years each member was in his or her group, and the number of members, an average number of interactions was calculated for that group. For example, the total number of interactions, divided by the average number of years each member was in the group, gives an average number of interactions per year. This is then divided by the number of possible interactions --7 times 7 for the Irish group; 8 times 8 for all the others. In others words, all things being equal, if the frequency of interactions was purely random, how many times would any two members be reported to have encountered each other?

For the Irish this was 4.7; for the Bloomsberries, 7.5; Paris, 3.4; and the Algonquinites, 2.8. The Bloomsberries probably interacted more on the average because of their family, marital and romantic relationships with each other. At any rate, the counts are only relevant to show the relative frequency of interactions within a group, and cannot be compared across groups.

## *2. Status Structure*

Taken together, the individuals’ characteristics, which we have already looked at in detail, and their frequency of interaction, which we have just described, determine their relative *status* in the group, which is “one determinant of the patterns that communications form” (p. 273). This could also lead to the construction of a sociogram showing the status structure of the group, visually representing each person’s relative importance in the group. We have seen that our group members fall into three categories--the leaders (Star and

Host/Hostess), the inner circle (the Irritant, the Angel and the Sponsor), and the outer circle (the Odd One Out, the Link and the Bridge).

Based on the assumption that members who were closer and more attracted to one another would interact more frequently than the average, a score was computed for each dyad--how many interactions *above* the average for that group did they have? (See charts 1 through 4). In other words, is there any pattern among the dyads that shows some were more attracted than others? Note that for the Irish group, Lady Gregory's interactions are listed in both the Hostess and the Link columns, as when she interacted with any of them, she functioned in both these roles, and no attempt was made to distinguish among the type of interactions.

The relative value of the numbers within each group, and the positive and negative values--indicating above or below average interactions in that dyad--are the significant factors here. As expected, the Star and the Host/Hostess is high; the Bridge is particularly low. But there are certain anomalies in some of the groups. For example, only in the Bloomsberries does any other dyad have a higher score than the Star and the Hostess. In fact, Virginia and Vanessa had the most total interactions, 129, over their eight years together interacting with the group. However, Virginia and Leonard's score, 100 interactions divided by their 4.6 years in the group together, was 14.3 above the average for the group; Virginia and her sister's score was 8.6, tied with Vanessa and Grant, who painted together, worked together and began an affair. The Virginia-Leonard score is skewed by the facts that they were married and he was only in the group for 4.6 years, not typical for the Star and the Sponsor.

To eliminate or at least reduce anomalies such as these, however, an average for the roles was taken across the four groups, shown in Chart 5.

<b>IRISH</b>	<b>STAR Yeats</b>	<b>HOST Lady Gregory</b>	<b>IRRITANT Moore</b>	<b>ANGEL AE</b>	<b>SPONSOR Martyn</b>	<b>ODD ONE OUT Synge</b>	<b>LINK Lady Gregory</b>	<b>BRIDGE Hyde</b>
STAR Yeats	X	+16.0	+11.4	+5.3	+3.8	+5.0	+16.0	0.0
HOST Lady Gregory		X	+7.1	+3.4	+3.8	+15.3	X	+0.4
IRRITANT Moore			X	+15.0	-2.1	-3.9	+7.1	-3.2
ANGEL AE				X	-1.2	-1.4	+3.4	-3.2
SPONSOR Martyn					X	-3.3	+3.8	-3.2
ODD ONE OUT Synge						X	+15.3	-3.6
LINK Lady Gregory							X	+0.4
BRIDGE Hyde								X

Chart 1 Irish Group, Average Interactions Per Year Above or Below the Average for the Group

<b>B'BURY</b>	<b>STAR</b> Virginia	<b>HOST</b> Vanessa	<b>IRRITANT</b> Strachey	<b>ANGEL</b> Grant	<b>SPONSOR</b> Leonard	<b>ODD ONE OUT</b> Clive	<b>LINK</b> Fry	<b>BRIDGE</b> Keynes
STAR Virginia	X	+8.6	-0.2	-1.4	+14.3	+3.1	-2.3	-2.2
HOST Vanessa		X	-2.6	+8.6	+1.5	+7.5	+6.0	-3.7
IRRITANT Strachey			X	-3.1	-1.6	-2.7	-5.5	-3.4
ANGEL Grant				X	-3.3	-1.4	+1.8	+0.4
SPONSOR Leonard					X	-0.9	-3.8	-2.9
ODD ONE OUT Clive						X	-0.8	-4.4
LINK Fry							X	-5.5
BRIDGE Keynes								X

**Chart 2 Bloomsbury Group, Average Interactions Per Year Above or Below the Average for the Group**

<b>PARIS</b>	<b>STAR</b> Stein	<b>HOST</b> Toklas	<b>IRRITANT</b> Hemingway	<b>ANGEL</b> Fitzgerald	<b>SPONSOR</b> McAlmon	<b>ODD ONE OUT</b> Thomson	<b>LINK</b> Anderson	<b>BRIDGE</b> Ray
STAR Stein	X	+12.8	+7.3	+1.4	+2.4	+8.4	+2.0	-2.0
HOST Toklas		X	+0.3	-1.2	-2.1	+0.6	-1.3	-3.3
IRRITANT Hemingway			X	+3.6	+2.9	+1.6	+0.3	-2.9
ANGEL Fitzgerald				X	-2.9	-2.7	-2.7	-3.3
SPONSOR McAlmon					X	-3.4	-2.4	-2.9
ODD ONE OUT Thomson						X	-3.0	-3.3
LINK Anderson							X	-3.3
BRIDGE Ray								X

**Chart 3 Paris Group, Average Interactions Per Year Above or Below the Average for the Group**

<b>ALGON- QUIN</b>	<b>STAR Parker</b>	<b>HOST Benchley</b>	<b>IRRITANT Woollcott</b>	<b>ANGEL Connelly</b>	<b>SPONSOR Ross</b>	<b>ODD ONE OUT Kaufman</b>	<b>LINK FPA</b>	<b>BRIDGE Broun</b>
STAR Parker	X	+8.3	+1.1	-1.1	+0.6	-0.9	+0.2	-0.2
HOST Benchley		X	-0.7	-0.5	-1.1	-0.9	-0.9	-0.9
IRRITANT Woollcott			X	-1.0	+1.5	+0.3	-0.3	-0.3
ANGEL Connelly				X	-0.4	+3.9	-1.1	-2.0
SPONSOR Ross					X	-1.1	-1.1	-1.2
ODD ONE OUT Kaufman						X	-0.4	-1.4
LINK FPA							X	+0.3
BRIDGE Broun								X

**Chart 4 Algonquin Group, Average Interactions Per Year Above or Below the Average for the Group**

<b>ROLE AVGS.</b>	<b>STAR</b>	<b>HOST</b>	<b>IRRITANT</b>	<b>ANGEL</b>	<b>SPONSOR</b>	<b>ODD ONE OUT</b>	<b>LINK</b>	<b>BRIDGE</b>
<b>STAR</b>	<b>X</b>	<b>+11.4</b>	<b>+4.9</b>	<b>+1.1</b>	<b>+5.3</b>	<b>+3.9</b>	<b>+4.0</b>	<b>-1.1</b>
<b>HOST</b>		<b>X</b>	<b>+1.0</b>	<b>+2.6</b>	<b>+0.5</b>	<b>+5.6</b>	<b>+1.0</b>	<b>-1.9</b>
<b>IRRITANT</b>			<b>X</b>	<b>+3.6</b>	<b>+0.2</b>	<b>-1.2</b>	<b>+0.4</b>	<b>-2.5</b>
<b>ANGEL</b>				<b>X</b>	<b>-2.0</b>	<b>-0.4</b>	<b>+0.4</b>	<b>-2.0</b>
<b>SPONSOR</b>					<b>X</b>	<b>-2.2</b>	<b>-0.9</b>	<b>-2.6</b>
<b>ODD ONE OUT</b>						<b>X</b>	<b>+2.8</b>	<b>-3.1</b>
<b>LINK</b>							<b>X</b>	<b>-2.0</b>
<b>BRIDGE</b>								<b>X</b>

**Chart 5 Average Role Interactions Per Year, Above or Below the Average for the Group**

Let's look first at the individuals and how they interacted with the others. If we average each role's interactions with all seven other members--

Star	+4.2
Host/Hostess	+2.9
Irritant	+0.9
Angel	+0.5
Sponsor	-0.2
Odd One Out	+0.8
Link	+0.8
Bridge	-2.2

--we see that, listed in order from leaders to inner circle to outer circle, their average interactions go down in order as well. The exception is the Sponsor, who has a lower score than the Odd One Out and the Link, maybe due to his timid and self-effacing personality. He might have been there as often as the Irritant, but he wasn't mentioned as often.

### Leadership

This listing can give us a rough idea of the status of the members in these groups. Notice that the Star's has, on average, 4.2 interactions above the average with *all* the other members. As expected, the Host/Hostess ranks second, with an average of 2.9 more interactions with each member, as he or she is the support person for not only the Star, but the whole group.

Most studies have found that people of higher status in groups, in this situation, the Star and the Host/Hostess, both initiate more communication and have more communication directed toward them. Kelley found that high status persons were also more attracted to the group than the others were (in Cartwright, p. 102). In addition, Bales reports that those who are high on initiation (which is too difficult to measure using secondary sources), are high on popularity and status as well, because "they are perceived to have the best ideas and to guide the discussion effectively" (in Secord and Backman, p. 294). This is most evident in the descriptions of Stein at her salon.

Why is there one Star and a helpmate at the center of each group? Why didn't Stein, for example, socialize with another Star, James Joyce, who was available in Paris at the

same time? Handy points out that “charismatic leaders are often surrounded by followers rather than by other leaders” (p. 131). A certain hierarchy, where positions complement each other--a status structure--inevitably forms.

The Star and Host/Hostess’ higher status “gained as a result of task proficiency in one area, usually generalizes to other areas” (Secord and Backman, p. 360); in other words, someone perceived as the best writer will also be seen to shine in other ways. Those who participate most, according to Handy, are also “perceived as having the most influence” (p. 152), in different areas. The Star and the Host/Hostess participated most because the group was usually meeting on their territory--Lady Gregory’s Coole Park, Virginia and Vanessa’s houses in Bloomsbury, Stein and Toklas’ salon; the Algonquin Hotel became most associated with Parker and Benchley, even before either of them moved in there.

“Only those attributes that are similarly valued by group members contributes to status” according to Secord and Backman. “The attribute that provides the greatest reward to the greatest number is associated with maximum social approval and thus with maximum status. But an additional element is that these rewarding attributes must also be relatively rare” (p. 274). In the context of these groups, the high value ascribed to the unusual talent of the Star--Yeats, Virginia, Stein and Parker--eventually becomes less important to the members as they become more competent in their own careers. “The naive participant was observed to follow the high-status person’s judgments,” Secord and Backman report (p. 302).

They also found that the content of the messages from members of different status varies as well. Those with higher status “more often give information and opinion...[and] direct their communication toward other high-status persons,” whereas the others respond passively, usually with “agreement, disagreement, and requests for information” (p. 296).

In Bales’ measurement of how often group members speak to each other in conversation, a factor not strictly available to us here, he found that “the most frequent speakers are also most popular” (in Katz, p. 89). In describing this research, Katz points out that

“as groups get larger (in this case, ranging from three to eight people) [Bales] finds that more and more communication is directed to one member of the group (the most frequent communicator), thus reducing the relative amount of interchange among all members with each other. At the same time, the recipient of all this increased attention begins to direct more and more of his remarks to the group as whole, and proportionately less to specific individuals. ‘The communication pattern,’ says Bales, ‘tends to “centralize,” in other words, around a leader through whom most of the communication flows (p. 87-8).

It follows then that, in our groups, the Star, the center, has the most interactions mentioned overall with other members. Bavelas defines this “position closest to all other positions” as the most central position in the group (in Leavitt, p. 223). He also found that “members occupying the most central positions in a communication network were more satisfied with their jobs and with the group’s performance than were those in the most peripheral positions” (in Cartwright, p. 102). Klein’s work showed that this central person “has greater direct and indirect access to the information others possess, and since many others must exert influence on the group through him, he can control the flow of such information to his advantage” (in Secord and Backman, p. 360).

Secord and Backman describe the process in informal groups by which the center, becomes the leader:

The initial influence of the leader over a follower rests on an exchange of outcomes in which the follower, in return for his compliance with his leader’s requests, obtains task-related rewards at low cost as a result of the task competence provided by the leader. The followers come to respect the leader’s guidance and competence, his fairness, and his concern for group achievement. They exchange views concerning his leadership and arrive at consensus. At that point, social pressures arise to provide continued support and recognition to the leader: His position is *legitimized*. These social pressures prevent individual members who might otherwise oppose the leader from expressing their resistance. Once recognized as the legitimate leader of the group, most members willingly comply with his requests at little cost to him or to themselves” (p. 361).

In a task group, this process might take place in a day or a few hours. In these four groups, the legitimizing of the Stars as leaders may not have taken place until soon after the group was over, when they achieved more prominence, but the process was taking place within the group during their years together. Zuckerman found, for example, that in 69% of the cases of future Nobel laureates studying with Nobel laureates, “the young laureates-to-be had chosen their masters *before* the masters’ important work was conspicuously ‘validated’ and made fully visible by the award of a Nobel prize” (p. 242). We have seen

that the talent of the Star, even if not yet publicly recognized, can work as a magnet, drawing others around him or her. Ellman, for example, describes Yeats as the magnet who “drew into creative activity Synge and Lady Gregory” (p. 1).

### The Inner and Outer Circles

Our list of average interactions shows us that, indeed the numbers decline as we move towards the outer circle, with the exception of the Sponsor noted above. Even a cursory glance at Chart 5 shows that the outer circle members had more negative, or below the average scores than the others. The Odd One Out, for example, only has above average interactions with the Host/Hostess and the Star. The Bridge has all negative scores, even with the Star and the Host/Hostess who interacted above the average with all the other members, which could indicate that he may have been spending more time interacting with other groups.

The Link has positive scores, but except for the +4.0 with the Star--How do you think they got to be Stars?--they are relatively low: +1.0 with the Host/Hostess, only +0.4 with the Irritant and the Angel. The +2.8 with the Odd One Out is higher; however this is skewed by Lady Gregory's relationship with Synge, particularly when they were working on the Abbey theatre together and she was functioning as both the Link but and the Hostess. If we take out their +15.3 score, the average for this dyad is -1.1.

The inner circle, on the other hand, has all positive scores, or above average interactions, with each other, except for the socially incompetent Sponsor and the Angel. Since we are only measuring interactions, not their content or who initiates them, perhaps the Irritant had more *unwanted* interactions, but we can't be sure.

As we saw above in Hill and Trist's research, the pull of “competing obligations” can reduce a member's participation, but this does not necessarily mean that he has withdrawn from the group (in Cartwright, p. 104). The three outer circle members have alternative activities that must often be attractive to them, and therefore have fewer interactions with other members, but they can still be an integral part of the group. We have also shown that regular nine to five jobs and family obligations didn't interfere with most of the members'

overall participation, but it appears that connections to the establishment or to other fields can have that effect.

### The Star and the Host/Hostess' Relationship

The relationship of the Star and the Host/Hostess is the key one in the group, and integral to our upcoming analysis of the effect on the Star's creative development, so we need to look at it in more detail.

Not surprisingly, in the original count, the Star-Host/Hostess pairs had the highest number of total interactions over the years, and the highest number of average interactions per year over the average for the group, with the exception Virginia's higher score with her husband in the Bloomsberries.

In the other three pairs, the scores were the highest in the group:

Lady Gregory-Yeats, +16.0, as opposed to a +15.3 for the next highest, Lady Gregory and Synge, her other partner in the Abbey Theatre;

Stein-Toklas, +12.8, compared to +8.4 for Stein-Thomson, mostly when they were collaborating on Four Saints;

Parker-Benchley, +8.3, way ahead of the +3.9 for Connelly-Kaufman who also collaborated.

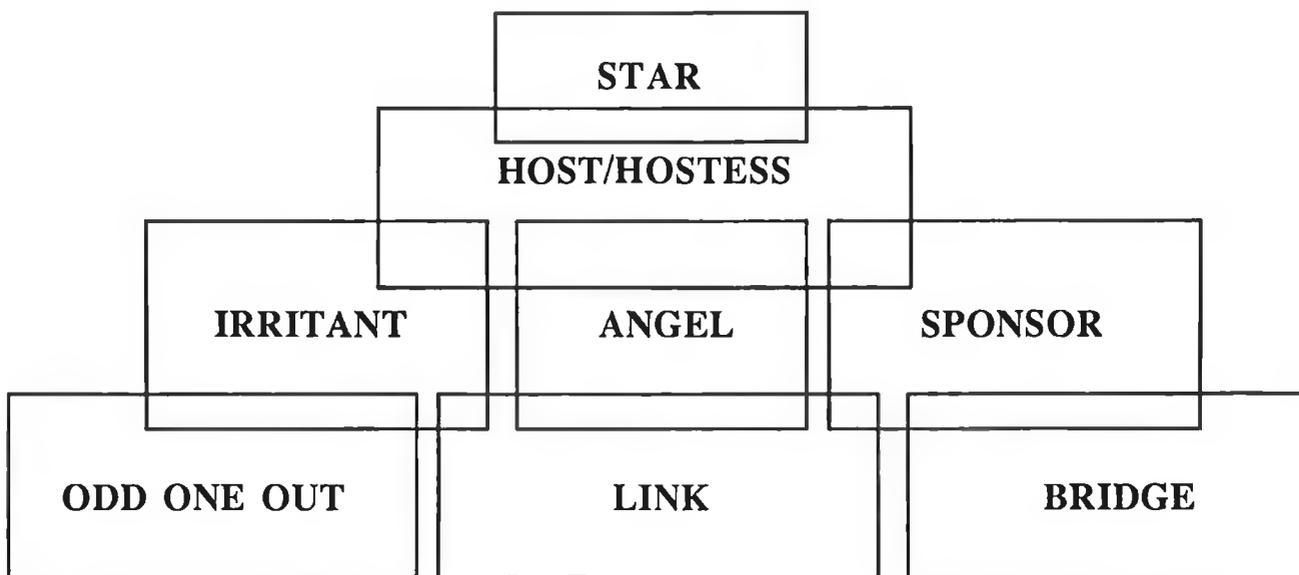
This lends support to the hypothesis that the Star and the Host/Hostess, who were not only the leaders of the group, also had the closest relationship in the group, or at least the one with the most interactions mentioned in the context of the group, 11.4 above the average. They were mentioned together more often--and we then assume communicated more--than either of them with their spouses (although the exception, Virginia and Leonard, scored higher, Vanessa and Clive's open marriage scored a +7.5), their editors (Parker and Ross have a respectable +0.6), their publishers (Stein and McAlmon have a +2.4, though they don't seem to have liked each other much), their other collaborators (Stein and Thomson, who did get along, have a healthy +8.4), or their oldest friends (Yeats and AE score +5.3).

Not only that, this relationship appears to be closer than other relationships in the group, such as the Sponsors of their outlets, who on average have fewer interactions with everyone (-0.2 average for the four of them); lovers (Vanessa and Fry score a +6.0, Grant

and Keynes a +0.4, and Strachey and Grant, who broke up soon after Grant came in to the group, a -3.1), or collaborators (Connelly and Kaufman score a +3.9). Even Fitzgerald and Hemingway who seem to be linked together forever in literary legend, have 3.6 mentions above the average for their group, taken across all the sources that deal with the Americans in Paris, less than half the score for four Star and Host/Hostess pairs.

Obviously, these numbers and scores suffer from their lack of any statistical significance. However, they do hold up under the microscope of logic, and they show enough of a pattern to support the relative status of the different role categories, contributing to the cohesion of the group:

*Each cluster group centers around a Star and a Host/Hostess, who interact and communicate the most with five or six other members in outlying circles, with about half of them interacting a bit less, but providing valuable connections to others .*



## B. Cohesiveness

These communication, affect and status structures in the groups lead to varying degrees of cohesiveness. Cohesiveness is defined best as “cement” (Katz, p. 86). It is what holds the group together, its morale; it is the sum total of the forces that keep the group together when they have the alternative of doing anything else besides being with each other; the “desire to belong,” according to Hare (1962, p. 147). In a group with strong cohesiveness, members are “more strongly motivated to contribute to the group’s welfare, to advance its objectives, and to participate in its activities. Cohesiveness contributes to a group’s potency and vitality; it increases the significance of membership for those who belong to the group” (Cartwright, p. 91). The frequency of their communication and participation in activities also goes up with increased cohesiveness, while absences go down, although other factors can contribute to participation rates also, as we have seen in the case of the Paris group above (Cartwright, p. 104). This is a circular process; the more they interact, the more cohesive they become; the more cohesive they are, the more they want to interact.

Some researchers have tried to quantify cohesiveness by creating indices (Hare, 1962, p. 147). Cartwright mentions such measurements as a “friendship index...the ratio of the number of selections made within a club when each member is asked to name his ten best friends”; another approach that “develops indices from members’ evaluations of the group”; or others that ask questions about “how strongly members identify with a group or feel personally involved in it...[and indicates] the strength of their desire to remain in the group” (p. 92-4). Some take the approach of using composite indices to combine these factors. The nature of the research in this paper is primarily qualitative and the data presented above to describe the structure of the group are not capable of being extended to quantitatively rate the cohesiveness of the groups.

However, having determined the structure, we *can* look at them qualitatively. What forces kept them together? What was the attraction of the group? Of alternatives outside the group? And what was the effect of these cohesive forces on the group and particularly on the key individuals?

## *1. Cohesive Forces*

Festinger defines cohesiveness as “the resultant of all forces acting on members to remain in the group” (in Cartwright, p. 91), determined by both certain characteristics of the group and characteristics of the members.

We have already described in detail the environmental factors of the groups--the effect of the small number of members, the attraction of the physical space they created, their proximity and availability that made it easy for them to be with each other, and particularly the supportive climate which they found there. Cartwright points out, for example, that an atmosphere or climate where “members feel accepted and valued” will have more attraction for them, particularly among those with lower self-esteem (p. 102).

We have also examined in detail the characteristics of individual members, based on the roles they played. What was it about these individuals that kept them together? Secord and Backman caution that analysing why people choose each other based totally on personality characteristics is rarely complete. The people involved might not have an accurate assessment of the other person’s characteristics, for example (p. 241). However, we are basing our judgment on the reports of many biographers over a long span of time, leading to a more complete picture than a given person within the group would have.

The cohesive forces that were at work in our group include norms or standards that the group develops, the similarity of the members, in their values, attitudes and beliefs as well as their self-image. These all contribute to the attraction the group holds for the members.

### Norms

Secord and Backman also point out that “small groups engaging in face-to-face interaction inevitably develop sets of social norms to guide the conduct of the members” (p. 412) which contribute to the cohesiveness of the group. They describe different types of “norm-sending processes,” including group sanctions for deviance from the norms. However, they do point out that these usually emerge “to ensure that the behavior will be carried out” in situations “where the environment provides little structure” which is the type

of environment our groups were in, or “where individuals have some resistance to performing particular actions that are necessary to group functioning,” which is definitely not the case in these groups. “There is no need for group controls,” they say, “when persons spontaneously produce certain behaviors of their own accord” (p. 308).

Norms can be sent through “indirect communication” and “example” (p. 309), which applies particularly to norms for creativity and the members’ work. There are also “internal sanctions,...where the source is within the actor...Examples of internal sanctions are a feeling of pride for having conformed to a norm...or a feeling of guilt for having failed to conform...Groups socialize their members so that they develop strong internal sanctions” (p. 411-2).

### Homophily

Most research into group cohesiveness has also found that similarity among members, or homophily, is one of the strongest forces holding a group together. Homans and others have found that people in a group tend to choose people who are similar to each other in status; popular or admired people tend to choose each other more, such as the Star and Host/Hostess, and these “movements toward mutuality and equality of choice status” show up early on when the group is forming (in Secord and Backman, p. 241-2),

Attraction, therefore cohesiveness, increases as homophily increases, whether the similarity is perceived or actual (Secord and Backman, p. 208). Cartwright cites other research, by Seashore, that shows that similarity on matters that are irrelevant to the group doesn’t account for much attraction (p. 99). Our group members are most concerned with their companions’ creative characteristics.

Their similarities can also become apparent when they are visited by someone from outside the group who provides a contrast to their usual situation, and, in the case of writers, material. As an example, in the descriptions of the group atmosphere presented in the discussion of “Climate” above, “uncomfortable” appears as an adjective but, as expected, only when describing the atmosphere for someone outside the group. For example, in Adrian’s detailed description of an evening at Fitzroy Square, cited above,

where he described the hapless Miss Cole who: “was as unhappy and uncomfortable as she could be” (in Bell I, p. 115).

Likewise, American painter George Biddle, in his autobiography, describes his visit to Fleurus:

“Nothing seemed very comfortable and there were some Picassos and a good many Juan Gris’ hanging around. Gertrude was a dominating personality, massive, powerful...For there was that about her that sized up people and situations--perhaps even better than pictures. She said something about Juan Gris being one of the great unrecognized creative spirits of his epoch. I have forgotten her exact words, but they were, with a certain calculating, inscrutable inflection, in the superlative. I said nothing. She and George [Antheil] kept up the conversation. She asked us if we would like to see some of her very early Picasso drawings. They were quite unknown to the outside world, she said, looking even more sapient and impenetrable. We said: Yes, indeed;...We sat around a table and from an album Miss Stein selected and presented for our delectation one after another of the master’s earliest moods...We knew that we were in the presence, in this unostentatious and somewhat uncomfortable house, of the early, unpublished masterpieces of a very great creator. ‘May I see that one just another moment, Miss Stein? Amazing. [Antheil said]’ Something inside me kept getting tighter and tighter, more and more belligerent. Toward the end of the seance Miss Stein, asked me, politely, if somewhat unconventionally, what at the moment I was painting. I was ungracious enough to say that I did not think my work would interest her. Miss Stein, who in her own massive and rarefied manner had also perhaps been inwardly smoldering, broke out in an Old Testament prophetic indictment of my attitude toward art and my own limitations. I would never ‘understand’ or ‘realize,’ because of my birthplace, my background, my family, my morals, the Quaker, the Puritan in me. I have forgotten just what. We shouted at each other. I argued with her coldly. I think she called me a lawyer. We parted not entirely on unfriendly terms” (in Brinnin, p. 274-5).

Nothing about the Irish is described as “uncomfortable,” perhaps because there were rarely outsiders present at Coole Park, except for Lady Gregory’s son Robert who spent a good deal of time with Synge (Kohfeldt). But interestingly, Grimes’s most recent analysis of the New York writers

“suggests a scandalous thought: The Round Table really wasn’t all that funny. The members were. No one would argue that Parker’s stories, Benchley’s sketches and movie shorts, Kaufman and Connelly’s plays and movie scripts were not grade-A American humor. But the Round Table itself was a different matter. ‘I spent a good deal of time researching this, and my sense is that it wasn’t funny at all,’ said James Gaines, the managing editor of Time magazine and the author of Wit’s End. ‘It was very competitive, which made it sort of unfunny. I certainly would not have wanted to have lunch with them’” (June, 1994, p. B1).

From the outsiders’ point of view, uncomfortable. But for the “insiders,” the group members, more material. If the regulars who are in the outer circle (Odd One out, Link and Bridge) provide new information, enhancing creativity, these irregulars who come only

once or twice and never return contribute to the climate by providing “fodder” from the outside world, so to speak. A contrast with the group--not as bright, not as artistic, not as witty--they make the group more cohesive by making their similarities more apparent.

### Homophily of Values, Attitudes and Beliefs

Katz points out what we would expect instinctively, that the content of communication tends to “harmonize with opinions and attitude and to flow among similarly minded people...People tend not to ‘expose’ themselves to communications which conflict with their own predispositions, but instead to seek support for their opinions and attitudes.” Whether someone stays in the group is partially dependent on whether he feels the characteristics of the group “relate to his needs and values,” according to Cartwright (p. 96). He says that these similarities “generate interpersonal attraction,” (p. 107), leading to more cohesiveness. Byrne found that “an individual is attracted to a hypothetical other person in proportion to the extent that he perceives the other person to hold attitudes similar to his own...The more similar in attitude the other person appeared to be, the more he was liked” (in Secord and Backman, p. 209). This similarity in values is often closely related to similarity in background, according to Secord and Backman (p. 221).

Both Heider and Newcomb believe that people are attracted to people who hold similar “evaluations of objects in their common environments” (in Cartwright, p. 99). Their ABX theory, as described by Secord and Backman states,

“Persons who interact live in a world of common objects (*including other persons*). Through their experience with these objects they develop certain attitudes toward them. These attitudes may be negative or positive. A state of balance prevails if the two persons like each other and have similar attitudes toward the objects...[If not] a state of strain or imbalance exists. In states of imbalance, one or more components are likely to change to restore balance” (p. 205; emphasis added).

This reaction is stronger for feelings that are more important or relevant to the parties involved. Secord and Backman see importance as “reflected in the amount of feeling, intensity of belief or degree of behavior involvement with it” and “common relevance” as “the degree to which the object [or value] is perceived as having mutual consequences for the persons in question.” Newcomb found that “bonds of attraction form most strongly

between those persons who hold similar attitudes toward objects of importance and common relevance" (in Secord and Backman, p. 207).

We have seen that for these creative people, their creative work was among the most--if not the most--important part of their lives. They often forsook day jobs and family obligations to devote time to writing, painting, and socializing with other creative people. Immediately before entering the Bloomsberries, for example, Leonard served as an administrator in Ceylon, and his Cambridge friends, according to Bell (Vol. I), were worried that he would enjoy that life too much. But upon his return to London, "Bloomsbury broke the spell...[He felt at home] amongst people who respected the same fundamental values, people in whom he could discover congenial characteristics and qualities" (p. 179).

Secord and Backman also found that the status of individual members can be related to the values that are "jointly held" by the group. If a person's "needs and values are not important to the group, no one will accord him high status...because status is based upon agreed-upon criteria" (p. 284-5). In these groups, where creativity was highly valued, the most creative person--Yeats, Virginia, Stein and Parker--had the highest status as the Star.

As cohesion is a circular process, these similar attitudes have "reinforcing value" according to Secord and Backman (p. 209). Newcomb found, for example, that persons interacting exchange information, thereby increasing "the degree to which they are similar and [this] contributes further to attraction" (in Secord and Backman, p. 223). More cohesive groups also can bring more pressures to conform on their members, leading to "more uniform...attitudes and behavior...those who deviated were less likely to be accepted as friends," according to Secord and Backman (p. 316). For example, Skidelsky (Vol. I) reports that

"When [Grant was] asked why he had not pursued [his] exploration into pure abstract art further, he replied that none of his friends seemed interested in it and therefore he presumed it could have no lasting value...They tended to rely for support, criticism and encouragement on their friends,...a small intelligent elite" (p. 168).

Festinger states that peoples' values--their opinions, attitudes and beliefs--have to be validated somehow. He describes a continuum of validation that, at one end of the scale is

based on solid physical reality and at the other end on social reality, or the validation of other people who share them. Some opinions, for example, can be validated by physical reality--one can "take a hammer, hit [a] surface, and quickly be convinced as to whether the opinion he holds is correct or incorrect." Other values, however, such as one's talent as an artist, one's love for talk and parties and alcohol, or one's political or religious feelings, need more subjective validation of by others who hold the same values, or what he calls "social reality" (p. 183). He continues,

"if there are other people around [someone] who believe the same thing, then his opinion is valid...Thus where the dependence upon physical reality is low, the dependence upon social reality is correspondingly high. An opinion, a belief, an attitude is 'correct,' 'valid,' and 'proper' to the extent that it is anchored in a group of people with similar beliefs, opinions, and attitudes... An appropriate reference group tends to be a group which does share a person's opinions and attitudes, and people tend to locomote into such groups--and out of groups which do not agree with them" (p. 183).

A person doesn't have to know that "everyone else in the world thinks the way he does. It is only necessary that the members of that group to which he refers this opinion or attitude think the way he does." But he also points out that in situations where there is little physical reality to validate a value--such as creative talent that has not yet been recognized by publication or awards--"the greater will be the importance of the social referent, the group, and the greater will be the forces to communicate" (p. 183-4).

Secord and Backman define social reality as other persons' "interpreting the world for us...Ultimately we learn to lean heavily on the opinions of others to validate our own. An important difference between physical and social sources of information is that social reality is often less certain. Frequently there is little consensus among the opinions of other persons" (p. 303). They report:

"A basic human requirement appears to be the need for validation of one's opinions. Although clear information from the physical environment contributes to the satisfaction of this need, the behavior of other persons also provides a source of validation. Particularly in situations where he is uncertain or confused--where he does not know how to react--a person can turn to the behavior of other persons to observe a stable world. This social reality provides him with a reference point for his own behavior. The more ambiguous the nonsocial stimulus situation, the more likely he is to depend on social reality for orientation" (p. 310).

What a relief for young, still forming creative people to find a group that basically agrees with their opinions, attitudes and beliefs about creative work in general, and their

own work in particular. Although the social psychologists' experiments rarely deal with such subjective judgments as individual talent, they do involve ambiguous situations. Secord and Backman found that "when the stimulus material is difficult,...or is structured so that the correct answer is not very clear...the individual is more prone to rely upon judgments by other persons." They do go on to caution, however, "there is some doubt whether matters of taste or preference, such as esthetic judgments of drawings, are subject to conformist pressures....[But] judgmental situations anchored only in social reality will exhibit considerable conformity behavior" (p. 304-5).

Secord and Backman also cite the lab experiments by Sherif and Asch that show that in non-task groups that involved "individuals merely in the presence of one another, each making his own judgments 'independently,'" members "conformed to an expectation of another person or group because of the satisfying feelings it generates." This was not as true in task groups, however. They describe this as "normative influence," to distinguish it from informational influence, which is related more to evidence of physical reality (p. 305-6).

This process of "checking out" out versions of reality is referred to as "consensual validation" in Secord and Backman (p. 210). They cite Byrne's suggestion that "persons have a learned drive to be logical and to interpret correctly their stimulus world. He proposes that similar attitudes held by another person are satisfying because of the anticipation that a person with similar attitudes will share one's view of the world and not threaten it." This homophily "reduces the need for consensual validation and thus produces attraction" (p. 211-2). Interacting frequently with people who hold similar values is "rewarding," according to them, "because each person, at low cost to himself, provides consensual validation to the other" (Secord and Backman, p. 221). In addition, they point out that consensual validation "produces liking...especially if the other validates the individual's self-concept" (p. 215). It also contributes to the stability of the structure of the group, making the values "functionally important in everyday life: They bring rewards and reduce costs" (p. 283).

Dorris (1987) emphasises the importance of "self-concept" to the creative person in particular:

“Self-Concept refers to the ways in which persons define themselves in relation to life as they understand it. What is at issue in regard to creativity are those activities/ways of being that the person sees as important/valuable, and how the person assesses oneself in terms of measuring up to these concepts. The emphasis here is on those conceptions of oneself which define what one would like to be doing with one’s life (mother, painter, plumber, radical-feminist, wild and crazy guy, etc.) and how well one measures up to these ideals. The plural term ‘self-concepts’ is used to indicate that people usually have multiple conceptions of who they are or would like to be with some of course being of greater import than others...In terms of creativity, self-concepts--similar to social motives, but different content emphasis--are thought to influence which problems are seen as worth solving, what level of motivation is involved in attempting to solve them, and how one assesses feedback relative to these attempts” (p. 4-5).

Attraction to similar people also helps individuals maintain congruency, which Secord and Backman defines as occurring “when the other’s characteristics or behavior contain implications congruent with elements of his own behavior and self-concept.” This can take the form of congruency by validation, “where the other person’s behavior leads an individual to behave in ways that confirm an aspect of self,” for example, being able to produce creative work because it receives validation from the others. Or it can take the form of congruency by implication, “where an individual perceives the other person’s behavior as directly confirming a component of self,” for example, feeling respected by the others for characteristics or talents that he feels he has. These both serve as consensual validation of the individual’s self-concept, and lead most people to like those who “consensually validate [his or her] self” and dislike those who don’t (Secord and Backman, p. 216). People will usually actively seek out ways to adjust their own “interpersonal environment so as to maximize congruency” (Secord and Backman, p. 529).

Shone (in Crabtree) describes this need for the Bloomsbury group:

“Something had to be done to close the gap between their conception of how they should live their lives and what society expected of them. Each had her or his individual way. It would be inaccurate to say they were all rebellious and contemptuous, but most of them made a point of showing their independence from and contempt of the rigidities of accepted Edwardian behavior” (p. 25)

Within the group they found a way to resolve the conflicts among these different roles. When conditions are “changing the value structure of the group,” such as during times of war, or when members are geographically moving onto other career phases,

“Value consensus...may also be weakened...Attributes that at one time were important determinants of status, because they were associated with attaining important values and goals and were relatively rare, may no longer carry as much weight. In the early period of a group’s existence, for example, the abilities of a ‘promoter’ may lead to high status, but after the group becomes established, administrative abilities may become more important...People accord status to others on the basis of values and needs that are *jointly held* by group members” (Secord and Backman, p. 284).

At some point they didn’t need a Link such as Fry or FPA any more, or a Sponsor such as Martyn or McAlmon.

### Homophily of Self-image

Secord and Backman cite the types of interactions that produce attraction as actions that validate someone’s experience, or self concept (p. 219). In Newcomb’s ABX theory cited above, he found that for persons who highly valued themselves, “a close association would be found between liking other persons and believing that they like oneself in turn...An individual was attracted to persons whom he perceived as seeing him in the way he saw himself, in terms of both faults and virtues” (in Secord and Backman, p. 207-8).

But Secord and Backman point out that for “people who are insecure or are concerned about being liked” it is especially important to expect similar people to like them, thus “insecure people choose similar friends in anticipation of being liked” (p. 212). They also found that, in general,

“an individual attempts to behave and tries to get others behave toward him in ways that are consistent with the picture he has of himself, his self-concept. Backman and Secord have demonstrated that where persons can choose a particular role or particular kind of role portrayal, they choose those congenial to their self-conception” (p. 446).

Many biographers report on this reaction among the Algonquinites in particular, whose outside image was of fun-loving well-adjusted people, but whose individual self-images were much less secure. Meade, for example, says that

“It was also true that not one of them could tolerate being alone...In fact, the existence of such a group made it possible for them as individuals to avoid loneliness and self-examination. Their habit was to share the troublesome parts of life, all the painful stuff they found hard to acknowledge, under [Case’s] big table and pull the cloth down” (p. 86)

This was particularly true of Parker: "Being alone terrified Dottie. It was fine when she felt happy, but if she happened to be melancholy she got 'the howling horrors.' With her Round Table friends, who made her feel funny and lovable, the howling horrors could be kept at a distance" (Meade, p. 92). Overall, according to Keats, "their mutual friendships reinforced one another's talents" (p. 85).

## 2. *Attraction*

Group members are always pulled two ways--into the group by the attractiveness of membership, and away from the group by the attractiveness of alternatives. These forces can depend on the attractiveness "of either the prestige of the group, members in the group, or the activities in which the group engages" (Festinger, p. 185). The Algonquinites, for example, had a

"good practical reason for coming...a chance to join the company of people who were relatively successful and could help them achieve the same goal...No one came...a 'nobody'; they all held respectable positions...and were showing talent almost as prodigious as their ambition. Still, like most fervent self-believers, they also needed reassurance that they were indeed as good as they thought. That reassurance came almost as a prerequisite of acceptance in the Algonquin group" (Gaines, p. 29).

When the attractiveness of alternatives outweighs the attractiveness of the group for most members, the group breaks up. An assumption can be made that while members are in the group it is more attractive for them to stay in than to leave. These groups stayed together for about eight or nine years each, clear evidence of the strong attraction of the group during that time, or, in the terms of Secord and Backman's discussion of exchange theory, during those years the rewards of membership outweighed the costs.

### Rewards and Costs

Secord and Backman give examples of rewards such as actions that validate a person's own attitudes--towards others or themselves--or actions that "resolve dissonance or reduce negative drive states." Rewards can also include "support for their values," for one's self-concept, or even something as basic as exchange of information, according to Secord and Backman (p. 223). They also cite instances where the activities the group is

engaging in--in this case, pleasant conversation about topics of importance to them--are "inherently rewarding" (p. 244). Wilson points out that for friendship groups such as these, rewards from association are really all there is.

Sometimes being a member of the group may have rewards outside the group--gaining access to outlets such as being published, having shows of artwork, being offered new projects--that are not usually available to non-members (Cartwright, p. 97). This can involve meeting some sort of personal goal the member has, or being perceived by non-members as being a member of a prestigious, high status group (Secord and Backman, p. 244).

This is particularly true of groups such as Stein's or Parker's who were known and prestigious while they were meeting. As Brinnin describes them,

"The regulars cherished their sense of coterie...To have paid respects to Gertrude and to have sat with Alice was to have been admitted into the charmed circle, of those whose pretenses, at least, were interesting and fashionable, and to have received the benediction which, a short time past, had been famously granted to Picasso and Matisse, to Anderson and Hemingway" (p. 278).

He also explains the rewards for others,

"If the expatriate period tends, today, to be notable mainly for the great fame of a very few writers and painters, it was also a period that beautifully accommodated scores of marginal artists like McAlmon, and hundreds of brilliant failures. Participation in the restless excitements of the milieu was a compensation for many individuals whose work would come to nothing but whose hopeless ambitions could be kept alive in endless talk, and, now and then, in vicarious enjoyment of the success of those who had 'come through'" (p. 267-8).

Costs can include extremes such as punishment, but also "the value of rewards foregone" (Secord and Backman) In other words, what did a member have to give up to participate in the group?

Costs are affected by how much effort is involved to keep up a relationship. Therefore, as Thibaut and Kelley have found, proximity can lead to greater attraction and less cost: "Those who are located close to each other are more likely to interact because of the low cost of initiating such interaction. This in turn heightens the possibility that they will discover behaviors that are rewarding to both." Part of this reduced cost which they, along with Homans, cite includes less time required to keep up the relationship.

However, relationships that are maintained despite a lack of proximity, such as in the Paris group or the outer circle members who spent time in other groups as well, must be more rewarding or members wouldn't be willing to pay the price (in Secord and Backman, p. 222). Rogers and Kincaid found this as well in the Korean villages; the leader, Mrs. Chung, had longer connections to many others implying "that more effort is necessary to form and maintain them, and they must be more rewarding (or else they would not be continued over time)" (p. 304).

The rewards minus the costs lead to the outcome, or what the person gets out of the group, positive or negative, according to Secord and Backman (p. 220). Cartwright quotes Simon, Smithburg and Thompson's theory of attraction: "Each participant will continue his participation in an organization only so long as the inducements offered him are as great or greater (measured in terms of *his* values and in terms of the alternatives open to him) than the contribution he is asked to make" (p. 96). Moore, for example, joined the group to help out with their theatre, believing that "visits to Martyn's Gothic castle in Galway, with occasional descents upon Dublin for rehearsals, were all that would be required of him" (Hone, p. 220). Three years later, when his membership also included fights over collaborations with Yeats, he withdrew.

Reward-cost outcomes will be high when members find that other members' needs are complementary to theirs, they have similar interests and attitudes, as we have seen above, or that "the organization of the group and the situation in which interaction takes place are conducive to cooperative, friendly interaction," according to Secord and Backman (p. 243). They also cite conformity as a major factor in highly cohesive groups where "conformity is more rewarding and deviation, more costly," and point out that "reward is more effective than punishment in bringing about conformity" (p. 316-7).

#### Attraction to the Group

Secord and Backman report that, on the most basic level, attraction can result from group members having lots of opportunities to interact, or "ease and volume" (p. 222), which we dealt with in the discussion of proximity above. Or as Shone (1976) refers to the forces holding the Bloomsberries together, "accidents of geography, of family, married love and similarity of work" (p. 14-5). Skidelsky (Vol. I) says, that they

“‘found’ each other because it was very easy for them to do so. Of course, one cannot ignore elements of accident and individual choice in bringing the group together. Nevertheless, ... Bloomsbury was formed out of a few pre-existing and overlapping families and cultural connections.”

Over a long period of interaction, according to Secord and Backman, “the attraction between persons becomes increasingly mutual” (p. 241). They quote Homans’ finding that “you can get to like some pretty queer customers if you go around with them long enough,” (p. 222), perhaps accounting for the affection the groups have for the Irritant.

So they definitely had opportunity, but Secord and Backman also isolate four other factors that determine attraction:

- (1) those who have characteristics *most desirable* in terms of the norms and values of the group,
- (2) those who are *most similar* to him in attitudes, values and social-background characteristics,
- (3) those whom he perceives as *choosing him* or assigning favorable characteristics to him, and
- (4) those who *see him as he sees himself*.

These all relate to the homophily discussed previously. In addition they include, “those in whose company he has *achieved gratification* of his needs” (p. 237), which we will deal with below.

Cartwright proposes that attraction is determined by (1) an individual member’s *expectations* of what will happen if he stays in the group, (2) his *comparison level* with alternatives, (3) his own individual *motivation* and needs, related to Secord and Backman’s last factor above, and (4) the *incentives* of the group for him to stay in (p. 99).

A member’s expectations in a group, according to Cartwright, depend on “the magnitude of the rewards or costs afforded by the group but also upon his assessment of the likelihood that he will in fact experience them as a result of membership. Attraction to a group depends, then, upon the expected value of the outcomes linked to membership” (p. 96). Each member has a certain level of “expectancy that actual membership will have favorable or unfavorable consequences” (Secord and Backman, p. 244). As the members’ perceptions of what they will get out of membership change, the attractiveness of the group varies (Cartwright, p. 97).

A person entering a group that he perceives as having similar attitudes would expect they would like him; this produces reciprocal liking for them on his part (Secord and Backman, p. 212). Once someone is in the group, interacting regularly, he becomes more able to predict the other members' behavior, and "predictability is related to attraction," according to Thibaut and Kelley, because it

"reduces the costs of interaction and increases the level of rewards exchanged. Such costs as the effort exerted in learning how the other person will respond to various behaviors or the anxiety generated over doing or saying the wrong thing are reduced as one gets to know another person well enough to predict his responses. Such predictability also allows one to elicit rewarding behavior more effectively from the other person. The net result is a more favorable reward-cost outcome" (in Secord and Backman, p. 222).

This predictability extends to the roles that the group members play as well. For example, "occupying a particular status...affects the skills and motives of each status occupant so as to maintain the existing structure," according to Secord and Backman (p. 360). A consensus develops as to what is expected from a given role, and this consensus was found to be greater in small groups than in large organizations, because, according to Secord and Backman, "frequency of interaction--particularly of the informal type--is related to consensus" (p. 426). Lady Gregory, Vanessa, Toklas or Benchley were expected to perform as a Hostesses or Host, supporting the others, and the more this occurred, the more it was expected. Moore, Strachey, Hemingway and Woolcott came to be expected to raise tensions and be irritating whenever they were present.

Besides evaluating how the group is living up to his expectations, a member, consciously or unconsciously, uses some sort of standard or "comparison level," according to Thibaut and Kelley (in Cartwright, p. 96), based on all his past experiences and perceptions in and out of the group. Some are more oriented to comparing rewards; others, costs. For attraction to occur, the outcome a person thinks he is receiving from the group has to be at or above his expectations, based on the comparison level he is using (Secord and Backman). Attraction is stronger if "the level of expected outcomes exceeds his comparison level" (Cartwright, p. 96).

However, staying in the group is most closely related, according to Thibaut and Kelley, to the individual's "comparison level for alternatives" (in Cartwright, p. 103).

Secord and Backman back this up with their explanation of why persons stay in a group when

“the outcomes experienced drop below the comparison level and they are no longer attracted. They remain as long as the outcomes are above the comparison level for alternatives. In this instance, the binding force is not attraction but the awareness that the outcomes in the relation are better than can be obtained outside” (p. 243).

In other words, if they perceive that no other group or activity is more attractive at the time, they'll stay in. This helps to explain why the groups last for as many years as they do, and also why some members continue to interact with each other after the group has broken up, despite lessened proximity. Yeats and Lady Gregory continued the Abbey Theatre for many years until his other work pulled him away. Many Bloomsberries kept coming to Charleston, and Stein and Toklas saw some of the 1921-30 group, such as Thomson, at their country home in Bilignin. Parker and Benchley moved the farthest apart compared to any other Star-Host/Hostess dyad, but she communicated regularly with Woollcott, even when she was in Hollywood. These specific relationships continued to outweigh the alternatives, even when the increased opportunity of regular group get-togethers was gone.

Evaluation of these comparable alternatives can cause expectation levels to change over time, affecting the cohesion of the group. Secord and Backman cite as an example the early years of a group when “members may have unrealistically high expectations and thus may maintain a higher level of cohesion” (p. 245). As the individuals in these four groups developed in their careers, they found other alternatives open to them which met their needs better, and eventually the groups dissolved.

We have examined the effect of homophily in values leading to more attraction. But often people in these types of groups are attracted because of similarities in “abilities or personality traits,” according to Secord and Backman, which is more complex and involves a more complex comparison level. The attraction may also exist because they can “engage in an activity which is mutually rewarding,” such as discussing writing and art with other writers and artists. We have seen that Festinger reports “considerable evidence” that in this situation people compare their abilities with others who have similar talents, so they are attracted to an opportunity, such as a salon, to do this (in Secord and Backman, p. 221-2).

One of the strongest factors affecting a person's attraction to the group is his "motive base for attraction, i.e., his needs and values that can be satisfied by group membership," according to Secord and Backman (p. 244). They point out that in social-emotional groups such as these four, where there are "norms of friendly, cooperative behavior, persons with high needs for affiliation enjoy behavior that happens to conform to the norm." They gain intrinsic rewards from going along with the group behavior, because it meets their needs. Those with low self-esteem are more attracted to such a group and "have a greater need for acceptance" (p. 324).

Secord and Backman report that "groups generally serve one or both of two types of needs: task-related needs and social-emotional needs...The distinction...should not be thought of as absolute; most groups in part satisfy both needs" (p. 311-2). We can see that the values the group held related to creativity were important to their own individual tasks at hand, becoming accomplished writers or artists. The other values relate more to their social-emotional needs. They also point out that "in groups where behavior that happens to be in conformity with group norms is rewarding for its own sake, conformity is likely to be high. This is often characteristic of groups where satisfaction of social-emotional needs is dominant, or in task groups where the tasks themselves are enjoyable" (p. 318).

When this is the case, "surveillance" and "monitoring" become much less important. The members worked because they wanted to work; not because the other members would disapprove of them. Coercive power doesn't work in this situation; but referent power, which is held by people who have attributes or talents that are valued by members, "is more likely to lead to relatively enduring conformity" (p. 319).

In his controversial research, Winch proposed that "similarity in background, religion and socioeconomic status bring people into contact with each other, while complementary needs keep them together" (Swensen, p. 293). Secord and Backman also discuss the differences and complementary needs that lead to attraction between persons. Most of the research in this area has been done with mate selection, a special case of "dyad formation" (p. 213). Winch

"proposed two basically different reasons why persons whose needs are complementary are attracted to each other: (1) mutual need gratification and (2) attraction to an ego ideal...In mutual need gratification, each member of the dyad finds interaction mutually or reciprocally rewarding because his needs are expressed in behavior that is rewarding to the other member. For example a person with strong need to nurture behaves in a protective, nurturing manner toward another person who has strong needs to be dependent. In this way, each individual satisfies his needs and is in turn satisfied" (in Secord and Backman, 213).

Swensen labels this example as Type II complementarity, when “one partner is high on one need and the other partner is high on a different, complementary need” (p. 298). It is also an apt description of the Host/Hostess and the Star or any of the other members for that matter. We can also cite the socially awkward Sponsor whose need for friendship is satisfied by sponsoring outlets for his creative friends to use and those friends who are in need of outlets for their work.

The other reason for complementary attraction, attraction to an ego ideal, is described by Secord and Backman as:

“Persons are attracted to others who have characteristics they once aspired to but were prevented by circumstances from developing. Instead they have modeled themselves after the image of a person with the opposite traits. But they still retain a wistful admiration for individuals who possess the once-coveted traits” (p. 213).

During their time in the group, the other members don't appear to have given up on their own creative abilities, but it is clear they admire the talents that the Star brings.

Secord and Backman also caution that “evidence suggests that need satisfaction and expression may indeed be specific to roles” (p. 214). Persons in the role of the Host/Hostess may exhibit their need to nurture, but as artists in their own right they may also exhibit a need for validation of their values.

Often a person's needs, related to his motivation for being in the group, change because of his experiences in the group. If they change enough, he may leave (Cartwright, p. 96). Once these writers had developed their creative talents to a certain degree, they no longer needed the consensual validation of the group, and they moved on.

The incentives that a group offers for a member to remain can include “goals, programs, activities and characteristics of group members, that are relevant to the person's motive base,” according to Secord and Backman (p. 244), such as the outlets these creative people found through the Sponsor and the connections of the Link.

Sometimes the incentive is purely the attractiveness of the other members, what Lott and Lott define as “mutual positive attitudes”; membership puts members “in close association and frequent interaction” with people they like to be with (Cartwright, p. 98). When cohesiveness in a group is based on this personal attractiveness, K W Back found that members communicated differently than those in groups based on skill in performance

or prestige. Cartwright reports, "they made their discussion a long, pleasant conversation in which they expected to be able to persuade one another easily" (p. 106), a perfect description of the communication in these four groups.

As cohesiveness increases, the group's "ability to satisfy the needs of members increases, thereby raising the incentive value of the group" (Cartwright, p. 107). But often, the incentives to remain in the group will also change over time (Cartwright, p. 96).

#### Lack of Attraction of Alternatives

Much of the research into groups deals with conflicts, role strain, people feeling stress because they are different from the rest of the group, and how groups exert pressures on members to conform to group standards. Based on the research for this paper, this is not what affects these creative people *in* these groups, but *outside* these groups, in their lives in society, particularly before they enter the group. As developing artists they have come into these groups feeling as though they are different, but without yet having a lot of validation of recognition from society--in the form of publications, shows, productions of plays, awards, etc.--that would provide to others and themselves proof that they are artists. The fact that some feel little or no cohesion with other groups--their own family members, or work colleagues, if they initially held regular jobs, or just society as a whole--leads them to feel more cohesion with this group of similar people they have found.

Wilson points out that informal groups develop when people cannot meet their goals alone or in another available group; they "develop interdependent relationships to mutually reach these goals" (p. 165). As Skidelsky (Vol. I) says, "Bloomsbury provided a retreat for people, some of whom had been scarred early in life by their contact with the outside world" (p. 248).

Secord and Backman identify three classes of individual characteristics that

"lead to difficulty in meeting role expectations: First, the actor may lack certain abilities and attributes necessary for successful enactment of the roles involved. Second, he may have a self concept contrary to the role expectations he is supposed to enact. Finally, he may have certain attitudes and needs that interfere with the enactment of a particular role" (p. 445).

They also identify role strain that develops, not because the person can't live up to others' expectations, but

“because the role does not allow for the expressions of his needs, does not require him to make use of his skills and abilities, or is not suited to his personality and temperament. In these instances strain does not arise from inadequacies in the individual, but from his dissatisfaction with the role” (p. 447).

Both of these descriptions relate to some degree, to many, if not most, of the creative people in these four groups, particularly in the time before they entered the group. They had already found their talent, but had not received much recognition for it from the groups--family, friends, work--they were already in.

One way that people deal with conflicts in the roles they are supposed to play in society or any group is “temporal and spatial separation of situations,” according to Secord and Backman (p. 436). By removing himself to another situation, another place which is less threatening, such as a comfortable drawing room with like-minded friends, the person reduces the role conflict he feels in the threatening situation. This can take the form of formal organizations such as bar associations or unions, which “protect their members from conflicting role obligations” (p. 438), or, in the case of these four groups, more informal associations that serve the same function.

Also, Secord and Backman found that

“where many incumbents of the same role position find themselves subject to similar role strains, mutual support is present for finding a common means of resolution, and this often results in the development of a shared system of beliefs concerning appropriate forms of resolution...Widely held beliefs have as a major function the reduction of role strain” (p. 456).

In other words, when a group of similar people with similar role strain come together, they help each other to find ways to reduce the strain.

Before entering the group, these artists sometimes felt threatened as creative people in a non-creative world. Cartwright says that when members encounter “threatening or ambiguous situations” (p. 96) outside the group, their attraction to the non-threatening situation in the group will increase. Deutsch's research showed that this common threat “draws members together,” increasing the attractiveness of the group. Lott and Lott also found that attraction increases if this threat comes “from an external source (i.e., is not a

function of their own lack of skill), when there exists the possibility that cooperative behavior may reduce or eliminate the threat” (in Cartwright, p. 100). By spending their time with each other, they were able to minimize the perceived threats to their creativity.

These threats can lead to feelings of alienation from the larger “group” of society.

Alienation has many components, according to Secord and Backman:

powerlessness, or expecting that your own behavior can't determine outcomes;

meaninglessness, or feeling that you can't predict future outcomes;

normlessness, feeling that only socially disapproved behaviors will help you achieve your goals;

isolation, “a kind of detachment in which a person assigns low reward value to goals and beliefs that are typically valued highly in a society,” and

self-estrangement, which is a “lack of intrinsic satisfaction in one's activities” (p. 336).

Strachey, for example,

“‘was quite definitely,’ wrote Max Beerbohm in his Rede Lecture, ‘and quite impenitently, what in current jargon is called an escapist.’ Bloomsbury society was for him a quiet but active oasis in this desert of loud, claustrophobic loneliness...Lytton detested obscurity, and dreamt of being welcomed on his own terms by a society that he scorned. This feeling was shared by several of his friends, and it was on a superfine mixture of arrogance and diffidence, of ambitious talent and crippling shyness, that the Bloomsbury Group was largely founded” (Holroyd I, p. 408-10).

When they first came together these creative people had not yet developed their own comfortable niches. They had written, published, painted, but mostly on their own or with one other person. Discussion of the development of social deviants, an extreme case, of course, describe a similar process to what these creative people encountered with their new friends. Once someone has committed a deviant act--homosexuality or criminal activity are most often used as examples, but here we could substitute writing poetry or painting pictures--he may continue in this behavior if he has available to him “more experienced deviates who help the neophyte to learn new kinds of experiences and to define these as pleasurable” according to Secord and Backman (p. 340). They go on to describe the process that takes place once the person takes on this role:

“A person is treated in terms of this status first, and in terms of other subordinate statuses second...Such treatment sets in motion a self-fulfilling prophecy. Regarded as different, the deviant is often shut off from participating in more conventional groups and from the routines associated with conventional living...The final step in the process frequently involves movement into an organized deviant group. This has a powerful affect on the deviant’s self-concept and his way of life. Such groups provide the deviant with a self-satisfying rationale for his deviancy...[and] group-developed solutions to many of the problems they face in common as deviants....Thus the deviate is even more apt to continue in his way. He has learned both how to avoid trouble and also the rationale for continuing as a deviant. Finally, he may well have learned to effectively repudiate the conventional world...[A] factor playing an important part in this movement toward deviance is interaction with individuals like himself who exert pressures to conform to *their* norms, which are at variance with those of the larger society” (p. 340-2).

It would be an extreme position to label these artists as deviants, or to insist that society labeled them this way. However, if we substitute the word “artist” for “deviant” in the above quote, parallels can be seen between this socialization process of neophytes entering a group of like-minded people and the feelings of these creative people when they had found their own talents but had not yet had the opportunity to interact regularly and frequently with those of similar talents and feelings.

## C. The Effects on the Group

At this point in our analysis, we are interested in the effects of communicating and socializing on all the group members, but particularly the Stars.

Dorris' (1987) model for the creative process takes into account the individual Person--his or her "Competencies, Social Motives and Self-Concept"--and the environment and context--both "Broader" and "Immediate"--that the Person finds himself in. We have described already the background of the Broader context of the times and the Star Persons' characteristics at the time they entered the group. Dorris includes in his definition of their Immediate Context, Social Roles, which we have described for the Stars as well as those around them, the "human and physical Resources (or lack thereof) associated with them" (3) and the "Responsitivity of other people to the creator's efforts" (p. 5).

In this section we will look at the effects of the group members' cohesiveness, responsiveness and feedback on the members, and explore in more detail two of the most important effects, the validation of their values and self-image and the marshaling of resources to create outlets for their work.

### *1. Results of their Cohesiveness*

We have already determined that these groups exhibit strong cohesiveness, and we have looked at the conditions which brought this about in the "Environment" section. Cartwright points out that some of the effects, or consequences, of cohesiveness are also determinants of the cohesive forces, resulting in "circular processes" (p. 106). For example, more cohesiveness leads to greater participation by members in group activities (Cartwright, p. 105). Sometimes this "heightens interpersonal attraction and thus cohesiveness," more evidence of the circular processes at work. But this process can work both ways, positively and negatively; Cartwright cites the example of a group not attaining a goal, so members become less attracted, less cohesive, and less successful in the future (Cartwright, p. 107).

The literature on groups focuses on four results of cohesiveness in groups-- equilibrium, outcomes, internalization, and influence.

The final form or structure that a group takes, cautions Secord and Backman, is always a compromise. "Each person's position in the affect structure is the best he can obtain in terms of his reward-cost outcomes," leading to a state of balance or equilibrium in the group. Wilson defines an informal group as being in equilibrium "when the interaction of its members falls into a customary, regular pattern that organizes the group's activities" (p. 14). Secord and Backman report that this state of balance, with "reward-cost outcomes maximized...is characterized by many mutual choices, especially between persons equal in choice status" (p. 243), which we have seen is the case here.

By adjusting their feelings and expectations of liking and disliking, based on how they perceive others feel about them, groups reduce strain by moving towards equilibrium, according to Newcomb's studies (in Secord and Backman, p. 241). He found that these tendencies are "more important determinants of attraction in groups whose primary function is the satisfaction of social-emotional needs," like these four, than in task groups (in Secord and Backman, p. 208). We have seen how the physical and social-emotional situation that the Host/Hostess created contributed greatly to the atmosphere of equilibrium that existed during the time these group members were meeting.

Cartwright reports many studies that found that an increase in cohesiveness also lead to "more acceptance, trust, and confidence among members and that each member consequently develops a sense of security and personal worth...Highly cohesive groups provide a source of security for members which serves to reduce anxiety and to heighten self-esteem" (p. 104-5). One study found that this greater sense of security led the members in very cohesive groups to feel freer to express hostility (Cartwright, p. 105). We have seen evidence that these group members didn't always get along, disagreeing over values, opinions and each other. But the security they felt in the group gave them the self-confidence to express their opinions and their creativity.

But what about the conflict many of them experienced before entering the group, between their knowledge of their talent as a creative person and the threat to that role they perceived from society? Secord and Backman report on results found by Turner, who

looked at how people deal with conflicting role expectations. When someone is supposed to fulfill two roles--for example, that of a normal functioning member of society, and that of a creative person--how does he resolve this conflict? Turner found two tendencies which, over time, "result in a gradual modification of role structure in the direction of reducing conflicting expectations." With both of these tendencies, a single role emerges from two conflicting roles, either through one absorbing the other or through a merger. Turner states his hypothesis as follows:

"Whenever the social structure is such that many individuals characteristically act from the perspective of two given roles simultaneously, there tends to emerge a single role which encompasses the action. The single role may result from a merger process, each role absorbing the other, or from the development and recognition of a third role" (p. 438-9).

So, as a result of the cohesion, attraction and homophily found in the group, described in the previous section, the individual members are able to resolve their role conflicts, validate their identities as artists, and move on in their work. The hierarchy of roles established in the group structure, with the Star, or most talented one, at the center, "reflects the value structure of the group" and sets priorities for the members (Secord and Backman, p. 440). Dorris includes among the aspects of the Social Role which are pertinent to creativity

"(1) the expectations that are placed on the person...(2) the fact that people typically occupy multiple roles at any given time in their lives...which conflict or complement each other...and (3) the fact that the roles to which a person is assigned often vary considerably in the extent to which they conflict with or complement the person's competencies, social motives and self-concepts" (1987, p. 5).

Here, we have seen that the members put more emphasis on their roles as creators, making themselves available for their time in these groups and forsaking their roles as father, husband, wife, etc. In these groups they learned that their work was valuable and validated their self-concepts as artists, more in line with the "competencies, social motives and self-concepts" they brought with them to the groups.

In addition, Secord and Backman report on the work of Albert Cohen who studied the formation of subcultures, primarily with lower class delinquent boys. They feel he

“throws a light on the way individuals with similar problems of adjustment collectively facilitate the emergence of a solution involving a modification of previous role expectations. In essence, his theory suggests that when some or all members of a group face a common problem which cannot be solved by behaving in accordance with their currently held norms, members will, through a process of mutual facilitation, arrive at a new set of expectations which will allow a solution” (p. 457).

This is part of what these creative people were informally, even unconsciously, doing in their time in the group--resolving their roles as creative persons by communicating with others who faced the same conflicts.

Festinger points out that “to the extent that a member wishes to remain in the group [or its cohesiveness], the group has power over that member...[meaning] the ability to produce real change in opinions and attitudes” (p. 187). This is the process that Handy refers to as internalization, the type of strong commitment to a change that many formal organizations try to force on their members--teams on players, corporations on employees, etc. Handy describes it as,

“the form of commitment most desired...It is commitment that is self-maintaining and independent of the original source of influence. But it is the hardest to obtain and takes the longest time. In addition, if internalization is truly desired, then no pressure must be put on the individual to accept influence. He must be totally free to argue about it and even to reject it if he is to regard it as his own....If the source of influence is respected or liked, the individual will respond out of goodwill for that source....Internalization also means that the individual recipient of influence adopts the idea, the change in attitude or the new behavior, as his own. Fine. He will act on it without pressure. The change will be self-maintaining to a high degree. But he will also tend to believe that the change was his idea and no one else's. He will in a sense deny that influence took place....Internalization, then, is the most lasting [type of change]” (p. 132).

In the low pressure situations of cohesive informal groups such as these four, the changes in attitudes and behavior, the acceptance of new forms of writing and art which went against the establishment, the validation of their self-concepts as artists in a non-artistic world, is internalized to a great degree, voluntarily and in most cases, permanently. As Williams (in Crabtree) describes the Bloomsberries,

“Indeed there is something in the way in which Bloomsbury denied its existence as a formal group, while continuing to insist on its group qualities, which is the clue to the essential definition. The point was not to have any common--that is to say, general--theory or system, not only because this was not necessary--worse, it would probably be some imposed dogma--but primarily...because such theories and systems obstructed the true organizing value of the group, which was the unobstructed free expression of the civilised individual” (p. 61)

Handy defines influence as “the process whereby A modifies the attitudes or behavior of B. Power is that which enables him to do it. Organizations can be looked at as a fine weave of influence patterns whereby individuals or groups seek to influence others to think or act in particular ways.” He distinguishes carefully between the active process of influence and the “*ability* to influence or *power* (a resource)...Individuals in any role, in any organization, have some power, some capacity to exert influence” (p. 111-2).

Surely Yeats, Virginia, Stein and Parker influenced the creativity and talent of all those in the group. Lady Gregory’s meeting with Yeats, for example, is described by Hazard Adams as “decisive for her because it turned her interests in the direction of the theatre, gave her friendship with literary genius, and further encouraged her interest in myth and folklore” (p. 31). Stein’s influence on Hemingway “is by this time commonplace knowledge,” according to Hoffman (p. 104). But despite these Stars’ higher status, it is likely that they were not the only ones exerting influence in these groups.

In fact, according to Cartwright, “members of a more cohesive group more readily exert influence on one another and are more readily influenced by one another” (p. 104). In the circular process that Cartwright cites, the cohesiveness that comes out of attraction to those with similar values, attitudes, and beliefs leads to the group’s ability to influence its members to become even more similar (p. 107). Handy found that “those who participate most in a group are perceived as having the most influence” (p. 152), in our case the Star, Host/Hostess, the Irritant, the Angel and to some extent the Sponsor. Thibaut and Kelley also assert that this influence is directly related to how dependent a member is on the group, based on his comparison levels for the alternatives available to him (in Cartwright, p. 104). In other words, those who have some attractive alternatives, such as the outer circle members, will be less subject to influence by the group they are in.

So while they were meeting these cohesive groups exhibited a strong tendency towards equilibrium, which, in a circular process, increased, peaked and eventually decreased to the point where they split up. As a result of the strong influence the group exerted on its members, they experienced outcomes such as the freedom to express their opinions, a convergence of their different role expectations to create a stronger validation of their roles

as creators, more in line with their self-concepts, and an internalization of these values related to their work.

For each group, we will look in detail at how their membership affected their own self-image and values as well as their work.

## *2. Effect on Their Values and Self-image*

One of the main effects of group membership was on their self-image as artists within the groups, where they had the values that they brought with them to the group validated. We have seen what was important to them when they met up, and we can make an assumption that these are the topics that they communicated about most when they were together--their work, their play and their views on morality. It is beyond the scope of this paper to look at each member's self-image in detail and analyse how it changed during their time in the groups. However, there is evidence that for the group as a whole, their conversations about work, play and morality validated the values that the members brought with them.

As they got to know each other better, literature in its broadest sense took on even more importance for the writers. They found others who shared their interest in language and writing and appreciation of what was happening in modern literature. They also socialized more with other writers outside their group, and continued to help them in their work. All maintained their interest in reading, but now included more reading of each other's works. In a circular process, as they became more familiar with each others' work, they developed varying degrees of respect for their talents, often separate from their personal feelings, especially in the case of the Irritant.

Besides their respect for each other, most of the group members got to know and supported artists and the latest trends in other fields. For example, those who were interested in theatre before they met in the Irish and the Algonquin groups found their own feelings about the theatre validated--which doesn't necessarily mean that they always agreed--and they developed their own theatrical talents. Those who valued art or music developed these talents and interests further.

During their time in the groups, it is self-evident that the members valued the art of the salon and conversation as their “play.” In some cases they also spent time chatting in other groups, became known for certain phrases, quips and ways of talking, and developed their own standards of talk, determining who could take part.

In addition, as Skidelsky said of the Bloomsberries, “within the circle of intimacy they developed opinions, styles of conversation, behavior, even dress, which shocked outsiders” (Vol. I, p. 248).

### *3. Effects on Their Work*

The other important result of group membership on these creative artists was the effect that it had on their work--on the work itself, their own visibility as artists, and the access they received to outlets that the group members created for themselves. The Sponsors (Martyn, Leonard, McAlmon, and Ross) were the key factors in getting the resources, their own and others, to create new outlets suitable for their new work.

Two of the outer circle members--the Odd Ones Out (Synge, Clive, Thomson and Kaufman) and the Bridges (Hyde, Keynes, Ray and Broun)--brought new points of view, contrast, different opinions and the necessary information that affected their work. The Links (Lady Gregory, Fry, Anderson and FPA) had a lot to do with the members' increased visibility, introducing them to the establishment, but also validating the groups' values to the outside world, or “logrolling,” a term associated with the Algonquinites that means quoting and praising each other in their works.

In Janis' classic study of “groupthink,” he found that this presence of an outside point of view was invaluable to the content of decision-making and problem solving. He included as his sixth prescription to avoid groupthink:

*“One or more outside experts or qualified colleagues within the organization who are not core members of the policy-making groups should be invited to meetings on a staggered basis and should be encouraged to challenge the views of the core members...The visitors would have to be trustworthy associates carefully selected because of their capacity to grasp new ideas quickly, perspicacity in spotting hidden catches, sensitivity to moral issues, and verbal skill in transmitting criticisms....Visitors who are likely to raise debate-worthy objections should be invited long before a consensus has been reached, not after most of the core members have made up their minds” (p. 266-7, emphasis his).*

From Janis' point of view, it appears that for these groups to be effective in enhancing the creative skills of their members, if the outer circle members did not exist, they would have to have been invented.

In line with the importance of other points of view, we will see that validation doesn't always mean praise. Constructive, serious criticism of one's work, providing an outside point of view, can validate it as well.

As members of informal, non-task, primary groups, these creative people did not have one specific goal they were trying to reach with the agreement that they would disband afterwards. Sometimes they worked on a group project--starting a national theatre, creating a workshop for artists, publishing and exhibiting their own works--but these weren't the main goals of their socializing.

However, they were able to accomplish their individual goals through the other group members, and this was part of the attraction to the group. "Having a distinctive goal or purpose serves to attract to the group people with a particular motive base," in the words of Cartwright. "The members of such a group, being similar to one another with respect to relevant values and interest, may be expected to develop interpersonal bonds and to be attracted to group membership" (p. 99).

Secord and Backman refer to strategies for every day interaction that group members use:

"One very direct, simple strategy is to offer a resource to the other party...Jones and his colleagues have identified a set of techniques under the heading of ingratiation...These include flattery; enhancement of the other person's self;...and tactics of self-presentation that either advertise the ingratiation's strengths or virtues or by implication enhance the strength and virtues of the person who is the target of such tactics" (p. 262-3).

This logrolling was one benefit of membership, but as W. H. Auden has said of his fellow writers, "nothing much is important, but to be published is important," and, in fact, even a writer's private notebooks are almost always written to be read (in Burlingame, p. 136). One of the concrete benefits these creative people got out of their membership was access to outlets for their work, which the members themselves, with the initiation of the Sponsor, often created. Sometimes they put together "one-offs," but the lasting legacies of these groups are the on-going institutions that they created during or, in the case of the Bloomsberries, at the every end of their time together: The Abbey Theatre, the Hogarth

Press, the Contact Editions and The New Yorker. Although the Bloomsbury group broke up when the Woolfs left London to start their press, during the years of the group, Fry created the Omega Workshops as an outlet for the artists. McAlmon's Contact Press did not last much longer than his time in Paris, but the works he published--Stein's Making of Americans, Hemingway's Three Stories and Ten Poems--have lived on.

So for each group we will now look at the effect of "the group on the group" so to speak--the effect their conversations had on themselves as artists, validating their values, etc., and the effect on their work, both in visibility (logrolling) and outlets.

This provides a description of the "Immediate Context" that the Star was socializing in. We can then move on to the central question of this paper, what influence did the group as whole and its individual members, particularly the Host/Hostess, have on the creative development of the Stars?

## The Irish Literary Renaissance

Of all four groups, the Irish Literary Renaissance had the most concrete goals during their time together. They "were joining hands to leap out of their dying [ruling] class into literary glory" (Kohfeldt, p. 127). But to focus only on this group as working colleagues intent on creating the Abbey Theatre and then disbanding, as most works have, misses the effect that their communicating had on themselves and their work, including the creation of the theatre.

### *Validating Their Values*

During their time spent socializing together, the members of the Irish Literary Renaissance found their original priorities of creativity and respect for the arts, their leisure time spent talking to each other, and their spirituality and political values validated.

As a result of her time in the group, for example, Lady Gregory lost "her self-consciousness; what she," according to Kohfeldt (p. 154). Likewise, in Synge's trips to

the Aran Islands, as well as his communication with the other group members, “he had found in [this] experience of the more primitive Irish culture a world view that harmonized with his own, broadened it, and gave it vitality” (Kohfeldt, p. 158).

The writers’ communication with each other lead them to meet and help other writers as well. For example, through Yeats and Lady Gregory, Synge met Arthur Symons and other writers in London (Skelton). In 1902 AE visited Joyce and suggested that he write to Lady Gregory for help to leave Ireland. She sent him five pounds and got him a job with the Daily Express in Dublin reviewing books from Paris (Kohfeldt). When Yeats visited Paris soon after, she instructed him to write to Joyce and “ask him to breakfast” (Jeffares, p. 210). On his return to Dublin, Joyce showed AE Stephen Hero, and AE suggested he do stories for his publication, The Irish Homestead (Summerfield).

The more they got to know each other, the more they developed respect for each others’ works. At first, Lady Gregory was not impressed with AE, but found that “his chief virtue was that he drew Yeats” (Kohfeldt, p. 115). She read Synge’s Aran Islands manuscript aloud to Yeats and told him how much they loved it (Greene). Yeats felt Synge was a genius (Jeffares), telling Plunkett he was “a great writer, the beginning, it may be, of a European figure” (Greene, p. 270). Even though AE didn’t know the younger writer well, he appreciated Synge’s talents (Summerfield).

Yeats claimed that Synge never complimented either of them, but the Odd One Out did say good things about Lady Gregory (Coxhead). Yeats, however, didn’t care for Synge’s poems (Greene) and felt Riders to the Sea was too realistic (Kuch). He also didn’t like AE’s Deirdre, which was written as a protest to Yeats’ and Moore’s version, writing to Lady Gregory that it “rather embarrasses me. I do not believe in it at all” (in Kuch, p. 195). But Yeats admitted that it was difficult for him to “disentangle his [personal] feelings about [AE] from his literary judgment of his work” (Kuch, p. 197). By the last performance he told her that he liked it and wrote an article praising the acting (Kuch).

Yeats referred to Hyde as “the great poet who died in his youth,” because his “day job” was the Gaelic League (in Dunleavy, p. 136).

Their interest in other arts continued as well. While socializing with writers and working on plays, AE still took art classes (Summerfield) and sketched with Yeats at Coole

(Kuch). He served on the Mural Library Association, and was won over to the Impressionists by an exhibit of those owned by Lady Gregory's nephew, Hugh Lane (Summerfield). Moore gave a lecture for the exhibit that was published as Reminiscences of the Impressionist Painters, and after Lane's drowning on the *Lusitania*, Lady Gregory spent much of the rest of her life in legal battles to get the paintings donated to the National Gallery (Kohfeldt).

Martyn wrote more articles about traditional Irish music, church music (Gwynn) and Palestrina choirs (Courtney). The Sponsor endowed such a choir at Dublin's Pro-Cathedral, on the stipulation that they use his choice for choir director and never have any females sing. He criticised his beloved church for bad decorations and so contributed a lot of money to have Irish artists do a better job (Gwynn).

Once they met up with the others and began developing as artists, some of their tonsorial habits changed. AE, for example, no longer emulated Byron; he now looked as though his "overcoat might have been put on with shovel" (Summerfield, p. 130).

But if the Irish were talkers to begin with, being in the group only brought them to create new places to enjoy conversation. Dublin salons were held by Yeats on Tuesdays, by invitation only (Kuch); AE on Sundays, which combined "learned debate and a pleasant social evening" (Summerfield); and Moore on Saturday nights, as a "replacement for...Paris" (Ulick O'Connor, p. 300). AE in particular "perfected his art as one of the great talkers of Dublin at Moore's salon" (Summerfield, p. 107).

Dublin's "literary evenings became celebrated outside Ireland" (Ulick O'Connor, p. 372), and in these salons, "ideas passed from mind to mind nourishing the embryo of a new Ireland" (Summerfield, p. 105). For their development of an Irish Literary Renaissance increased their feelings of nationalism, and both their politics and spirituality became the core of the values they shared together.

A month after Synge's first visit to Coole, he went to Dublin for the Wolfe Tone Centennial (Greene), which was organized by Yeats (Ellman) and also attended by Martyn (Coxhead). Within a year the Boer War stirred up anti-English feelings among the Irish group, especially Moore whose brother was fighting in it (Hone). Once Moore was brought into help with the theatre, he developed "a fierce antipathy towards English ideas

and English politics” (Gwynn, p. 107). He sold his London flat and moved to Dublin as a protest, with AE helping him to find his house in Ely Place (Kuch).

The strongest influence on Moore’s politics was Martyn, who became very interested in Hyde’s Gaelic League. He tried to get it to become more nationalistic instead of focusing just on the preservation of the language, but did contribute to a pamphlet supporting the teaching of Irish in schools (Gwynn). Hyde testified in support of this, and his Gaelic League brought pressure on the government which finally passed the Intermediate Education Amendment Act in 1900 which put Irish in the curriculum (Daly).

Martyn had originally come to Coole to find Yeats; he didn’t like the peasants in western Ireland and they didn’t like him, but Lady Gregory changed him, according to Kohfeldt. Around this time he was asked to stand for Parliament, but he refused. Martyn’s letters to the Freeman’s Journal protesting the visit of the King in 1903 led to the first try by the Kildare Club to expel him. He became president of Sinn Fein the next year, and when he made a speech saying that the Irish should not join the English military, the Club expelled him. He fought the expulsion in court in a very public trial; after winning he invited Sinn Feiners to join him there for dinner and said a rosary in the main room (Gwynn).

Although AE shared the others’ feelings about Ireland, he was more universalistic and spiritual than nationalistic (Kuch). His work with the IAOS brought him in direct contact with Irish-speaking farmers, and he drew up his own plan for the Congested Districts (Summerfield). His fights with Moore about politics ended with Moore flattering him and offering to write the introduction for AE’s new book, after which they became good friends (Kuch).

The Irish language was always an important aspect of the nationalistic movement. Lady Gregory was the only one of the Abbey playwrights who actually learned the language (Hazard Adams). After two false tries (Daly), Hyde helped her to master it. Her initial impetus for digging up stories from the Ordnance Survey and translating them was her indignance at Trinity insulting Irish culture (Ulick O’Connor).

Moore promised to make his nephews learn Irish, though he never tried himself. When the boys didn’t comply, he took them out of his will, unless they learned it in one

year (Hone). He knew that Hyde saw through his temporary passion for the language, but got back at him (and everyone else) in his autobiography (Ulick O'Connor).

But Hyde was always the movement's "standard bearer on the linguistic and social flanks" (Coxhead, p. 49). His Gaelic League was so focused on the language, that eventually his aims differed from those of the rest of the group who were trying to create a national literature in English. However, the Bridge was never "hostile to them as other Gaelic enthusiasts...were" (Dunleavy, p. xv), and even interceded for the theatre with these other groups.

Of the four groups, the Irish were the most spiritual, and their work together validated these values as well. We have seen that the extremely religious Martyn objected to Yeats' and Lady Gregory Countess Cathleen (Kohfeldt), and indeed he maintained his strong Catholicism throughout his years in the group (Gwynn).

Moore decided to convert to Protestantism in 1902, and did it very publicly with a letter to the Irish Times (Hone), but the Protestants were not as thrilled as he expected them to be (Kohfeldt). Hyde published a Nativity play, but its performance was cancelled by local priests.

During their summers in Coole, Yeats and AE continued on their unique exploration of the spiritual that they had begun together in their youth. They now visited sites of visions, with their tour guide, Lady Gregory, and continued to work on rituals together there, as she recorded them. AE claimed to have seen a purple Druid near Coole, as well as a gnome that the locals felt was causing accidents (Kuch). However, the more they became involved in theatre, the less they shared their spiritualism.

AE, however, kept up his activities on his own to some degree. Although he had married a woman from the Theosophists, he split with them (Kuch) soon after and set up a new Hermetic Society that held regular Thursday meetings. He had Celtic myth articles published in the United Irishman and tried to convert Moore to mysticism. But by 1904, there was less spiritualism in AE's poetry, although the title of his collection published early that year was Divine Vision and Other Poems (Summerfield). For the most part his spiritualism continued throughout his life.

### *Effects on Their Work*

While working on the creation of a national theatre, the writers kept their other literary efforts going as well. Martyn collaborated with a friend on a newspaper (Gwynn) and Hyde catalogued Sir John Gilbert's collection at University College Dublin. His Gaelic League published his own The Literary History of Ireland to great reviews (Daly), which Gonne referred to as "the intellectual background of the revolt" (Dunleavy, p. 134).

Moore, like one of the other Irritants, Hemingway, tried to deny the group's influences on him later. But according to Desmond Shawe-Taylor, Lady Gregory's nephew and author of "The Achievement of George Moore," the Irish had a strong influence on his work, which may be similar to the experience the other group members had as well:

"it has been said that the mature George owed everything to Ireland, and if in saying Ireland we include the personal influence of Yeats and AE there is much truth in the claim, for before long he began to feel more interested in the rhythm of his writing and the shape of his stories which was quite new to him.... The spirit of Dublin is commonly more melodious and more flowing than the spirit of London, and in Yeats [Moore] was brought in close contact with a poet whose prose was as musical as his verse, a mind steeped in the traditional stories of Ireland which he loved to recite over the fire. The legends, the wayward talk, the fabulous gossip of Dublin were as stimulating to Moore as the Nouvelle Athenes. They gave a fresh direction to his talent. He listened...and presently he began to discover in himself not only a gift for anecdote but a personality as alive to its own absurdities as to the absurdities of others. This is the double springhead from which all his future work was to flow: on the one hand his love of a rhythmical, anecdotal story-telling, quite unlike the plot-construction of the typical English novelist...; on the other hand that progressive realisation and revelation of his extraordinary self which gave us first Memoirs of My Dead Life, then the Irish trilogy...[His 1913 Untilled Field, for example, is] pure Irish, showing a real understanding of the national character and a feeling for the national idiom" (in Hone, p. 468).

According to Skelton, four years after Synge joined the group, he had an "extraordinarily creative year" and credits his new friends influences:

"He had been impressed by the performance in Gaelic of [Hyde and Lady Gregory's] Twisting of the Rope and had thought it more important than Yeats' and Moore's Diarmuid and Grainne. He thought that it pointed to a new direction for Irish drama. He had also had the opportunity of more discussion with Lady Gregory at Coole...Whatever the reason, it was now that he began the work that was to establish him not merely as a member, but as a leader of the Irish renaissance" (p. 70).

Yeats felt that AE and Synge had "come to their task from the opposite sides of the heavens, they are both stirring the same pot--something of a witches' cauldron, I think" (in Kohfeldt, p. 174). However, of all of them, AE was the "least concerned to accomplish a great work in a single field" (Summerfield, p. 1) as his "day job" kept him from being as

committed to literary and artistic endeavors as the others were. He used his oratory skills on the job, but wrote little poetry during that time (Kuch). However, one of Yeats' motivations in recommending him for the job was that he "foresaw that [AE's] narrowly Theosophistic view of Ireland would be enlarged by a first-hand acquaintance with her farmers and country towns and a detailed knowledge of the hard lives of her peasants" (Summerfield, p. 86).

AE also worked briefly for a London newspaper, but then went back to poetry (Summerfield), and formed his theory of a national literature. Yeats pushed him to find new subjects in Irish folklore, and AE would send his poems to him for advice and get back detailed changes, some of which he would make (Kuch). But he began to feel that he could influence more people with his poetry than his plays (Ulick O'Connor), and so he kept other interests and tried to put his theatre activities in perspective. Valuing the people in the theatre before the work, AE felt that the time spent took away from Yeats' other creative talents. It was ultimately this difference in values that led to the split in their friendship (Kuch).

We have seen that the Irish who knew each other before the group, such as Yeats and AE, Moore and Martyn, gave each other visibility in their early years together. Once they got together, their opportunities for logrolling increased. Synge reviewed Lady Gregory's Cuchulain in the Speaker, crediting her use of language to Hyde's Love Songs (Greene). AE even reviewed the premiere of his friends' theatre in the Daily Express, although he wasn't overly enthusiastic (Kuch). Yeats was a particularly strong champion of Synge in the early days, Richard Best recalls,

"sitting on a bench beside [Yeats and he] said to me in that impressive way--intoning his words--that he had just discovered a man who had all the talent of Aeschylus and Sophocles combined... 'He is a man of the name of Synge.' 'Hang it all,' I said, 'I just tore up his letters the other day--I wish I had known before that.' And Yeats laughed... I think he had just written The Wicklow Glen [sic], but it was Yeats who really discovered a latent talent in Synge, and encouraged him to go on writing" (in Rodgers, p. 104-5).

Besides the Abbey Theatre, the Irish members found other ways to provide outlets for their friends' works. When Trinity put down Irish folklore, Hyde's Gaelic League wanted Yeats to do English translations of some of the stories; he said no, but Lady Gregory volunteered. Hyde was hesitant until she gave him a writing sample--"her aim is

popularization, not scholarship.” “We work to add dignity to Ireland,” she wrote, and Yeats contributed a preface (Coxhead, p. 58).

When the Link edited Ideals in Ireland, she included essays by Yeats, Moore and AE; Yeats wanted the tradition of pagan and peasant Ireland preserved; Moore wanted a bilingual country; and AE challenged the Irish to “commune with their National Being” (Kuch, p. 192). Synge went to London with her and Yeats in 1903 looking for a publisher (Skelton). Hyde’s Gaelic League published Moore’s collection of related short stories--an idea which he stole from Turgenev and accused Joyce of stealing from him--as the Untilled Field (Hone). But of course the best outlet for the work they were doing together was the Irish Literary Theatre, which eventually became the Abbey Theatre.

### The Abbey Theatre

Moore hated the theatre’s first plays he saw them rehearsing, so he stepped in and changed the actors (Kohfeldt)

The Irish Literary Renaissance, for all their socializing, almost qualifies as a “task group” because of the amount of time and effort they put into starting a theatre which would present Irish plays in English for all audiences. As Kohfeldt says,

“While other people were seeing visions, learning Gaelic, and plotting the downfall of England, the playwrights and actors were doing what Ireland most needed, creating a structure that would use the energies and develop the talents of some of their fellow citizens while entertaining others” (p. 173-4).

Sara Allgood, an actress familiar with the original group, recalls, “it seemed to me as though a new province was being added to Ireland” (in Kohfeldt, p. 174).

From their very first meeting, when Lady Gregory came to visit the Count de Basterot at Duras and found Martyn there with Yeats, their “talk turned on plays,” as she remembers in her memoirs:

“I said it was a pity we had no Irish theatre where such plays [such as Martyn’s] could be given. Mr. Yeats said that it had always been a dream of his, but he had of late thought it an impossible one, for it could not at first pay its way, and there was no money to be found for such a thing in Ireland... We went on talking about it, and things seemed to grow possible as we talked, and before the end of the afternoon we had made our plan” (in Hazard Adams, p. 31).

As Ellman summarizes the effect on the members:

“The external history of the Irish dramatic movement is well known. A handful of playwrights bent upon a national theatre was joined by a group of actors with the same goal; the plays that were written for a small playhouse in a small country have since been presented throughout the world. The effect upon the leading participants was overwhelming: Lady Gregory, a widow in her late forties who had previously written nothing of special value, revealed a considerable talent for comedy...Synge, who had planned to devote his life to writing critical articles on French writing for the English press, suddenly built a fantastic drama out of Irish life...Moore and...Martyn, and many lesser known writers, found their outlook abruptly altered” (p. 127)

To begin the theatre, they first needed money, and we have seen that they made good use of Lady Gregory as the Link, and Martyn as the Sponsor. She pledged some of her own money (Kohfeldt); he paid for the first season so they never had to call on the guarantors (Gwynn). She used her government contacts so they could rent the rooms they wanted to perform in, and would chide the reviewers for bad notices (Ulick O'Connor).

Lady Gregory suggested Dublin as the proper place for the theatre to premiere, but with no idea of using Irish actors because they assumed there weren't any capable of performing professionally (Coxhead).

After two years of working on their theatre idea, they decided they needed someone with more theatre expertise, so Yeats and Martyn went to London to ask for Moore's help (Ulick O'Connor). Yeats promised him they would do Irish plays (Daly), but felt that it was an “embarrassment” (Gwynn) for him to be brought in. When Moore watched the first London rehearsal of the group, he hated it and took over, getting new actors (Kohfeldt) and getting rid of Yeats' choice as stage director (Ulick O'Connor).

In May of 1899 the Irish Literary Theatre premiered in Dublin's Antient Concert Rooms with The Countess Cathleen, written by Yeats and Lady Gregory, called by Kohfeldt, “the most public expression of the new national sense of cultural worth” (p. 135). Joyce was there, and Arthur Griffith brought a group of dockworkers and “instructed them to applaud everything that the church would not like” (Ulick O'Connor, p. 265).

The next night they premiered Martyn's Heather Field (Ulick O'Connor) to good reviews (Gwynn), and Moore sent a telegram saying that the “scepter of intelligence” had passed from London to Dublin (Ulick O'Connor, p. 230). Synge came to see some of the early performances (Greene), and Lady Gregory's friend Plunkett gave a banquet at the

Shelbourne Hotel in honor of the new artistic venture. Yeats, Moore and Hyde spoke and then Yeats napped. Martyn pouted and AE came late (Ulick O'Connor).

After the first year, the Dublin Daily Express published an article by one of their friends against the theatre, and AE wrote to Yeats in London to get him to reply. They and Lady Gregory wrote dueling articles, and AE "was delighted to see his friends locked in combat" (Kuch, p. 164). This controversy "enabled [AE] to formulate a theory of national literature before the literary movement gathered momentum with the contributions made by Synge and Lady Gregory" (Kuch, p. 169).

All of them found an outlet in writing and producing the plays. Lady Gregory got encouragement to try translations by Yeats' visits to collect stories and Hyde's Gaelic lessons (Ulick O'Connor). In the early days she wrote dialogue for Yeats and Moore and scenarios for Hyde to translate into Gaelic (Kohfeldt). As Coxhead says, "Lady Gregory could collaborate with Hyde, because he already possessed the two basic attributes of the dramatist, an interest in people and a gift for writing easy, natural, dialogue, at any rate in Irish" (p. 101). In 1903, for example, she took an incident that she had heard about at the government workhouse, and outlined it to Yeats, who felt he was too busy to work on it and gave it to Hyde. He followed her outline exactly, and wrote a play in Irish, which she then translated back into English as The Poorhouse (Coxhead). However, Coxhead feels that they, along with Yeats, would have done better sticking to what each did best on his or her own.

The creation of the theatre provided an outlet for the other varied talents of the group members as well. Hyde, for example, was pioneering "a manner of speech...to become the vernacular...of the Anglo-Irish literary movement, the model for Lady Gregory's 'Kiltartanese,' Synge's plays and...the standard speech of the early Abbey Theatre" (Dunleavy, p. 107).

AE found an outlet for his artwork there as well, doing drawings for Yeats and Lady Gregory's Countess Cathleen (Summerfield), and suggesting color photos as a backdrop for Martyn's Heather Field (Gwynn). But AE's ideal outlet would have been a small amateur theatre, which would have been happier, but not as well-known (Kuch). He was "more interested in achieving ultimate reconciliation than in defining local differences"

(Kuch, p. 25). Whereas AE kept his other interests, for Martyn, the theatre was “the most significant action” of his life (Gwynn, p. 13).

We have also seen how Hyde functioned as the Bridge, stepping in when the Gaelic League was “swiping” at the theatre for doing plays in English (Daly), told the League journalists not to attack them (Dunleavy), and in general spent a lot of time acting as the “arbitrator” (Daly) between the groups involved with different aspects of Irish nationalism.

In 1901, Yeats began a house organ, another outlet for the theatre, called Samhain (Greene), which published Lady Gregory and Hyde’s Twisting (Daly) as well as Martyn’s article, “A Plea for a National Theatre” (Courtney). Yeats used this outlet to praise Moore, writing that they couldn’t have established the theater without his expertise (Hone), and AE published an essay there about Yeats (Ellman).

Moore directed Hyde and his Gaelic League actors in the version of Diarmuid and Grainne that he had written with Yeats, on the same bill with Twisting (Kuch). Synge had his first play, The Shadow of the Glen, produced with Cathleen ni Houlihan in 1903 (Ulick O’Connor), and published in Samhain (Kohfeldt). Within a year his Riders was produced with AE’s Deirdre (Greene) in both Dublin and London . The audiences loved it, even if the critics didn’t (Ulick O’Connor), including Yeats, who thought it was too realistic (Kuch).

But by 1902, the Irish National Theatre Society was “turbulent” (Jeffares, p. 136). Gonne vetoed a production of Lady Gregory’s The Twenty-Five, and Moore was kibitzing on the Fay brothers’ staging of Yeats and Lady Gregory’s Cathleen ni Houlihan starring Gonne, with AE appearing as a druid (Jeffares).

Yeats brought his British friend, Miss Horniman, in to help them, but Lady Gregory was never fond of her (Jeffares). He was also working hard to keep Martyn involved and the Sponsor came through by negotiating to buy the building which became the Abbey Theatre (Gwynn).

Many of the theatre’s fights pitted the Nationalists, such as Gonne, against AE and the working class members, who were often set against Yeats, Lady Gregory and Synge, and the Fays who wanted a national theatre (Kuch).

By 1904 AE had reorganized the group with Yeats, Lady Gregory and Synge as directors (Hazard Adams). As Synge was the only one living in Dublin, he had the most active role in its daily management (Greene). Kohfeldt says of the three of them at this time that “they gave each other the kind of non-practical, non-verbal support that exists in families and that frequently enabled them to carry their point against less unified opposition” (p. 182). Synge described their division of duties as, “Yeats looks after the stars and I do the rest” (Greene, p. 283). Lady Gregory, the Hostess, was very calm with the actors whereas Yeats was not (Kohfeldt).

They premiered in their new home on Abbey Street at Christmas of that year, with Cathleen ni Houlihan and On Baile’s Strand alternating with Spreading the News and Shadow of the Glen (Ulick O’Connor). Within a few months, Horniman offered a guarantee for the salaries of the actors (Kohfeldt), and AE wrote a new constitution so the actors could be paid as employees (Summerfield).

Synge took the company on tour and when Horniman saw them perform in Glasgow she felt that they needed help, and offered them more money (Greene). At an important meeting at Coole in early 1906 a limited liability company was created with Yeats, Lady Gregory and Synge as directors, and a secretary was hired to help Fay (Kohfeldt). The audience decreased in the first half of that year, and Lady Gregory’s Hvacinth Halvey was the only new play produced until October when they premiered her Gaol Gate (Greene).

The fights that had erupted before this reorganization, and the bad feelings afterward were what ultimately led to the break up of the social group. However, the Abbey lived on and still exists today as one of the premier theatres in Europe.

## The Bloomsbury Group

Sometimes a group such as Bloomsbury is thought of as a “school,” subscribing to a certain fixed set of values, “a mantle of common philosophy or aesthetic agreement (Shone, 1976, p. 14-5). Although the Cambridge men rallied around G. E. Moore’s Principia Ethica, most sources and the group themselves insist that a monolithic mindset was never part of the group. Williams (in Crabtree) says,

“You cannot put all this work together and make of it a general human and social theory. But of course that is the point. The different positions which the Bloomsbury Group assembled, and which they effectively disseminated as the contents of the mind of a modern, educated civilised individual, are all in effect *alternatives* to a general theory” (p. 61-2).

### *Validating Their Values*

Indeed, in the first volume of his memoirs, Beginning Again, Leonard denies that the Bloomsberries, like the Irish Literary Renaissance, had one clear cut set of values in mind: “We had no common theory, system or principles which we wanted to convert the world to; we were not proselytizers, missionaries, crusaders or even propagandists” (in Williams, in Crabtree, p. 60-1).

But they all valued arts and culture, and writing and writers were particularly important to them. Fry got John Lane to publish Stein’s Three Lives (Autobiography). Besides their regular Thursday evening salons, Virginia formed a Play Reading Society with Vanessa, Clive, Strachey, Sydney-Turner and Adrian Stephen which met on Friday nights at Gordon Square from late December of 1907 through May of 1908, and then took up again in fall of that year through the beginning of 1909. It was started up again in late October of 1914, just as the group itself was starting to disband. They also had a shorter-lived game which involved a progressive novel being written in letters to each other (Bell I).

Strachey wrote about Shakespeare, Johnson, Milton, Stendhal, Voltaire and Dostoevsky for the Spectator; his first major work was an analysis of Landmarks of French Literature (Holroyd I). When the French government tried to cover Wilde’s elaborate tomb in Pere Lechaise, Strachey was involved in the controversial petitions to have the cover removed, which it was two years later (Holroyd II).

The Bloomsberries, of course, were also known for mixing painters and writers together, valuing not only literature but also art and ballet. When Diaghilev brought Nijinsky to London, Strachey (Holroyd II) and Grant (Skidelsky I) met and socialized with them at Ottoline Morrell’s salon. Matisse visited Asham (Spalding, 1983), and Grant visited him near Paris when he went to Paris for Salon des Independents in 1909, and “probably” met Picasso. Vanessa and Clive exhibited Renoir and Picasso along with their own works in the Friday Club (Shone, 1976), and the Bells and Fry visited the Sunderland exhibit at Cologne together (Spalding, 1983).

As we have seen, Vanessa, Clive, Grant and Fry visited Stein's at least twice during this time, meeting Picasso, Matisse and seeing all the of Steins' collections (Spalding, 1983). Soon Fry was giving Picasso some credit in his Nation articles (Spalding, 1980).

Spalding (1983) faults Clive for his lack of objectivity as a critic, but points out that all of Bloomsbury used their public clout to help others as well:

"The chief offender with regard to the two main criticisms--that Bloomsbury overpraised themselves and wrecked the reputations of others--was [Clive] Bell. His references to Vanessa and Duncan in his exhibition reviews do make embarrassing reading; and on more than one occasion he slated the art of Wyndham Lewis with what seems like a personal vindictiveness. But Roger had written as extensively on Mark Gertler and John Nash as on Vanessa's art and had done much to encourage younger artists, as did Vanessa and Duncan through their association with [their and Keynes' London Artists' Association], the London Group and the Euston Road School" (p. 349).

Clive joined Fry's Committee for French Art, and Fry wrote a "cautionary review" of the Italian Futurists' exhibit in London (Spalding, 1980). He reportedly told Strachey that "the Old Masters made him sick" (Simon, p. 88).

The Bloomsberries stepped up their collecting as their own careers advanced. Fry, who owned Picasso's Head of a Man, sent Boris Anrep to Russia to buy art (Spalding, 1980), and traveled with Clive to France to look for paintings (Spalding, 1983). Keynes began his serious collecting during these years (Skidelsky I), which later lead to incredible purchases for the National Gallery during the Second World War (Spalding, 1983).

Of course, Fry's most conspicuous support of the value of modern art came with his First Post-Impressionist Exhibit in 1910; even the writers such as Virginia and Strachey supported it (Bell I). Shone (in Crabtree) emphasises the importance of the Post-Impressionist "revolution" to their change in values:

"It mobilised them; it publicised them; it brought Roger to the central position within the group of friends and it strengthened those ties with French civilisation which had been growing conspicuous in the Edwardian decade. It made Bloomsbury less insular, it altered their speech, it changed the appearance of those spacious rooms in Gordon and Fitzroy Squares. Startling murals appeared, North African pots and bright Eastern textiles. Pictures by Vlaminck, Picasso, Gris and Marchand replaced the works of Watts and Augustus John" (p. 33).

Seeing this “mass” of paintings together, Vanessa “perceived their honesty and freedom of expression, qualities, of course, highly valued in Bloomsbury” (Spalding, 1983, p. 91-2). Despite the public criticism he endured, Fry,

“at the age of 44, when, with his ability and experience, he could have been expected to be entering upon the summation of his career,...rejected the possibility of important official positions, and turned his energies towards a wholehearted propagation of modern art” (Greeves, p. 9).

The more Vanessa knew Grant, the more her high opinion of him grew into “unbounded admiration” for his work (Shone, 1976, p. 16). Together they felt that “there was no one [else] worth considering as a painter in England” (Tickner, p. 68). But she also continued to respect her estranged husband’s efforts as well. What became Clive’s most well-known work, *Art*, “provided the theoretical standpoint which [Vanessa] Bell clung to all her life” (Spalding, 1983, p. 115). She shared his “distrust of narrative painting” (Spalding, 1983, p. 126), and the “Bloomsbury belief that art only achieved unity and completeness if it is detached” (Spalding, 1983, p. xiv). Fry thought Clive had stolen some of his ideas (Spater), but he admitted that “Clive had arrived first at a theory of art towards which he himself was slowly moving” (Spalding, 1980, p. 165).

Besides writing and art, “talk was the thing that all Bloomsbury people loved,” according to Frances Partridge who married into the outside fringes of the group (Partridge). Tickner refers to their creation of a “conversational community” (p. 72), and Shone (in Crabtree) points out “how much they preferred the sitting room to the lecture hall, the conversation to the lecture” (p. 23-4).

Although all the Bloomsberries valued the discussion in the group, each had his or her own way of reacting. Hilton Young describes their differences: “A commonplace opinion astonished them all, but provoked in them different reactions. It moved Virginia to silence, Vanessa to a sympathetic effort to give it meaning, Lytton to change the subject, and Clive to general but explosive laughter” (Skidelsky I). For Leonard, the attraction wasn’t the parties, but the opportunity “to argue with friends about political or literary life” (Spater, p. 144).

Partying, even beyond the realm of literary conversation, was important to the Bloomsberries. Keynes “staged lively dinner parties at the Cafe Royal preceding the Bloomsbury evenings and dispensed champagne amid inbred wit” (Edel, p. 190), and his

roommate Grant “gave frequent midday champagne parties at Brunswick Square depleting Keynes’ store” (Spalding, 1983, p. 121). The Omega Workshops sponsored many parties (Shone, 1976), and the group’s ceremonial ending came with Keynes’ party celebrating his appointment to the Treasury Department (Skidelsky I). It began at the Cafe Royal and moved on to Gordon Square, with the reading of a Racine play featuring Grant’s puppets (Spalding, 1983).

During this time, Clive was still better dressed than his compatriots, more the hunter than the intellectual (Bell I), and described Fry as one who “wore good clothes badly,” (Spalding, 1983, p. 93). But neither Virginia nor her sister were known for fashion. Henry James described Vanessa a year after her marriage, complaining “that she looked as if she’d ‘rolled in a duck pond.’ Loose clothes, pins falling from one’s hair and elsewhere-- [Virginia’s] drawers fell down at Covent Garden--inevitably leading to loose morals” (in Crabtree, p. 25).

Their strongest expression of their values came in their day to day flaunting of establishment values. Like most avant-garde groups, Bloomsbury enjoyed “a symbiotic relationship with the establishment” (Spalding, 1983, p. 63). Tickner points out that they were both within and opposed to the “now dominant bourgeoisie”:

“Bloomsbury was not just inflected, but actually precipitated, by the inclusion of (informally educated but intelligent and articulate) women and the impact of feminism. In this and other respects, including its socialism, pacifism and anti-imperialism--another paradox--it played a reforming and hence modernizing role in the history of the class to which it seemed to be opposed” (p. 70).

As Rose says, “Bloomsbury meant liberalism and the belief that through the application of reason all problems could be solved and the good made to prevail...It meant pacifism and a devotion to the arts” (p. 198). In some ways it was an extended adolescence, “from which point of view all the compromises involved in growing up looked like treachery” (Skidelsky II, p. 13).

Of course they were not alone in trying to bring down the walls of Victorian thought, “to prick the balloons of bombast and rhetoric, to flush from art and thought and daily life the impurities of another age.” But because of their backgrounds, “we can see their solution as distinct and...of particular significance” according to Shone (in Crabtree, p. 24).

Rather than just discussing these new ideals they did incorporate them into their work and their daily lives. "Most of them made a point of showing their independence from and contempt of the rigidities of accepted Edwardian behavior--correct clothes, calling cards, the paraphernalia of social intercourse through which natural human behavior was controlled" (Shone, in Crabtree, p. 25). Strachey's "incisive wit and irreverent attitude to conventions of thought and behavior," for example, "were crucial to the social and intellectual tone of early Bloomsbury" (Shone, 1993). When he showed Vanessa his "most indecent poems" (Spalding, 1983, p. 163), like Lady Gregory, she typed them up to show Virginia. Even Keynes, the Bridge between his friends and the government establishment, as well as the field of economics, "fitted in well enough" to this group as he was "unshockable" (Skidelsky I, p. 248).

Perhaps one of the strongest value they shared was sexual freedom. Rose claims that "sex made the difference between early Bloomsbury and later Bloomsbury" (p. 44). Spalding (1983) pinpoints two factors which "enhanced the greater intimacy which now developed." First, without Thoby the "reserved and constricting attitude towards convention" was gone; and second, "Vanessa's sexual awakening through marriage. Sex, no longer kept off-stage, had become part of everyday life" (p. 63).

Frances Partridge cautions that that it was never really true that Bloomsbury was "jumping into bed the whole time...[But] I think that they were rather hedonistic in that they thought happiness was important" (Partridge).

To put their activity in perspective from the vantage point of the nineties, Shone (in Crabtree) points out that the group

"was not really more promiscuous or immoral than any other large group of friends, though we do find in the early years that the changing of partners was kept very much within the circle...Later liaisons were in part responsible for the dissolution of Bloomsbury and a good deal of friction in its ranks. But compared to current revelations...Bloomsbury appears positively chaste. They were on the whole remarkably faithful and many a passion subsided into lifelong friendship" (p. 35).

Also, these liberal sexual values rarely found their way into their work. For Bloomsbury, "being a woman, being a homosexual, was a fact of life, embraced in some ways ([Vanessa] Bell's passionate maternity, Grant's 'never be ashamed') but art was not determined by it or something to be reduced to it" (Tickner, p. 76).

Before the war united their political beliefs many members of the group were activists in their own way, although Vanessa admitted that they “had only the haziest idea as to what was going on in the rest of Europe” (in Spalding, 1983, p. 131). Strachey wrote articles on the suffrage movement (Holroyd I), and although Vanessa was more revolutionary feminist than her sister in the way she lived, she was as political (Spalding, 1983). “Not involved in organized feminism,“ she nevertheless “led a sexually and professionally emancipated life which it is hard to think of as other than ‘feminist’” (Tickner, p. 17).

Keynes, by nature of his interests and position, was the most formally politically involved. He urged a Liberal vote in the Cambridge Daily News in 1910 and presided at a large Free Trade Association meeting there that year. He had been against Home Rule for Ireland until he visited it with some Liberal MPs in 1911, and then he switched his position. He also spoke with Sydney Webb at the Cambridge Union in support of collective socialism (Skidelsky I).

Leonard initially became involved in socialism through Webb’s sister-in-law and soon he began to work for their Fabian Society (Meyerowitz). The Webbs also introduced him to the editor of the New Statesman, which he then wrote for the next fifty years (Spater). Leonard began taking Virginia on his political trips (Bell II) and even the apolitical Grant attended some of Webb’s lectures (Shone, 1976).

Although during the summer of 1914, when London was filled with talk of war (Bell II), “Bloomsbury felt no premonition of disaster; only a joyful sense of awakening after the long Victorian night” (Skidelsky I), their strongest political statement came near the break up of the group when they became known for their strong pacifist stance against the war. Clive’s pamphlet, Peace at Once, was destroyed by order of the Lord Mayor (Bell II). Fry, the Quaker, helped Garnett join the Friends of War Victims Relief (Shone, 1976). In 1915, they also supported their fellow writer, D H Lawrence, although all involved felt a personal mutual dislike, when his novel The Rainbow was successfully prosecuted and suppressed because he had denounced the war (Holroyd II).

In January of that same year, just as the Woolfs were moving out of London to start the Hogarth Press, Keynes took his first major job with the government, a very unpopular move within the circle of his strongly pacifist Bloomsbury friends (Spalding, 1983). However, he helped both Strachey and Grant maintain their conscientious objector status

and even applied for such a designation himself despite his exemption for his government work (Skidelsky I). As a Bridge he was in an uncomfortable position in both his social and professional life (Spalding, 1983) until he determined, "I work for a government I despise for ends I think criminal," as he said in a letter to Grant (Skidelsky I), and resigned in protest after his work on the Treaty of Versailles (Spater).

### *Effect on Their Work*

To the Bloomsberries, the creative life was all. As Edel says, they had

"an arduous work ethic and an aristocratic ideal. Each labored in his separate vineyard. They had a passion for art; they liked the fullness of life; they knew how to relax when their day's work was done. They wrote. They painted. They decorated. They built furniture. They sat on national committees. They achieved a large fame" (p. 11-2).

Of course, the writers supported the Bloomsbury painters' efforts. Virginia sat for her sister often (Twentieth Century Portraits), and Keynes lent Grant his Brunswick Square  *pied a terre*  to use as a studio (Bell I).

Among the Bloomsberries, Vanessa has been described as "an absolutely dedicated painter" (Shone, 1976, p. 15-6). Even the birth of her first son didn't slow her down; she "started painting with greater regularity and discussing her day," seeing Julian in the morning, working until lunch, and then seeing the baby again after tea (Shone, 1976, p. 29). Her Studland Beach, painted during this time, "counts as a landmark in the painter's development and was one of the most radical works of the time in England" (Spalding, 1983, p. 76). Vanessa, Grant and Fry used to paint together, making good use of one sitter, such as Strachey, Saxon Sydney-Turner (Spalding, 1983) or Iris Tree (Shone, 1976), and Vanessa borrowed Grant's pointillistic technique, which she described as "Duncan's leopard manner" (Spalding, 1983, p. 103) for a bit.

Fry's First Post-Impressionist exhibit in late 1910, affected their work as well as their values. Grant "abandoned his stylish naturalism in favor of bold experimentation" (Spalding, 1980, p. 140). Originally Vanessa and Grant were not interested in exhibiting, but now, because of the Link, they became more involved, "a little more centripetal, a little more conscious of being revolutionary and notorious" (Bell I, p. 168). Thanks to Fry they

got to know "a wider circle of" painters and "were launched into the movement" (Shone, 1976, p. 66).

Those who "couldn't," instead of teaching, became critics. For example, Clive's "chief gift...lay not in his own creativity, but in his ability to appreciate the work of others. He was unusually receptive, both to painting and writing, but had no driving need to turn his sensitivity to words into a vocation" (p. 63).

Virginia typed for Strachey (Bell II) and encouraged him in his first novel, although he still gave up after four chapters (Holroyd I).

Leonard started his writing career with bad novels, but as he progressed in the group his work became more political. His articles about Labor, the Cooperative Movement, and trade unions led to his lecture engagements at Fabian Society Conferences. In 1915 the organization asked him to prepare a report on international relations, which became the foundation for the League of Nations (Bell II).

The visibility of all of them increased as a result of their time in the group, and not always in a positive sense. For example, after his first controversial exhibit, Fry found "a real personal animosity was directed against" him (Shone, 1976, p. 102). The whole Bloomsbury group "found itself at the center of a raging artistic debate. Overnight, the tasteful Edwardian world had been dispelled" (Spalding, 1980, p. 140).

By the time they were actually breaking up, five years later, their public image as a group which upheld a certain system of values started to form,

"mainly in connection with [Vanessa and Grant and] a new attitude to the visual arts and design. It was sharpened by Bloomsbury's general hostility to the First World War. It became fixed with Lytton's disparagement of the achievements of 'eminent Victorians.' By the twenties the main line of criticism had become clear" (p. 244).

They eventually became known to the public for both their creative and political values. As Shone (in Crabtree) points out,

"I'm sometimes inclined to think that Bloomsbury is seen at its most characteristic among those of the group concerned with the visual arts and that some of the essays of Roger [Fry] are as near as you'll get to the real thing. Others see its fullest embodiment in the work of [Virginia, Strachey and E M] Forster as critics and biographers. And again, there are those who find more common ground in its attitude to the First World War and the various shades of its pacifism, to public issues like censorship and patronage, its commitment to reason, rather than in its writing or painting" (p. 34)

The Bloomsberries also became known to the outside world for certain favorite phrases, "ex-quisitely civilized," and "how simply too extraordinary!," as Spalding (1983) explains, "the first applying to some unusual human concatenation, the second to some quite common incident of burges life, such as a man going to a railway station to meet his wife after a long absence from home." The Bloomsbury voice, based on the famous Strachey tones used to "deflate pomposity" (Holroyd I, p. 409), became legendary itself. In an essay, "Home Thoughts on Bloomsbury," author Roy Campbell described his perception of them based on hearing their voices:

"Of all the clever people round me here  
I most delight in me--  
Mine is the only voice I hear,  
And mine the only face I see" (in Holroyd I, p. 414).

Skidelsky (Vol. I) claims that Bloomsbury had "both creators and publicists. On balance, the achievement of the latter was greater than that of the former. By international standards, the Bloomsbury painters...were not in the front rank. Likewise in literature only [Virginia] Woolf is indisputably in the highest class. But in the way they set about redefining the relationship between culture and society and in their advocacy of specific theories, the Bloomsbury publicists were first class" (p. 248).

This visibility of the Bloomsbury painters gave them more opportunity for logrolling than the writers. Grant rarely wrote for publication, but did "commend" Vanessa's work in a piece in Spectator in 1909. Clive supported Fry against Wyndham Lewis' public criticism and Spalding feels that "his references to Vanessa and Duncan in his exhibition reviews do make embarrassing reading; and on more than one occasion he slated the art of Wyndham Lewis with what seems like a personal vindictiveness" (1983, p. 349).

One of the way they created outlets was to buy each others' work (Spalding, 1983). Clive became buyer for the Contemporary Arts Society (Holroyd II) and commissioned

Grant's Adam and Eve (Shone, 1976). Keynes hired Vanessa and Grant to do panels for his rooms at King's (Edel), and Fry had them decorate his house, Durbins. Fry also commissioned Grant to do large Post-Impressionist murals at the Boro Polytechnic (Spalding, 1983) and included him in his Bristol Exhibit in 1914. When he was asked by Chatto and Windus to write a book on Post-Impressionism, the Link turned it down and suggested Clive, who then created Art (Spalding, 1983).

Beyond collecting and commissioning, the group created public outlets to showcase their work, and eventually a company to publish it. Shone (in Crabtree) points out that what all these outlets had in common and "where they differed from their forebears is that no public consideration would persuade them to alter for an instant their personal vision or design" (p. 29-30).

#### Artists' Exhibiting Groups

Bloomsbury's first self-created outlet for their work was Vanessa's Friday Club, which she and Clive started just before their marriage. They showed works by their friends and others and invited Fry to speak to their Friday Club soon after they met him in 1910; their friendship "greatly helped him as he plunged into the sea of modernism" (Shone, 1976, p. 36). The Club peaked that year, as "one of the liveliest exhibiting groups before the First World War," according to Shone (in Spalding, 1983, p. 56). Within two years it had become an exhibiting group only, rather than a meeting place, and started to break up. Its last exhibit was held in 1913 (Bell I).

Fry also headed the Allied Artists' Association which exhibited Vanessa's Portrait two years before he entered the group, and her Monte Oliveto in 1912. In 1911 he founded the Camden Town Group which exhibited for a few years, including a showing of Grant's Parrot Tulips (Shone, 1976).

## Second Post-Impressionist Exhibit

By far the most important one-time outlet for the artists' Fry's Second Post-Impressionist Exhibit in 1912. This time Fry intended to include both old and new English painters, but the old refused (Spalding, 1980). Less shocking than his first, this show had Matisse's Girl with a Black Cat for a catalogue cover (Spalding, 1976) and more sales. Grant did the poster, taking Vanessa's suggestion to show "a fashionable lady looking with horror at the announcement" (Spalding, 1983, p. 113).

Clive picked the British painters and not only chose his wife (with four paintings she was one of six women included, although none were in the first show, according to Tickner), but also Grant (six paintings) and Fry (surprise!). He also wrote the British section for the catalogue, praising Grant as the "most talented of the English group" (Shone, 1976, p. 80), and Leonard, newly arrived from Ceylon, was hired to be the secretary (Shone, 1976). According to Burlington, the first show "had popularized the notion that artists were romantic geniuses; the second gave birth to the much more rigid doctrine of 'significant form'" (in Spalding, 1980, p. 163). The critics however liked Grant, but not Matisse and Picasso (Spalding, 1983).

At the same time he was mounting this exhibit at the Grafton Galleries, Fry founded another exhibit society, the Grafton Group (Spalding, 1983), which had its first show at the Alpine Club Gallery with works by Vanessa and Grant. This group was considered a prelude to the more successful Omega Workshops, although it continued to exhibit while the Workshops flourished, including a January 1914 show that featured Grant's Adam and Eve and Vanessa's Nativity (Shone, 1976).

## The Omega Workshops

Fry began thinking of setting up a workshop where artists would create decorative works, anonymously and on commission, in 1911 when he took a lease on a studio in Fitzroy Square. By fall of the next year his idea was "fully crystallized" (Spalding, 1980, p. 176). He had some money from patrons, but Clive's father pulled out of the venture after he saw the Second Post-Impressionist Exhibit in 1913. That year, however, Fry came

into some money upon the death of his uncle and he immediately used it to found the Omega Workshops with his friends, to produce and sell their decorative works (Spalding, 1980).

Vanessa, the Hostess, helped to plan the opening party in July:

“We should get all our disreputable and some of your aristocratic friends to come, and after dinner we should repair to Fitzroy Square where there should be decorated furniture, painted walls, etc. There we should all get drunk and dance and kiss, orders would flow in and the aristocrats would feel they were really in the thick of things” (in Shone, in Crabtree, p. 26).

The Omega Workshops opened on July 8, 1913, with Fry, Vanessa and Grant as co-directors. In the first year, the Link managed to secure a major commission from the Ideal Home Exhibition, for which Vanessa suggested a prototype nursery, anticipating Matisse's cutout style (Spalding, 1983). She produced it with Omega administrator Winnie Gill (Shone, 1976).

Fry “encouraged the ‘family’ of artists which he attracted to the Omega to follow an impulse towards free expression...Rarely have the applied arts in England displayed such an unabashed creativity” (Spalding, 1983, p. 122). The studio at 33 Fitzroy Square soon became a sympathetic “center for meetings, exhibits and experimental theatre...magazines and photographs from abroad...unobtainable elsewhere” were available (Shone, 1976, p. 138). Over the years the patrons of the Omega included Yeats, Shaw, Forster, Pound, Ottoline Morrell, H. G. Wells, Rupert Brooke and Augustus John (Shone, 1976). Vanessa managed the Workshops whenever Fry was gone, but, within a year, she found that it was affecting her own painting too much and so withdrew (Spalding, 1983).

The Workshops always suffered from a lack of money, however; Shaw contributed and told Fry to do more advertising. Even though they received decorative commissions, Fry rarely covered his costs (Spalding, 1980). When Vanessa moved out of London to the Wisset Lodge with Grant in March of 1915, just months after the Woolfs left for Hogarth House, Fry continued the Omega with Nina Hamnett and her husband, and kept it going until 1919 (Goodman).

Although it only lasted a few years while the group was together, the effect of the Omega on the Fry's work was pronounced:

“On a personal level the Omega had immense significance for Fry. The experience of working daily with other artists, the constant need to adapt a motif or design to suit a given object developed in his own painting a greater fluency and assurance. During the war years he arrived at a style, best seen in his still-lives and portraits, that is both personal and confident, and which had taken him almost thirty years to achieve” (p. 195).

But it also “made Bloomsbury painting more immediate, more decorative, concerned rather to gratify the senses than to reason with the mind” according to Spalding(1980, p. 124).

### The Hogarth Press

Although Virginia, Vanessa, Strachey and Clive started a letter-writing game in 1909 (Bell I), the group members’ literary outlets were primarily solitary until the Woolfs resolved to move to Hogarth House in Richmond and buy a printing press (Bell II).

Even though “the Hogarth Press’s emphasis was on content, aiming to present living or untranslated authors,” their artistic friends “ensured that the books were also immensely attractive” (Greeves, p. 2). Vanessa, Fry and Carrington contributed woodcuts; Grant supplied cover designs and decorations. Vanessa designed the logo, featuring a wolf’s head, and besides Virginia, Hogarth Press also provided an outlet for Keynes, Stein, Chekov, Wells, Forster, Eliot, Sigmund Freud, Christopher Isherwood, and six Nobel Prize winners, among others (Greeves).

After a series of assistants and partners, Leonard finally sold two thirds equity in Hogarth Press to Chatto and Windus in 1946, where it remained as an imprint (Spater).

### The Americans in Paris

During their time together the young Americans in Paris discovered themselves as a “*un generation perdue.*” In the Broader Context of the postwar world, according to Brinnin,

“in the cross fire of other men’s wars, they had watched their Christian democratic idealism become the first victim of its own pretensions, while the generation itself was dispossessed, disillusioned, and fed to the teeth with a bitterness they would taste, retaste and spit out for years” (p. 233).

Hemingway summed up their values in The Sun Also Rises, putting the words of his cafe friend Duff Twysden in the mouth of his character Lady Brett Ashley: "We can't do it. You can't hurt people. It's what we believe in place of God" (Reynolds, p. 290).

### *Validating Their Values*

Coming together they found that they had the same priorities--writers and writing, of course, but new developments in all the arts, including the art of the salon.

Their knowledge of contemporary literature broadened through their communication with each other, and, like the other groups, they developed more respect for each others' works. Anderson, who lectured on "The Modern Writer" at the University of California at Berkeley, was active in many literary groups, beginning with the Committee of Contemporary American Fiction in 1922 (Townsend).

Once Hemingway arrived in Paris Lincoln Steffens introduced him to Gilbert Seldes at the Anglo-American Press Club and he got to know Pound, who gave him the Wasteland to read (Baker). The Irritant, who like Moore later disowned anyone's influence on his work, counted among his "worthy literary friends," as Brinnin describes them, Malcolm Cowley, Archibald MacLeish, Donald Ogden Stewart (p. 257), Eugene Jolas (Reynolds), Ernest Walsh, Morley Callaghan, Waldo Pierce, Owen Wister, Lardner, Flanner, Dos Passos, Parker (Baker), Benchley and Connelly (Meade), during this time. He even had a poet, McAlmon's friend Dr. William Carlos Williams, circumcise his first son, "Bumby" (Reynolds).

Hemingway liked McAlmon's novel, The Village, but he later compared the publisher's mind to "an ingrown toenail" (Reynolds, p. 106). This odd couple also joined Dos Passos on a walking trip in Andorra in 1924 (Smoller).

Fitzgerald recognized in Paris and specifically in the young Hemingway's works, "integrity, the total lack of concessions...It bespoke a complete break with the way the older generation had expressed itself" (LeVot, p. 190). The Angel introduced his new writing friend to Booth Tarkington (Sklar), as the Murphys had introduced Fitzgerald to Sylvia

Beach and Katherine Anne Porter (LeVot). Beach in turn brought Fitzgerald to Joyce (Sklar). During this time, Fitzgerald also spent time with Thornton Wilder and his old Princeton friend, Edmund Wilson (LeVot).

In New Orleans during this time period, Anderson befriended John McClure, the editor of the Double Dealer (Reynolds), got to know Faulkner and helped get him published (Howe). McAlmon went drinking with Sinclair Lewis in Paris, although he claimed not to be impressed with him, and spent at least one Christmas with writers, including Yeats, in Sweden. In Dublin in 1925, he met AE and Joyce's Dad. McAlmon met Pound in Paris, and, through an introduction from poet Harriet Weaver, he typed for Joyce and often supported him financially (Smoller).

Anderson met Joyce there often as well (Townsend), and McAlmon and Hemingway were at Joyce's first public reading of "Anna Livia Plurabelle" in 1927. Ray attended Joyce's first reading of Ulysses (Baldwin) and also went to McAlmon's party for Williams (Smoller).

However, the Paris group had a "signal disdain" for the more frivolous New York-based writers: "The expatriate writers generally spoke of the Algonquin group derisively when they deigned to speak of them at all" (Gaines, p. 158).

It wasn't just the company of writers that they valued, it was those writers' skills. Fitzgerald put such a high priority on writing talent, he admitted to a friend that he drank because he felt that he could never be a first rate a writer; he would always be "at the top of the second class" (Turnbull, p. 187). This reverence for writing is also reflected in Anderson's referring to the beginning of his work day as "shoveling mud out of the temple" (Townsend, p. 185). Anderson, Stein felt, "had a genius for using the sentence to convey a direct emotion...in the great american tradition" (Autobiography, p. 235-6); he was "*the* great American writer" to her (Brinnin, p. 272).

Despite all the criticisms of Hemingway's irritating personality, few doubted the importance to him of language and writing. "He cares for his craft," said Adrienne Monnier (in Simon, p. 118). But, as expected, his respect for the other writers in the group was fickle.

In the late twenties, he did recommend McAlmon to his editor, Perkins at Scribner's (Smoller), whom he had come to through Fitzgerald's recommendation. Fitzgerald had

pressured Perkins to take Hemingway away from Liveright, cabling that he could get his first novel if he took Torrents as well (Donnelly).

But Fitzgerald and Hemingway always had a love-hate relationship which was reflected in their varying evaluation of each others' works. When they met, Fitzgerald was what Hemingway valued, "handsome, charming, rich, and his writing was a critical, as well as a commercial success" (Hobhouse, p. 126). On the other hand, Glenway Wescott said that Fitzgerald's awe of Hemingway's talent "relieved Fitzgerald of the responsibility of writing for glory" (LeVot, p. 222). Since Hemingway was doing that, he was free to write for money. Reynolds says that, "both wanted what the other had: Ernest wanted Scott's commercial sales; Scott wanted to write for the intellectuals. Both got what they wanted only to discover they had lost something in the process" (Reynolds, p. 283).

In the Broader Context of the cultural life of the twenties in Paris, when Stein turned her focus from painters to writers, Juan Gris designed ballet costumes for Diaghilev's ballet (Reynolds), Breton published his first and second Surreal Manifestos, and Leger his essay, "The Machine Aesthetique." Art deco exploded in Paris (Baldwin), but a Surrealist exhibit there had to be cancelled "for lack of contributions" (Schwarz). In New York, the Museum of Modern Art was born (Baldwin).

In this time between the wars the most obvious American activities and subjects of conversation in Paris were cultural. Halfway through the decade Josephine Baker became a big hit at the Champs Elysees Theatre, and an American bought the Dingo. He added American food and English-speaking waiters to accommodate the Americans who were coming "in a flood," including Hemingway and Fitzgerald who were to meet in that cafe one year later (LeVot).

We have seen that Thomson also had "a passion for [art] and was involved in it, even in his Missouri days." During his Paris days, he was "on intimate terms" with many other painters as well, Ray's friend Duchamp, Stein's friend Picasso, Jean Arp, Christian Berard, and his own long time companion Maurice Grosser (Wittke, p. 10).

Anderson met Stieglitz, who already knew Ray (Townsend). The Bridge became known for his portraits of other artists such as Brancusi (Schwarz), Matisse, Picabia, Leger, Picasso and Braque (Baldwin). Hemingway went to Joan Miro's first one-man

show and contracted to buy The Farm (Reynolds) at a time when he and Hadley did not have much money.

Unlike the nationalistic conversation in Dublin, the salons in Paris had a cultural focus. Each spring and fall, for example, Clive would attend salons there with Ray, Picasso, Cocteau, Satie, Poulenc, Stravinsky and sometimes Joyce (Shone, 1976). Thomson held Friday night dinners, not limited to musicians, at 17 quai Voltaire, the Left Bank apartment that Stein helped him find in “an area of Paris alive with the ghosts of Ingres, Voltaire, Delacroix and Wagner” (Wittke, p. 16). Wittke’s sample guest list for these get togethers includes Andre Gide, Hart Crane, Christian Dior, Flanner, Picasso, Cocteau and Duchamp, as well as Stein, Hemingway and Fitzgerald: “Here food and wine were a connoisseur’s dream, the conversation and gossip on an Olympian level. To be dissected at such an assembly was considered an honor” (p. 16).

Near the end of decade, Natalie Barney held four salons “to introduce the work of United States and French writers to each other,” including a “Homage to Gertrude” featuring Thomson songs (Souhami, p. 160), and Steiglitz founded the American Place “to showcase his favorite artists” (Baldwin, p. 233).

Anderson, however, preferred “small groups of men who liked to hear him talk” (Townsend, p. 213), and when he was in New York during these years he would still go to the Stettheimer salons with Duchamp and another friend of Fleurus, van Vechten (Townsend).

Stein was not a fan of cafe conversation, but the Americans who arrived in Paris did not agree, as the cafes soon filled up. They showed up “in that small tranquil world there was no need of formal introduction”:

“Everybody’ frequented the same half-dozen cafes, ate in one or another of the same score of restaurants. Acquaintance was easily made, talk was on matters of common interest; for this generation, still in the temper of ‘art for art’s sake,’ ideological passions were as yet unknown. Artists and writers were a united family and nothing more than the conventional contempt for the bourgeoisie inherited from the romantics of 1830 divided them off from the rest of the world” (Galantiere, p. 1).

The Americans weren’t the only expatriates in Paris who valued chatting together. In his memoir, Being Geniuses Together, McAlmon describes the genesis of another salon of the time:

“Nina Hamnett and Ford Maddox Ford got together and observed that there were a quantity of talented foreigners--English-speaking--about. Would it not be advisable to have fortnightly gatherings and discussions? Ford now disclaims being author of the idea, but my memory is clear. I was at the table when he and Nina discussed the idea. As there were the intimate bistros and the cafe terraces, and as Paris is casual, it struck me that people as found each other sympathetic generally got together anyway, and two or three who had naturally drifted into one another's company could have more profound discussions than a large group collected expressly for an intellectual evening. However, Nina was hopeful, and Ford, always eager to head a coterie of followers, made arrangements for a gathering at L' Avenue, across from the Gare Montparnasse. It would be on a Saturday night, a fortnight hence”

As Bravig Imbs described them all, “we were a coterie and most of us young enough to think it very important” (in Brinnin, p. 279).

We have seen that the Irish group was the only one of the four that valued religion and spirituality. Hemingway claimed he had been baptized during the war so that he and his second wife Pauline Pfeiffer could be married Catholic, and he did attend regular Sunday Mass at about the same time and in the same Paris church, St. Sulpice, that Fitzgerald was briefly studying catechism (LeVot). But the only religious event of the American's time in Paris appears to have been the baptism of John Nicanor Hemingway, or Bumby, in 1924. Stein and Toklas, both raised Jewish, were godmothers and their description in the Autobiography sums up the religious views of the group at the time:

“We were all born of different religions and most of us were not practising any, so it was rather difficult to know in what church the baby could be baptised. We spent a great deal of time that winter, all of us, discussing the matter. Finally it was decided that it should be baptised episcopalian and episcopalian it was. Just how it was managed with the assortment of god-parents I am sure I do not know, but it was baptised in the episcopalian chapel... In the meantime the god-child's father was very earnestly at work making himself a writer” (p. 231-2).

### *Effects on Their Work*

Five years after he came to see Stein, Anderson was ready to give up trying to live by writing, and within a few months used money from his patron to buy newspapers in Marion, Virginia, filling them with his short stories (Townsend).

Despite his initial reason for coming to Paris, “to learn the art of writing” (Bridgman, p. 165), Hemingway later made a point of telling reviewers that his own work had no relation to his mentor Anderson's (Mellow). He said that those who compared the two

“missed the point. Ernest’s ‘My Old Man’ was a form of thank you, a sort of homage, but also a challenge match with Anderson that was at least a draw” (Reynolds, p. 4). He finally got back at both his original mentors, Stein and Anderson, by publishing a parody of them, Torrents of Spring in 1925 (Mellow). He wrote a “Homage to Pound” for This Quarterly (Reynolds), and when Joseph Conrad died, he published a “Homage” to him in Transatlantic Review which McAlmon contributed to (Smoller).

The group members involved in the other arts continued their work as well. In addition to his work with Stein, Thomson also wrote his first symphony (Wittke). Ray had his first one-man show at Soupault’s within months after his arrival in Paris, although there were no sales. Soon he was producing rayographs and luminographs, and being commissioned to do magazine work. Crowninshield came to choose four of his photos for Vanity Fair (Baldwin).

Both the Paris and the Algonquin groups also had available to them new media--film, radio, later television--and they began to experiment. Ray produced his first film, Le Retour a la Raison, for the Dada gala which also featured work by Cocteau and Tzara and led to riots in 1923. A few years later, he worked with Duchamp on Anemic Cinema, and was commissioned to create a film, Emak Bakia, which played in London, Brussels, and New York City, getting bad reviews in the New Republic. By the end of the decade, he filmed a friend’s poem, L’etoile de mer with his girlfriend Kiki and Cuban music; when it was completed in May of 1929 it was premiered with the Blue Angel. That same year Vincent Charles de Noailles commissioned Ray to do what was conceived as a home movie, The Mystery of the Chateau of Dice. After it was shown privately to Noailles, he agreed to finance a full-length version. Antheil wanted to show it in European opera houses, but Ray ignored his request and objected when the film was opened publicly (Baldwin) with Bunuel’s Andalusian Dog (Schwarz).

Also during his time in the group, Fitzgerald met legendary producer Irving Thalberg (Sklar) when he made his first trip to Hollywood (Turnbull). He took a screen test to appear in a film featuring one of his flirtations but he declined her offer. During this time Fitzgerald did write a story for Constance Talmadge, Lipstick, but it was rejected by United Artists (LeVot). Most of his film work was done in the thirties and that was where he was

living when he died in 1940, working on his last novel, The Last Tycoon, based on Thalberg (Turnbull).

Like the other groups, the Americans in Paris found outlets for each others' work. Anderson got his friend at the Double Dealer to publish Hemingway (Reynolds), and Hemingway's work on the little mags of Paris gave one-time outlets to some of the other members. He included a tribute by McAlmon in his special "Homage to Conrad" issue. When Ford went back to America to raise more money for the magazine and left Hemingway in charge, the young editor published McAlmon's wife Bryher and William Carlos Williams' review of McAlmon's work. Ford was not pleased (Smoller). In 1925 Hemingway used Ray's portrait of Pound for the cover of This Quarterly (Reynolds).

Perhaps because they were such a disparate and loosely cohesive group, the Americans in Paris didn't have one big project that they worked on, like the Abbey Theatre or the Second Post-Impressionism Exhibit. But the Sponsor used his resources to found the Contact Editions and publish many of his fellow expatriates.

### Contact Editions

McAlmon began planning a magazine called Contact with his friend William Carlos Williams back in 1920, before he met Stein and the others. Based on the belief that an "American writer must perceive, feel, and clarify his immediate experience, and...must express his perceptions and feelings in the idiom of his time and place" (Smoller, p. 32), the first mimeographed issue was published in December of that year. Stein sent him a manuscript the next year, and by that summer, he had published four issues. In 1922 he used his father-in-law's money to start the publishing company, Contact, and acquired manuscripts from the poet Emanuel Carnevali and Mina Loy (Smoller). The publishing company definitely "grew from the journal Contact" (Simon).

In 1923, when he was already "the dominant young voice of the Midwest in Montparnasse" (Smoller, p. 134), Loy brought McAlmon to Fleurus. By that spring he announced in a brochure the birth of Contact Publications, including Hemingway's Three Stories and Ten Poems. He had decided to be the first to publish Hemingway, even though he found him derivative of Anderson. The last issue of the magazine, Contact, appeared

that June, and Hemingway's first book appeared in August (Smoller), "on a handshake and no promise of payment" (Reynolds, p. 181).

McAlmon then wrote to Stein, Joyce, Pound, Ford and Wyndham Lewis asking for manuscripts; only the latter refused (Smoller). Hemingway sent "The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife" (Reynolds). When the Collection came out it included pieces by himself, his wife, her lover H D, Stein, Hemingway, Pound, Williams and Djuna Barnes (Souhami).

The same year McAlmon published Stein's Making, he also brought out Ashe of Rings, by Mary Butt, a friend of Thomson's, Carnevali's A Hurried Man, and H. D.'s Palimpsest, for which he wrote an introduction. He worked with William Bird's Three Mountains Press to publish his own Distinguished Air (Grim Fairy Tales), which Bird printed by hand, and also his Portrait of a Generation (Smoller). The last book included the piece, "Revolving Mirror" which Thomson later reprinted when he was editor of Larus (Brinnin).

As Brinnin says, McAlmon's "own work as a writer came to nothing much, but his services as the publisher of Contact Editions and Three Mountains Press were of enormous value. Besides Gertrude Stein, authors whose works he brought out" are now rare editions (p. 267-8).

## The Algonquin Round Table

The Algonquinites, in contrast to the Bloomsberries and the Americans in Paris,

"were not in revolt against society; they merely felt superior to it. Their point was that even if most people might pursue false values, they pursued good ones of their own...From there, they went on to set another standard for the nation, to create a different intellectual climate" (Keats, p. 73).

On the one hand, according to Drennan, they "embraced" and epitomized the roaring twenties; on the other hand, "they took issue with the general feeling of apathy, the moral and social indifference so characteristic of the period, their humor lashing out at the inadequacies and injustices of the establishment under which they flourished" (p. 14).

Connelly described their attitude as a feeling that “everything was of vast importance or only worthy of quick dismissal” (in Richard O’Connor, p. 101).

### *Validating Their Values*

The Round Tablers did value good writing. When Ross was at Judge, he tried to get Will Rogers to write for it, but lost him to Benchley at Life. Broun tried to recruit Fitzgerald for the World (Richard O’Connor), but when he published a bad review of This Side of Paradise, Fitzgerald took him to lunch to tell him it was a shame he hadn’t accomplished anything by age thirty (Turnbull). Later, Woolcott wrote to Fitzgerald to praise Gatsby (Goodell).

FPA read a collection of dialect stories, Ol’ Man Adam and His Chillun by Roark Bradford, praised it in his column, and recommended it to Connelly, who based his hit Green Pastures on it (Nolan).

They particularly admired Lardner, who was more than a friend. He may have had mixed feelings about the group, but “they honored him with an intensity that bordered on reverence and considered him a master of the short story...Edmund Wilson suspected that they badly needed ‘such a presiding but invisible deity, who is assumed to regard them with a certain scorn’” (Meade, p. 76). Mostly they revered him because, as Broun said, “he wrote what he wanted to” (in Gaines). FPA was Lardner’s only really close friend in the group, despite Lardner’s brief affair with Parker (Frewin). Though he showed up frequently at their gatherings, he was rarely there at lunch (Gaines).

FPA was also friends with Millay, who introduced him to his second wife (Gaines). Woolcott wrote a piece on Whitman for Bookman, and visited the Tarkingtons in Maine with his friend writer Alice Duer Miller (Samuel Hopkins Adams). Ross was good friends with Ben Hecht and Charles MacArthur, who tried to talk him out of starting the New Yorker, although he was practically a member of the group for a while (Kunkel).

They didn’t always agree on other artists though; for example, Kaufman, who wrote for the Marx Brothers, couldn’t stand them (Goldstein); Broun, who saw Cocoanuts 21

times, was “totally captivated” by them (Drennan, p. 66); and we have seen that Woolcott, by all reports, was in love with Harpo (Samuel Hopkins Adams).

In addition to friendships with lots of writers, and despite their self-deprecating view of their work, FPA and Ross had what Gaines describes as an “obsessive custodial approach to language and literature” (p. 234); the latter “was fighting to save the dignity of the printed word” (Kunkel, p. 8).

The Algonquinites were well aware of their shared values when it came to the American theatre of the time. When one of the Ziegfeld follies opened, the next day at the Round Table, Connelly inquired “in the manner of the moderator of a town meeting, ‘Shall we let it run?’” (Richard O’Connor, p. 100). Indeed, four of them were among the most influential critics of the time, Woolcott, Broun, Benchley and Parker .

If they all worked hard, they valued play as well. Edna Ferber, a fringe member, called them “hard as nails” about their work, but “when work was finished they had more fun than any other group I’ve ever seen. They played like children” (in Richard O’Connor, p. 104-5).

Not just conversation, but witty conversation was what they valued most--”what counted was being well-informed, clever and amusing in conversation, and having an awfully good time” (Keats, p. 52). Drennan calls wit “their common bond and peculiar genius” (p. 15), and even though they were not the “best writers” of the time, “they were arguably the best conversationalists” (Carpenter).

When they first began lunching, “nobody strained to make an impression. Conversation was relaxed and stories flowed unrehearsed. It never occurred to them that their remarks might be worth recording for posterity” (Meade, p. 84). But as their quips became well-known through FPA’s column, not everyone who sat at the table was welcome into the circle of talk. “Neither fame nor money nor talent nor all three in combination were sufficient to ensure a welcome. Wit and the ability to evoke it in others were two prerequisites and a third was the common sense not to try to dominate the conversation” (Goldstein, p. 68-9).

Broun, however, “saved his best stuff for the typewriter”: “Repartee is what you wish you’d said,” he remarked (in Richard O’Connor, p. 111).

In addition to talking, the Round Table members valued and became known for other types of leisure pursuits as well.

Most of the Algonquin group was not known for their appetites for food, but eating at the Algonquin every day, they both created and followed trends, such as “stuffed dates, pecan and cream cheese salad, and this is the high point of menu that is otherwise a lot like other menus,” according to Lois Long in The New Yorker (in Gaines). Kaufman had a hobby of making fudge (Goldstein), and the attraction of the Round Table for Broun was to satisfy his “simpler appetites for good food and good company...at one sitting” (Meade, p. 29).

But at Wit’s End, which Woollcott shared with Ross and Grant, “the main event was Sunday breakfast” (Gaines, p. 191). Woollcott had obsessive feelings about food related to his need for friendship: “He adored a captive audience at lunch, and, in fact, had a compulsive need for company at all meals. He felt most comfortable when surrounded by friends who tolerated his affectionate abuse, giving as good as they got. No doubt his communal beginnings at the Phalanx accounted for some of this” (Meade, p. 73). He did spend a short period of time in the hospital on a crash diet (Samuel Hopkins Adams) to no avail. His roommate Ross was always on a special diet for a very “queasy stomach” and this caused conflicts at mealtime. Woollcott became “impatient” (Gaines, p. 101) with Ross’ health problems. Woollcott hated vegetables, and would not sit down to eat until the soup course was over (Gaines).

During their time together, the Algonquinites became more conscious of fashion, according to Gaines:

“They were glorifying in their public profiles, playing happily to a city and a decade that seemed to be there for them alone. Their clothes were uniforms, emblems of style: Woollcott sported a cape and top hat to opening nights; Dottie came to be known for her splendiferous hats; Benchley and [Donald Ogden] Stewart made an annual harvest-time ritual of buying Derbies at Brooks; Marc bought an Inverness; Heywood made a virtue of his dishabille which made Woollcott think of him as ‘an unmade bed’” (in Frewin, p. 61).

Woollcott at home, however, “did not dress until noon or after...He sat in a dressing gown, pajama bottoms and slippers, like an immense Buddha, his white belly peering through the loosely draped dressing gown” (Samuel Hopkins Adams, 1945, p. 185). As

his wealth grew, he bought a Minerva car and full-length fur (Gaines). Ross' clothes got a bit better, but his "fashion sense remained...retro" (Kunkel, p. 79).

Broun remained the same. One report is that outside the Algonquin one day, "a sympathetic passer by handed him a dime" (Meade, p. 65).

The Algonquin group was not athletic--Benchley considered exercise "a form of nervous disorder" (Rosmond, p. 152)--but they loved games, mostly word games. FPA was the only one who could match Swope in Question and Answer (Gaines). Croquet became a mania with them, and they played at night using car headlights for illumination (Meade). Woollcott played with Fitzgerald at Swope's estate (Samuel Hopkins Adams), Kaufman was the most avid player, and Parker got a permit to allow her to play in Central Park (Goldstein).

The first time Kaufman met Ross "he was shooting craps on the floor of Kaufman's own apartment, having pulled the spread from the host's bed to use as a playing surface" (Kunkel, p. 82). Kaufman also played hearts with Broun a few times during the week (Richard O'Connor), but it is clear that there was one game that held their attention more than all others--poker. As Kunkel says, "theater and journalism were two Round Table pillars. The third was gambling" (p. 82).

The Thanatopsis Literary and Inside Straight Club was founded by FPA in 1920, "naming it after a similar group of card-playing writers he had formed in Paris while serving on Stars and Stripes" (Drennan, p. 17). They would play through Saturday night and

"frequently all weekend. At odd intervals one member or another would retire from the game and go home. These persons, according to FPA, were suffering from 'winner's sleeping sickness,' while the remaining players had been stricken with 'loser's insomnia' or 'Broun's disease'" (Drennan, p. 28).

The tales of their wins and losses are now legendary; Broun lost \$30,000 one night and had to sell his apartment; Ross met his New Yorker financier, Raoul Fleischmann, at a game through FPA (Kunkel).

Gaines describes their relative levels of talent: "FPA...always lost, even though he made it sound like he was a first class player in his column," according to one occasional player. Ross was "a chronic loser." Kaufman was "by far the best player...[and] volunteered to become the game's official treasurer, cashing checks with his own cash and taking upon himself...collecting the face value of the bad ones. His desire to see the game

continue smoothly can have been his only reason for doing it,...given his always more than even chances of winning among such players. His card sense was famous... 'T'd rather be a poor winner than any kind of loser' [he said...and] the only motivation stronger than profit was the ever-lurking possibility of loss." As for Woollcott, "playing with Alec was an invitation to slow financial ruin. [He] never forgave a gambling debt and some who felt they had been coerced to play when they could least afford it never forgave Woollcott" (pp. 88, 90, 96, 124, 142).

But all this fun had a darker side. Broun was not known for taking his losses "with any great show of stoicism" (Richard O'Connor, p. 97), and according to Meade, "was advised by his psychiatrist that he played pathologically, sado-masochistically, he never could quit" (p. 88). In hindsight he appears to have been a compulsive gambler, and Kaufman shows some of the same symptoms. The gambling fun peaked in 1923 when Swope had a record-making game, 48 hours straight, in a private Pullman car in Palm Beach where he won over \$400,000. After that, Woollcott soon quit, "ceding center stage to Kaufman" (Gaines, p. 90). FPA played less, although he did indulge on his honeymoon (Gaines). By the end of the decade, even Broun was finding the atmosphere "a trifle stuffy" (Richard O'Connor, p. 141). He quit and went on a diet; "neither resolve was permanent, but [did] signal a change" (Gaines, p. 172).

Not know for their high moral standards, the Algonquinites did become known for their strong liberal politics. In pre-World War II America, issues such as anti-Semitism were not acknowledged. Woollcott had many Jewish friends, but was "quite capable of rattling off the occasional anti-Semitic remark" (Goldstein, p. 68).

But the same year the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified, giving women the right to vote (Goldstein), Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested in Boston (Frewin). FPA was sympathetic to the cause, but "took little note of it in his own column" (Gaines, p. 172). Broun, on the other hand, used his World column to get them freed temporarily (Frewin) and their case became one of his dominant political causes for the rest of his career.

Benchley got involved in an oblique way. A friend of his overheard the judge in the case, Judge Webster Thayer, make a biased comment in a club locker room, and passed it on to Benchley. He submitted an affidavit to the fact, and, although it was not considered admissible evidence because it was hearsay, it was published in the Boston Evening

Transcript in 1927 (Rosmond). In later years Benchley was not as political as Parker became, but he always stood by his ethics and morals. When the Harvard Club blackballed a member for writing a socialist book, Benchley resigned. He then found out he couldn't because he hadn't paid his dues, so he paid by the end of the year and *then* resigned (Benchley).

But "whatever regrets they may have experienced in later life," says Drennan, "the Round Tablers of the twenties were far too involved in living to worry about long-range goals" (p. 16). But in the short term, the Algonquinites were focused on their career goals.

### *Effect on Their Work*

The Algonquin group made it a "point of honor" that they were "not to take themselves seriously as creative artists" (Keats, p. 82). One of their friends claims that they never really talked about their work. Sherwood, who was there in the early days, said

"I wouldn't call it an amateur spirit, but it was a little like that. I mean, we weren't professional literary people in that sense of discussing each other's work. The only discussion there would be, would be that I had a deadline to meet, and Bob [Benchley] would have to get out one of his theatre reviews, and there were various jokes over the telephone about the poor editors. such as 'Hasn't that piece got there yet?' when you hadn't started to write it" (Keats, p. 72).

The New Yorkers were unique among the four groups in this insistence on masking how important they felt their work was with a self-deprecating humor. Besides Parker and Benchley's low self-esteem when it came to their work, Woolcott, realistically "attached less importance and more readily accepted limits to his writing than any of the others" (Gaines, p. 108). He knew that "nothing he had ever written would outlast him" (Gaines, p. 126). Broun, "a journalist from start to finish" was still never happy with his writing (Meade, p. 126).

Gaines points out that FPA and Broun "had no formal grounding in the subjects of [their] pieces...theatre to sports to literature to politics...It meant Franklin and Heywood could never write over [their] reader's heads. What [the Round Table] had in abundance were personal opinions" (p. 47).

Woollcott came back from the war “a more spicy critic” than before; he had decided that “the reviewer had but one responsibility...to the playgoer...a radical viewpoint” (Samuel Hopkins Adams, p. 121) for the time. He had a play or two he wanted produced, but nothing came of them, and he took a leave of absence to write a book about Dickens’ writings on the theater (Samuel Hopkins Adams). Woollcott called public attention to Paul Robeson (Richard O’Connor), lectured on dramatic interpretation at New York University, wrote articles on Sarah Bernhardt, and had collections of his work published. In 1927 Actors’ Equity voted him the “most discriminating” of all critics (Samuel Hopkins Adams, p. 85). According to Samuel Hopkins Adams, Broun was Woollcott’s only “peer in New York in interest or knowledge of the theatre” (p. 148).

Benchley said of Connelly, he “must write a perfect play or he will have none of it” (Nolan, p. 55). Even so, he was not as “driven” as Kaufman “to turn out a Broadway script every six months” (Goldstein, p. 103). According to Goldstein, “a streak of impatience made George want to get on to the next job, for a play, he believed, was a thing of the moment, and each had to be followed by something new, different and good--and as soon as possible...[He] had a passion for work” (p. 4-5). Producer Sam Harris said that “whenever George passed a theatre and saw a group of actors standing outside, he immediately began rehearsing them” (in Goldstein, p. 149-50).

Connelly and Kaufman, who spent their first few lunches at the Round Table talking about plays to each other (Meade), soon found their way of working together:

“[Each] would choose from the outline those scenes that he thought were best suited to his temperament and would write a draft...by himself submitting them later to the other partner for consideration. When the second partner finished reading what the first had handed him, they would polish the material together...[Connelly was] a bit taken aback to discover that Kaufman left all the work on the love scenes to him. Sentimental expression made Kaufman uneasy. It produced physical reactions in him, such as shivering” (Goldstein, p. 58).

When producer George Tyler approached Kaufman about writing a play for Lynn Fontanne, he insisted he would only do it with Connelly. They collaborated on quite a few hits during this time together (Goldstein), but their one big flop, The Deep Tangled Wildwood, got bad reviews, even from their friends. They felt that the main reason it failed was that “they asked for--and accepted--all the advice their friends had to offer” (Nolan, p. 32).

Beggar on Horseback in 1924 was Connelly and Kaufman's last work together; they "felt they had been together too long; that they were writing and rewriting the same play and both felt the other's next idea was too close to the ones they had written before...[Kaufman said Connelly was] playing harder than he was working. 'Margalo [Connelly's girlfriend]...always had a dead cat to bury'" (Goldstein, p. 138).

But the Algonquin group's respect for each other's work was most reflected in the sincerest form of flattery, or as Gaines puts it, "never have so many writers in New York written so much alike" (p. 113).

Because of the Broader Context of their times, they also got to experiment with new art forms and media. For example, Woollcott made his first radio appearance in 1924, and went on to a very prosperous career in that medium until his death on the air in 1943 (Samuel Hopkins Adams). Benchley's involvement with films is what ultimately led the group to disperse, and most of the members' work in films occurred in the thirties (Gaines).

All the partying began to have a negative effect on their work. At first, Benchley appeared in the Music Box Revue while keeping up his drama critic job by having Parker, his wife Gertrude, or a friend watch the first act of play he would arrive at after his 8:50 to 8:58 performance. Eventually, by the end of the decade, he "got to a point where he no longer went at all to plays he reviewed for Life" (Meade, p. 176).

During their time together, the Algonquinites consciously encouraged their public image, linked as it was to their values of flaunting the rules. Mencken's biographer holds that the editor was right in his belief that "they were more interested in publicity than in serious artistic accomplishment" (in Grimes, June, 1994, p. B2). They "were only giving what their public demanded of them, which was more and more connected to the legend they were creating for themselves--a legend demanding greater and greater 'debunking,' more and more daring, higher heights of defiance" (Gaines, p. 114).

We have seen that the other groups' members used opportunities to praise each other in print, but it was the Algonquin Round Table who turned self-promotion into a religion. Few would accuse them of being objective about their friends when promulgating their values and opinions to the public. However, as Frewin says, "the journalists saw to it that

the best of the stories and bon mots were quoted in their columns chiefly because so many of them were...quotable" (p. 43).

Although now it would be considered unethical for a critic to review his close friends' works, there is no evidence that any money ever changed hands under the Round Table. No one had to; "that was just one of the privileges of membership...Not to suggest any explicit bargains were struck, only that no one cared to draw the line between private life and public role" (Gaines, p. 54). Richard O'Connor reminds us that even though the self-promotion...might indicate...a sort of conspiracy, but actually its primary purpose was amusement" (p. 102).

Parker, Benchley and Woollcott all reviewed plays by Kaufman and Connelly, featuring their actor friends (Gaines). Kaufman puffed Connelly's Erminie (Goldstein); FPA gave their collaboration, West of Pittsburgh, a good review (Nolan). When Parker and Benchley quit Vanity Fair, both Woollcott (Frewin) and FPA (Meade) ran stories in their papers, emphasizing the now unemployed writers' availability. FPA was always "one of the most vocal supporters Kaufman and Connelly had" (Rosmond, p. 44).

Their praise was not limited to their own regular columns. Woollcott wrote a literary portrait of Broun for Bookman. Eventually, Broun "finally decided to skip the middle man and review his own first novel himself" (Meade, p. 52). However, he gave a bad review to his skit in The Forty-Niners (Goldstein). It got to the point in 1927 that he wrote his own third person profile of himself for The New Yorker, "The Rabbit that Bit the Bulldog" (Richard O'Connor).

They would also promote each other as persons, apart from their work. When Woollcott returned to New York City from a stay at his alma mater, Hamilton College, FPA saw fit to announce it in his column (Samuel Hopkins Adams), as he did for the Kaufman's blessed event, adopting a daughter (Keats).

Ferber claimed that they could write bad reviews as well: "Far from boosting one another they actually were merciless if they disapproved...But if they liked what you had done they did say so, publicly and wholeheartedly" (in Richard O'Connor, p. 104-5), or as Kunkel says, "Many of the glowing notices were deserved...Not all notices were glowing" (p. 80). When Kaufman and Connelly's Dulcy opened in 1921, Broun actually criticized an actor in it and Woollcott implied that it was not up to the talents of its star, Lynn Fontanne

(Goldstein). When Benchley went to Life he published an annual parody of FPA, "The Leaning Tower" (Gaines).

In the early years of their most available outlet, The New Yorker, one of the writers, took up the subject of logrolling in the magazine:

"The Enquiring Reporter: Every week he asks a question of five people at random. This week the question is: Do the critics and writers who lunch at the Algonquin Hotel logroll for each other or is that just another lie of the interests? The Answer:

"Alexander Woolcott, dramatic critic and boulevardier, of West 47th Street: 'Stuff and nonsense! There is no such thing as an "Algonquin group," and if there were, they would never have a kind word for each other. Isn't Heywood Broun always saying nasty things about Adams' superb writings in "It Seems to Me," Broun's magnificent daily column in the New York World? And isn't Adams' brilliant "Conning Tower" almost completely devoted to roasting Broun's epoch-making novels?'

"Heywood Broun, art critic and novelist, of Park Row: 'I don't know anything about logrolling, but I know what I like. It is true that I drop in at the Algonquin Hotel now and then at lunch time. After all, it is the center of life and culture and one is likely to see there all the people in the world worth knowing. Then, too, anyone who hates a boiled shirt as much as I do likes to be among friends. A fellow can't get his back and shoulders into untidiness when there is company.'

"Franklin P Adams, columnist and poet, of Park Row: 'Whom are you to ask me such a question, like you suspected me of logrolling? I have looked up all the statutes, local, state, and national, covering the subject, and I have searched through the Index Expurgatorius, the Code Napoleon, the Corpus Juris Civilis, and the Ten Commandments, and I didn't find a word in any of them that would force anybody to listen to logrolling if he didn't want to hear it.'

"Georges, head-waiter at the Algonquin Hotel, West 44th Street: 'I am only a head-waiter, but it seems to me, from all that I have heard on the subject of logrolling, that the principal objection to logrolling held by those who object to logrolling is that the log is not being rolled for the right person'" (in Gaines, p. 171).

Gaines' description of their motivation for socializing together could describe the other groups' as well. They had a "good practical reason for coming...a chance to join the company of people who were relatively successful and could help them achieve the same goal" (p. 29)--being published and earning money for their work. We have seen that Woolcott, Ross, and FPA had their own outlet, Stars, just before they entered the group. Once they were back in New York, they were in good positions to publicize the values that were important to them, as Keats shows, because New York was becoming

“the capital of the nation’s emergent mass media communications industry...[They were] by virtue of their employment as theatre critics, newspaper columnists, playwrights, newspaper and magazine editors and writers, in a position to help set taste in the nation’s leading intellectual center. The Algonquin-ites could cause to be publicized, and could comment on, such new writers as, for example, that of the Paris group, and thereby help to create a climate in which it would find acceptance” (p. 85).

Benchley and Parker worked on Vanity Fair with Robert Sherwood, and when the publishers Conde Nast and Frank Crowninshield went on a trip to Europe, they left Benchley in charge. He immediately paid his friend Robert big fees, and, also as a result of Parker’s nasty review of Billie Burke, soon the three of them were out on the street. Sherwood quickly became assistant editor at Life and hired Benchley as its drama critic for \$100 per week (Meade). Benchley hired Connelly and Kaufman to do “a humorous monthly calendar of historical and not-so-historical events” (Nolan, p. 52).

They also still had FPA’s columns available to them, and then their Sponsor, Ross, created a magazine for them.

#### “The Conning Tower”

We have seen how Parker and Kaufman began their professional careers by having their poems published in the column of the Link, FPA (Gaines). Besides publishing contributions, FPA also publicized his friends’ lives. He gave Kaufman a send off when he sailed to Europe (Goldstein), and when Broun “determined” to marry the ballerina Lydia Lopkova, FPA printed it (Richard O’Connor).

FPA’s last “Conning Tower” in the Tribune appeared in 1921 (Goldstein) when he followed Broun to the World with it. There he was the only staff member with a room to himself, and was referred to one of publisher “Swope’s prima donnas” because he demanded a “modicum of privacy” (Richard O’Connor, p. 85). This “Conning Tower” continued when the group was lunching at the Algonquin. In the early days, FPA

“occasionally printed those [comments] that had tickled him. In fact, Adams could be considered the Boswell of the Round Table. He unapologetically filled his column with plugs for their various activities and kept a running chronicle of the most mundane aspects of their lives” (Meade, p. 84).

His column almost became “the house organ of a congenial coterie” (Gaines, p. 50). His contributors in the twenties included Parker, Woollcott and Kaufman, but he didn’t value any of his contributors well enough to pay them. Once a year he did give a “Contributors’ Dinner,” and presented a gold watch to the one who had sent in the *most* items. Not the *best* because, “the fact that any contribution is accepted by me means that it is peerless” (in Keats, p. 47).

The “irreverent outbursts” of the Round Tablers that appeared in FPA’s columns, “shocked and delighted a society fed up to its teeth with Victorian sentimentality.” Of course, what didn’t show up in his column were “the desperately dark details of their private lives--alcoholism, drug addiction, impotence, depression and attempted suicide” (Carpenter).

FPA wrote in what was known as “the genteel tradition, excelling in urbanity, high wit, and erudition” (Drennan, p. 23-4). Besides filling his column “with more sparkle than light” (Gaines, p. 50), he also “flaunted” the names of the young women he slept with “for his wife and a million New Yorkers to read over their morning coffee” (Meade, p. 91). He provided “some degree of visibility” to poets, but “a great likeness [sic] developed in some of the poets who wrote for him as well. Although he published pieces by E B White, then toiling at an ad agency (Kunkel), his “most prolific contributors are now, at least as poets, forgotten imitators of imitators” (Gaines, p. 113).

FPA eventually added a Saturday column entitled “The Diary of our Own Samuel Pepys,” which often “descended to mere name dropping” (Gaines, p. 47). Here he would include all the socializing from the weekends at Swope’s (Gaines). A sample:

“So the baseball game with D. [Ogden] Stewart...thence to G Kaufman’s, and played cards, and lost so little that H Ross said it was a moral victory...So to H Broun’s, where a great party and merry as can be, and we acted a play, J Toohey being the most comickal of all;...Then after to R Sherwood’s to play at cards, and an amusing game we had of it, save for the long and dreary recital of a story of H Broun’s...Benchley came in to watch and did most comickal antics ever I saw in my life, what with imitating a cyclone and a headwaiter...All very gay on the street and I threw snowballs at A Woollcott, who chased me and washed my face in the snow, but not by strength but by weakening me with causing me to laugh at his anticks and crude remarks...and so to dinner with R Benchley and Mistress Dorothy...and so home, at nearly four in the morning. But I made a vow that I shall go to bed early forever after this” (Frewin, p. 62).

“Let’s Put on a Show!”

The Algonquinites were the only group that actually got together and put on a show. In April of 1922 they produced No Sirree! for a one-time performance to an invited audience. Rather than use it as another opportunity for logrolling, Woollcott graciously gave his space in the Times to Laurette Taylor to review him and his friends (Benchley).

Broun opened the show “looking much like a dancing bear who had escaped from his trainer” (Richard O’Connor, p. 107). Woollcott, Benchley, Connelly and FPA were in the chorus (Meade). Woollcott also appeared as “Dregs, a Butler” (Richard O’Connor) and in an O’Neill parody; he wrote a skit, “Zowie or the Curse of an Aking Heart” for Kaufman and himself to perform (Samuel Hopkins Adams). Kaufman wrote a sketch, “Big Casino Is Little Casino” (Goldstein), and Connelly acted in three skits and “gave a recitation with gestures” (Nolan, p. 40). The duet of “Kaufman and Connelly from the West” was cited by Taylor as the best thing in the show (Nolan), but she did advise “a new vest and pants” for Broun (Richard O’Connor, p. 108). Ross had no featured spot because his “acting [was] considered so hapless that he was relegated to the role of Lemuel Pip (‘an old taxi driver’) who is referred to repeatedly but never appears on stage” (Nolan, p. 81).

Music was supplied by their composer friend Deems Taylor; Irving Berlin conducted and Jascha Heifetz played offstage. After the show they all partied at Swope’s house until 4 am (Meade).

Benchley had made up his bit, called “The Treasurer’s Report,” in the cab on the way to the show (Meade). It turned out to be the “only true noteworthy act” (Kunkel, p. 81), although Taylor hated it in her review (Benchley). This showcase was the beginning of his professional stage career, as he was offered the opportunity to re-create the sketch nightly for Music Box Revue. To get out of doing it, he asked for and, to his surprise, received an exorbitant fee (Nolan), and “The Treasurer’s Report” later became his signature piece on stage and in film (Meade).

Buoyed by their success, the group unwisely decided to repeat the feat. Kaufman and Connelly staged The Forty-Niners for fifteen performances in November of that year. Even Woollcott was “embarrassed” (Meade, p. 105), and said “it wasn’t fun...not at all” (Nolan, p. 48). Broun wrote a sketch, “A Robe for the King,” which he even he gave a bad review.

Connelly and Kaufman both wrote sketches, and FPA lyrics for songs in the finale, "The Love Girl" (Goldstein).

Keats says that these two shows "indicated that Dottie and her Algonquin friends evidently believed, like so many Renaissance men, or graduates of Eton, that any of them could do anything easily...The amazing thing is that so many of them did several of these things so well" (p. 84). However, Gaines sees the group's dark side coming through even at this early date:

"The dues demanded by their greater fame began to be called in, as...the failure of The Forty-Niners gave partial testament. The boundary between the group's public life and its members' private lives seemed to be growing blurred. The Vicious Circle was no longer a group of talented young men and women reveling in each other's company for the fun of it, or even for the glory. What had been a loose-knit coupling of shared ambitions and insecurities was gathering into a self-propelling force in each of its members' ways of living and working. Few of them seem to have thought much about it then. They were, after all, helping to rid their generation of the tattered creeds of a world whose time had gone--all of them, that is except for Woolcott, Ross and Adams, who had full calendars when it came to anything so remote. If some of the rest of them were riding the crest rather than leading it, that was nothing to be sneered at either. But as 1922 drew to a close, doubts were beginning to simmer among them about the Round Table's role in their lives and work, doubts that would begin increasingly to darken even the best of their times together" (p. 74).

#### The New Yorker

The crowning achievement that all of the members of the Algonquin Round Table were involved with at one time or another, and that provided an ideal outlet for their talents, was The New Yorker.

When Ross, the Sponsor, arrived back from his stint with Stars he went to work for The American Legion Weekly, but was soon disillusioned and putting together a business plan for his own magazine. By the summer of 1924 he took offices at 25 West 45th Street, and that fall he issued the now famous prospectus:

“Announcing a New Weekly Magazine: The New Yorker:

The New Yorker will be a reflection in word and picture of metropolitan life. It will be human. Its general tenor will be one of gaiety, wit and satire, but it will be more than a jester. It will not be what is commonly called radical or highbrow. It will be what is commonly called sophisticated, in that it will assume a reasonable degree of enlightenment on the part of its readers. It will hate bunk...The New Yorker will appear early in February.

The price will be: \$5 a year

15 cents a copy

Address: 25 West 45th Street, NYC

Advisory Editors, Ralph Barton

George S Kaufman

Heywood Broun

Alice Duer Miller

Marc S Connelly

Dorothy Parker

Edna Ferber

Laurence Stallings

Rea Irvin

Alexander Woollcott

H W Ross, Editor” (Kunkel, p. 439-41)

Ross said later that listing his friends as advisory editors was “the most dishonest thing I ever did” (Gaines, p. 143). For “even the vague phrase ‘part-time’ was too suggestive of an endeavor to describe the advisory function of the writers on the list, for Ross made his own decisions” (Goldstein, p. 72). Benchley was not included because of his contract with Life, and FPA because of his agreement with The World, which eventually kept Broun off the list as well (Meade). Toohey had suggested the magazine’s name, so Ross gave him stock in the venture (Kunkel).

Few of Ross’ friends believed he could pull it off anyway. “Woollcott thought the idea sounded ‘crazy’ and flatly refused to listen. Dorothy listened but had no cash to invest... Ferber and Woollcott withdrew because they were reluctant to have their names associated with a magazine doomed to failure” (Meade, p. 133-4).

Kaufman said that Ross “carried a dummy of that magazine for two years, everywhere, and I’m afraid he was rather a bore with it” (Kunkel, p. 89). Eventually Ross’ wife, Jane Grant, got Raoul Fleischmann, of the yeast family fortune, interested in the project, pitching it to him at a Thanatopsis party after Woollcott refused to introduce Ross to him (Meade). That he was able to get the funding at all “owed everything to the social education and connections he was given at the Round Table” (Gaines, p. 143).

The “pallid, labored” first issue appeared on February 17, 1925, dated the 21st. As Dorris would see it, the Broader Context of the times aligned with the Immediate Context of the groups’ talents, for its appearance

“represented an almost magical confluence of an idea, a time and a place, arriving just after New York emerged as a world city, yet before the pervasive presence of television; that brief window when an erudite little ‘comic paper’ could be a major cultural force in a way that is unthinkable now. It was also a time when young and gifted practitioners of the fictive, factual, comic and illustrative arts seemed to be everywhere waiting only for a passer by to pluck them up...’I was the luckiest son of a bitch alive when I started it,’ Ross told George Jean Nathan. ‘Magazines are about 85% luck’” (Kunkel, p. 24).

But the first issue definitely “failed the prospectus” (Kunkel, p. 98), and Ross was “terrified” (Kunkel, p. 101). FPA dismissed it as “too frothy for my liking,” and it didn’t show up in his diary for the first year (Kunkel, p. 104). That first offering had “Sex Is Out” by Benchley, and Woollcott “anonymously” profiled his old boss at the New York Times in Issue No. 3. Kaufman, the Odd One Out, had nothing in that first year (Gaines), and his name disappeared from the board by July (Kunkel). Although Ross had sworn that no magazine of his would ever include pet or fashion columns, he did “both before the first year was out” (Gaines, p. 146).

That first year was rocky financially as well. Ross lost \$30,000 in a poker game trying to bail out the magazine at one point, and one day dug up “a thousand dollars before breakfast” (Kunkel, p. 111) by selling a bound set of Stars. Indeed, by FPA’s wedding in May, Ross, Fleischmann, Harley Truax and John Hanrahan, the “doctor” Fleischmann had brought in, decided to kill it and then changed their minds the next day. Fleischmann eventually put in \$700,000 in the first three years, \$100,000 of which came from his wife. He only took stock up to half of his investment, the rest in loans; only a “handful” of

editorial employees got stock (Kunkel). Several of the Round Tablers “appeared in full-page newspaper advertisements endorsing” the magazine (Gaines, p. 144).

Connelly was an “enthusiastic” supporter from the beginning (Nolan, p. 73), and FPA began coming in once a week to choose poetry (Gaines). With the writers he cared for most like Benchley, Ross “was not above wheedling or begging for new material” (Kunkel, p. 242). The magazine is known for having first published Flanner, E B White, Marcia Davenport, and James Thurber, and Ross was the first editor to reassign the rights to a piece back to the writer after it had appeared, considered heresy at the time (Kunkel).

Ross based much of the humor in his New Yorker on the “humor with a local flavor” that FPA had always relied on (Keats), and although it was not overtly political in its early days, the few causes it did espouse were “distinctly FPAdamesque--the non-smoking requirement in the New York Public Library, for example” (Gaines, p. 143). As Thurber describes it, Ross was trying for “an offhand, chatty, informal quality. Nothing was to be labored or studied, arty, literary, or intellectual.” But during the first year it was, according to Acocella,

“full of tiresome, subcollegiate joshing. But Ross’s brains and good taste--and also, I think, his curiosity, his interest in the world, a trait in short supply at the Round Table--got the better of him, and he began producing a magazine that, if light-spirited, was nevertheless serious and well written” (p. 80)

Basically a “house organ” for the speakeasies, the magazine was “resolutely middle-brow” (Gaines, p. 143) compared to other magazines of the time. At one point Ross even started his own speakeasy for the staff because the managing editor found two people naked in the office one morning (Kunkel).

But mainly Ross operated The New Yorker not so much as a magazine but, like Fry’s Omega Workshops, as “a kind of great laboratory where associates were encouraged to pursue individual projects, yet in that pursuit advanced a common cause. His lab was invigorating, even intoxicating.” One of his successors, William Shawn, describes the formula as, “By being hospitable to the best, and expecting the best, he often received the best” (Kunkel, p. 242).

For example, from the beginning, the cartoons in the magazine became famous for a different style. At that time, most cartoons in magazines such as Life and Judge “came from the protracted multicharacter dialogue that served as a caption.” Working with his art director, Irvin, and probably White, Ross

“cut out the facetiousness and the fat, [of traditional cartoons] emerging (after a few years of tinkering) with a model in which the laughs came from the subtle integration of the drawing and the (one-line) caption, and which could handle sight gags and social satire, pure silliness and sublimities of the absurd. Other magazines subsequently picked up the model, but most of them have fallen by the wayside. And even when they were around, they subsisted largely on New Yorker rejects” (Yagoda, p. 9).

The first “Letter from Paris” appeared in July of 1925, but it was not written by Flanner until that October, a column she continued for fifty years. White was hired the next year, when the Ross stopped listing the board. Eventually he hired Thurber because he thought the two were friends, when in fact they had barely met (Kunkel).

But that was when the publicity fates struck. In the November 1925 issue, Ellen MacKay had published two satirical pieces “Why We Go To Cabarets: A Post-Debutante Explains” and “The Declining Function: A Post-Debutante Rejoices,” which Grant was smart enough to hype. In 1926 MacKay caused a very public scandal by eloping with someone beneath her station--the No Sirree! conductor, Irving Berlin--and Grant helped her to hide from her family and reporters. The incident “earned the magazine a new regard in the upper reaches of society--and among advertisers looking to that group as a market” (Gaines, p. 150). By the end of that year the circulation was up to 50,000, but the ad rates had been guaranteed so low that they weren’t yet making money (Kunkel).

As The New Yorker grew more successful, it became one of the main outlets for the groups’ logrolling. In the pages of Ross’ magazine, “critics gushed over Algonquin-ite works” (Gaines, p. 144). It got to be so pervasive, that by 1926, Ross “declared and partially enforced a moratorium on further anecdotes about or by the group” (Gaines, p. 146).

He did, however, continue to publish his friends’ works. For example, Connelly’s first try at a short story appeared there in 1927; he had five more in that year and seven the next (Nolan). Woolcott, who was “fearfully easy to cut” (Samuel Hopkins Adams, p. 7),

didn't begin his regular "Shouts and Murmurs" column until the time the group was breaking up (Gaines). And even though Ross was a friend, the group wasn't beyond using his magazine for their own ends. Thurber remembered Ross saying to him, "You've got to watch Woollcott...and Parker...They keep trying to get double meanings into their stuff to embarrass me" (Frewin, p. 134).

Benchley had a regular column, "Wayward Press" that began in 1927 (Rosmond), written under the pseudonym Guy Fawkes (Kunkel), which appeared once every three weeks, commenting on local newspapers. With him, Ross' problem was not innuendo but deadlines. The New Yorker editors would tell him that the copy was due Saturday instead of Sunday night, hoping to get it on time. But any messengers they sent over to pick up the material would come back drunk. Eventually, a "new guy" on the phone let it slip that copy didn't have to be in until Sunday (Benchley). From then on he was always late, but it was clean and needed little editing (Rosmond). Once he had his assistant give his New Yorker copy to Cosmopolitan so he would be paid on delivery; it took two weeks for the magazines to get the right stories (Benchley). By the end of the groups' time together, he had become "a star contributor and simple line-illustrator...something of a cult figure, albeit still fairly penurious, and his star was again in the ascendant" (Frewin, p. 94).

The magazine moved into the black for the first time in 1927 when it rivaled The Saturday Evening Post for ads. At the end of the year, a syndicate offered Fleischmann \$3 million for the magazine; he seriously considered it until Ross signed a new contract, and then he decided to stay with his investment (Kunkel).

Some feel that the establishment of the magazine set up a split in the groups' values, and indeed Ross "began pulling away from the group" shortly after the launch (Kunkel, p. 82). For the rest:

"coming at the time when other Round Tablers were nursing doubts about stepping out of class and character, the direction taken by Ross and The New Yorker thus signified a widening rift in the Algonquin group; on the one side, those who questioned the wisdom of their social ascendance and its concomitant demands; on the other, those who turned blank stares to such questions" (Gaines, p. 150).

Even during the first year, Ross had been so busy with the magazine that "when he came to the Algonquin for lunch it was with editorial and business associates and he sat

apart from the Round Table” (Gaines, p. 163). In fact, by the time his friends began seriously writing for him on a regular basis, Parker and Benchley in 1927, and Woollcott later, “Ross had in some measure outgrown them” (Acocella, p. 81).

When the group dissolved by the end of 1928, the magazine had a circulation of over 70,000 and Ross received a \$10,000 bonus from the board (Kunkel). By that time The New Yorker “was rapidly becoming the smart magazine of the in crowd; its understated humor was becoming the fashion identity for the witty and wealthy” (Frewin, p. 92).

Ross’ legacy is the magazine that “changed the face of contemporary fiction, perfected a new form of literary journalism, established new standards for humor and comic art, swayed the cultural and social agendas, and became synonymous with sophistication. It replaced convention with innovation” (Kunkel, p. 6). The magazine that survives today to some degree still “reflects the higher qualities for which the Vicious Circle was noted” (Drennan, p. 18).

## D. The Effect on the Star's Creative Development

As Secord and Backman point out, and most of us have observed, we occupy different Social Roles at different stages in our life, both in our peer group and our work situations, and these roles change as we mature. "All these roles contribute to [the individual's] self-concept. To the extent that they are sequential and discontinuous, with movement from one to the next requiring behavior changes, they are instrumental in bringing about certain changes in the self" (p. 549). Given that these four artists spent about eight to nine years in their groups, it is natural to assume that there would have been developmental changes in their behavior and in their work--they would have grown up. As they matured, and their self-perception changed, due to many factors, Secord and Backman predict that there would be, "corresponding changes in...performance" (p. 552), or their work.

We are interested in trying to isolate what specific effects communicating in the group itself had on--not just their final output--but the creative development of Yeats, Virginia, Stein and Parker.

### *1. Structure*

We have seen how the structure of the group has a profound effect on the outcomes--how productive, how satisfied, are the members? There are some characteristics of successful groups that are important to keep in mind here as we look at how the group affected the Stars.

Some groups members are more equal than others. Handy reports on research done at the Carnegie Institute of Technology (now Carnegie-Mellon University) that showed that "teams whose players saw themselves as all about equally influential were less satisfied and made less profits than teams whose players agreed that some particular individuals were a good deal more influential than others" (p. 156). So it is not unusual that the Host/Hostess in each group is almost, if not as, important as the Star--not only to him or her, but to the group as whole, and we will focus on their relationship first.

As the key relationship in each group--Yeats and Lady Gregory, Virginia and Vanessa, Stein and Toklas, and Parker and Benchley--volumes have been written on most

of these individuals and their relationships. We are interested in focusing on the dyad in the context of how their relationship contributed to the creative development of the Star.

In keeping with Rogers and Kincaid's analysis, we can instantly see that each of these dyads is created voluntarily by the choice of the partners. Even though Virginia and Vanessa were sisters, they could have easily spent less time with each other than they did, as evidenced by the distance between both of them and their brother Adrian. Also, as we have shown in the analysis of the groups' structures, each dyad is part of a strongly integrated network, meaning that the Star and his or her partner, the Host/Hostess, directly communicate to each of the Star's other friends in the group.

We have also seen that the Star and the Host/Hostess have the most number of connections of any dyad in any group, rivaling that of the spouses of Bloomsbury.

We could also make the assumption that these two would be the most similar, but in fact we must remember that complementarity, heterophily as well as homophily, is important in successful relationships and groups. On the surface at least, there are distinct differences between the dyadic partners--none of the dyads consists of two writers of the same age and gender. Lady Gregory was much older and of a different gender than Yeats. Virginia and Vanessa, women close in age, chose early on to differentiate themselves as a writer and a painter (Bell I). Stein and Toklas are actually the most similar--two middle aged homosexual Jewish women from San Francisco living in Paris--but we will see that Stein actually managed to keep Toklas from becoming a writer. Parker and Benchley were writers close in age but of different genders.

These pairs had a lot in common--all developed the habit of calling each other by names other than their formal Christian names: "Willie" and "Lady Gregory," the "Goat" and the "Saint," "Lovey" and "Pussy," and "Mrs. Parker" and "Mr. Benchley." Friends as well as biographers consistently use terms related to marriage to describe each of these pairs, with the exception of the two sisters. Joyce wrote to a friend, "William Butler Yeats ought to hurry up and marry Lady Gregory to kill talk" (in Kohfeldt) and many jokes were made about "Lady Yeats" (Coxhead, p. 47). Stein and Toklas signed some letters "Gertrude and Alice Stein" (Souhami), and one outside observer asked, upon seeing Parker

and Benchley together, "Would that be Mrs. Benchley?" He was told, "that *would* be Mrs. Benchley, but she lives in Scarsdale" (Gaines).

Shaver and Hazan's extensive studies of "Adult Romantic Attachment" are based on the assumption that "romantic love involves an integration of attachment, caregiving, and sexual mating systems" (p. 41). While the evidence suggests that only Stein and Toklas had the latter, the other pairs did include attachment and caregiving. We have seen that, in the earlier discussion of Winch's research, these pairs were also complementary.

If we look at these dyads in the same way that Lederer and Jackson looked at "functional marriages," those without "debilitating blockage or impasses, despite the variety of both positive and negative elements," we can see that the Star and Host/Hostess as mostly function in "Stable-Satisfactory Marriages" (p. 126), the "ultimate in collaboration" (p. 130). They "respect each other...are tolerant of each other and...make the most of [their] assets and minimize [their] liabilities" (p. 198).

In discussing the autonomy of creative "geniuses," Lederer and Jackson caution:

"Such individuals, perhaps aware of their place in history, or desiring a place in history, have highly developed inner resources which make it possible for them to substitute for intimate give-and-take relationships with people, relationships of another sort. For example, the artist may relate to his canvas or clay, the scholar to his books, the scientist to his mathematical investigations. The picture of the creative genius or scientist or artist with the devoted spouse in the background supporting his creativity is lovely to contemplate, but especially since the advent of mass education, such relationships are not at all common. So of the most individualistic creators known to recent history either never married or were separated or divorced. Few individuals are satisfied to be passive in relation to others, particularly as increased education has prepared more and more people to plan and to make judgments with some degree of confidence that their judgments are at least as good as the next persons'. Unfortunately, tension and conflict are bound to occur *when two individuals seeking self-expression* commit themselves to maintaining a relationship to each other over a period of time. The needs or interests of one or the other have to take first place, and the left-out spouse is seldom satisfied to come in second. If the 'noncreative' spouse does stay with the relationship he may become passive and thus incur the disdain of the more creative or more recognized spouse.

"In certain instances, a spouse will forgive 'excessive' autonomy in the busy partner when the activity is utilitarian or when it provides rewards (prestige, money, respect) which can be shared" (p. 195).

One example of this Stable-Satisfactory type of marriage they even label the "Collaborative Geniuses" (p. 128). This is how they define the Contexts and Personal Characteristics that lead to such a relationship:

“When it occurs it is made possible by the hand-in-glove fit of the two spouses. Their backgrounds must be similar enough so that each partner clearly reads the other’s signals, and in turn, responds with unambiguous messages. This effective communication makes possible the establishment of trust.

“With trust comes the acceptance of each other’s differences. They are regarded as indications of varying tastes or values, not as symbols of a hostile relationship...The spouses’ ready acceptance of each other’s differences makes it possible for them to be ‘creative’--to develop and project their own identities. The recognition of basic equality gives partners the self-assurance and courage to exercise their individuality with respect to outsiders and to the world in general.

“The collaboration...based on mutual trust, allows them time, energy, interest, and confidence to engage in activities and avocations outside of the marital milieu. They become free to enjoy not only each other, but everyone and everything else which may interest them mutually or individually. They can work together...; and they are able, as individuals, to enjoy and share...without jealousy. They can form coalitions and make joint decisions...and on occasion they may act as autonomous individuals” (p. 131).

We will see that not all four pairs exhibited all these ideal characteristics all the time--there was plenty of evidence of jealousy between Virginia and Vanessa, for example--but in general the Star-Host/Hostess relationship can be thought of as one that is relatively stable as well as satisfactory, particularly during their time in the group.

Another way of looking at complementary marriages is the two-dimensional system proposed by Winch, which categorizes pairs based on their relative Dominance-Submission and Nurturance-Hostility (in Pervin, p. 48). While the Star can be seen as Dominant in these relationships and in the group, and the Host/Hostess as exhibiting Nurturance, there is little hostility and the Host/Hostess in most cases is not completely submissive.

However, another of Winch’s observation of couples in the early stages of their mature relationships describes the Context our Stars find themselves in when they enter the groups:

“Husbands and wives in college, or starting out in careers, might well need much nurturance and emotional support from their mates during the period of time when they are not confident of their ability to succeed in studies and a career, but after they have become established in a career and feel confident of their competence, they may no longer need or even desire this kind of relationship” (Swensen, p. 317).

Despite the importance of the Host/Hostess, the same studies that Handy cites also showed that too many leaders in a group do not make for a good stew. As he points out, “one common thread stands out: The need for consensus on a focal person, or leader. Two potential leaders do not make for compatibility in a group” (p. 156). Although Lady

Gregory, Vanessa, Toklas and Benchley were so important to all group members, it was Yeats, Virginia, Stein and Parker who were the real "focal points," not only during the group's time together, but also after they broke up and their talents emerged more strongly and publicly. The Host/Hostess had a clear complementary role to play.

At this point, by looking at the purposes and the results of effective groups, we can gain a better understanding of what functions the other roles played in the groups' success.

## *2. Purpose of group*

What are our key persons trying to get out of these groups anyway, consciously or unconsciously? Handy delineates four purposes, all of which apply to our groups:

“1 A means of satisfying their social or affiliation needs; to belong to something or to share in something.

2 A means of establishing a self-concept. Most people find it easier to define themselves in terms of their relationship to others, as members of a role set with a role in that set.

3 A means of gaining help and support to carry out their particular objectives, which may or may not be the same as the organization's objectives.

4 A means of sharing and helping in a common activity or purpose which may be making a product, or carrying out a job, or having fun, or giving help or creating something” (p. 147).

The first purpose relates to individuals' private selves, and we can see that all the members were able to satisfy their social needs by having a place to go with pleasant, like-minded people. But couldn't they have done that with any social group of people they knew?

The other three purposes relate more directly to what the key members could get out of these groups in particular--validation of themselves as writers and access to outlets for their work. Handy defines "what makes an effective group" as

“productivity and member satisfaction....Although satisfaction does not necessarily lead to productivity, productivity can often lead to satisfaction. The pride and sense of achievement that comes from being a member of an effective group can lead to satisfaction if the individual values the group and the work that it is doing” (p. 151).

How a group can effectively fulfill both of these needs for its members relates directly to what Rogers and Kincaid advised looking for in our methodology--homophily as well as heterophily. Handy points out how they both contribute:

“People who are similar in their attitudes, values and beliefs tend to form stable enduring groups. Homogeneity tends in general to promote satisfaction. Heterogeneous groups tend to exhibit more conflict, but most studies do show them to be more productive than the homogeneous groups. However, as one might expect, these groups were heterogeneous only in certain specific characteristics” (p. 156).

Therefore, a group that fulfills members' personal needs for satisfaction as well as their professional needs for productivity should be ideal. This balance between the strong ties of homophily and the weaker ties of heterophily are illustrated by Rogers and Kincaid in a study of how people sought psychiatric treatment:

“The strong ties acted as ‘preventive medicine’ in that individuals embedded in well integrated personal communication networks were less likely to need psychiatric treatment. Their network partners seemed to act as psychiatrist substitutes. Weak ties provided communication channels through which individuals were referred to formal psychiatric agencies; *the function of weak ties was an information-exchange, while the strong ties provided social control and support*” (p. 244-5; emphasis added).

They elaborate on this:

“Each individual operates in his/her particular communication environment for any given topic, consisting of a number of friends and acquaintances with whom the topic is discussed most frequently. These friends are usually (1) highly homophilous (or similar) with the individual and with each other, and (2) most of the individual's friends are friends of each other, thus constituting an interlocking network. This homophily and individual integration facilitates effective communication, but it acts as a barrier to prevent new ideas from reaching the individual. So there is not much information strength in an interlocking network; needed are some heterophilous ties to the network from external sources, to give it openness. These weak ties enable information to flow from clique to clique via liaisons and bridges. The weak ties provide cohesive power to the total network...So a few heterophilous communication links in a network were a structural prerequisite for effective diffusion of the innovation” (p. 243).

We can see that those members on the “outside” of the groups--the Odd One Out, the Link and the Bridge--are every bit as important to the creativity and innovation of the group as the more intimate homophilous friends, the Host/Hostess, the Irritant, the Angel, and the Sponsor. If the purpose of the group is creativity, the complementary factors of homophily and heterophily are needed to achieve both satisfaction and productivity.

## Satisfaction

For the key persons, the satisfaction that they derive from membership is having their self-concept as writers validated by others whom they respect. As Secord and Backman report, "the greater the number of significant other persons who are seen as defining oneself in a manner compatible with one's own definition, the more resistant to change is that self-definition" (p. 544). Our writers entered the groups feeling within themselves that they were writers, and in the group they found others, who quickly became very significant to them, who believed they were talented writers as well.

This finding also backs up Secord and Backman's theory:

"The expectations of role partners are an important determinant of how the actor sees his role...Learning to view oneself in a new manner involves considerably more than applying a new self-referent to oneself. One learns to see oneself in terms of the range of physical, social, and personality attributes which are characteristic of fellow actors, even including those attributes that are not directly concerned with the performance of the role...Studies of occupational socialization show a gradual shift in personality characteristics in the direction of the appropriate professional image as the neophyte proceeds through training" (p. 550).

In other words, not only does this affect the key persons' identity as writers, but there is also a "halo effect," according to Handy (1981), or a "tendency for people to conform to other people's perception of them" (p. 72). This leads them to take on not only the occupational characteristics of being a writer, but also personal attributes that others in the group expect from a "writer." Secord and Backman describe it this way:

"A person is seen by others and sees himself in ways dictated by the various role categories he occupies. Persons learn not only the behavioral expectations belonging to a position or role category, but also the personal attributes associated with it. By occupying certain positions they are consistently defined by others and consequently define themselves in terms of traits associated with the role category" (p. 545).

The stability of the group is enhanced, according to their research, if the "degree of consensus among significant others" (p. 546) about each individual's role is high. We have already seen that this is the case in these groups.

In addition to being treated like writers, the key persons also were validated by the others in putting a high priority on their work. This relates directly to the author's previous finding that a successful manager of creative people often subordinates the needs of the organization, and even the individual, to the creative work itself. In task groups, Handy defines this as one of the jobs of the leader: "The leader particularly, may see the task as

much more important than the other members. If the individuals put their own agendas in front of the task the productivity and morale will decline and the whole group will be much more difficult to manage” (p. 173). In our informal, non-task groups, we have seen that their group values put the highest priority on writing and creative endeavors, taking them away from less attractive alternatives.

Lederer and Jackson also caution us in interpreting the autonomous Stars’ relationships with the other group members:

Even if such an individual has a following, so that he seems to be intimately involved with many others, the involvement is illusory. His followers do not ask him to change in any fundamental way. Quite the opposite, the followers generally support whatever position the leader is maintaining, and if a few dissenters do challenge this position, they must either acquiesce or be banished from the group....For the most part, loners in positions of leadership have few intimate friends, and the relationships are with the devotees, or followers, who impose few or no demands of their own on the ‘master,’ not requiring him to undergo change” (p. 194-5).

#### Productivity

The key persons then, received their satisfaction from the group’s validation of, not only their roles as talented writers, allowing them to develop themselves in that role, but also in the group’s validation of the importance of their creative work. The productivity that was the result of being in the group comes out of the motivation and stimulation they received.

Handy stresses three key aspects of motivation. The first is connected to the outcome of successful groups that has just been discussed, satisfaction. But:

“1 Motivation is more than satisfaction. Satisfaction is one of the possible outcomes of groups...But a satisfied group is not necessarily a productive group, although it helps. Satisfaction is a necessary but not sufficient condition of productivity. An individual will be satisfied in a group, will value membership of that group if:

- (a) He likes the other members and is liked by them (friendship); or
- (b) He approves of the purpose and work of the group (task); or
- (c) He wishes to be associated with the standing of the group in the organization (status).”

We have already seen that all three of these conditions hold during the key persons' time in their groups. When even one of them is no longer true, and he or she leaves, the group dissolves. Handy continues:

"2 Knowledge of expected results, or standard setting is crucial...Hence the importance of realistic standards, of standards accepted by the group, or of standards sufficiently high to give them a feeling of achievement when attained. Hence also the importance of knowing the results, of feedback..."

We have explored how the group developed standards for their work and had their values validated. Spending evenings discussing writing and writers and reading their works to each other gave them the feedback they needed. Handy's third aspect of motivation also applies:

"3 Motivation by involvement will only work if the group and task are important enough to the individual to justify his acceptance of additional responsibility" (p. 172).

We have seen that the time spent in the group was important enough to the members that it outweighed other alternatives. With these strong motivating factors, it is no wonder that the key persons, and many of the other members, were lead to greater productivity. This outcome, however, is also the result of the information and socialization the creative person is motivated to receive in the group.

Another common characteristic of successful groups, according to Handy, is the existence of a "common enemy." He maintains that the leader must define the task itself as the enemy (p. 172-3). But for these informal groups, their task--their writing--was the most important thing in their lives, not necessarily an enemy. Getting published and finding appreciation for yourself and your art, however, were obstacles to be overcome. We have seen that their cohesiveness united them, creating their groups as their own cliques.

Rogers and Kincaid's findings on the strength of weak ties leads us to the conclusion that the members of the group who had weaker ties within the group--the Odd One Out, the Link and the Bridge--served an important function of bringing information into the group. For the creative person this included information about how to get published and into the mainstream (from the Link), but also information from different social classes, for example (from the Odd Ones Out), and from other fields such as politics and economics (from the Bridges). Yeats, Virginia, Stein and Parker may have had more information than the others

on “how to write,” at least in their own unique styles, but from the other members they received the stimulation of different points of view.

Handy describes schooling or “formal instruction” as an important part of the development of someone in an organizational group. However, he points out that identification, or an individual “modeling” himself on others, is usually the result of apprenticeship and “co-option,” rather than training. He explains co-option as resulting “because of the desirability of the in-group...The individual adapts his behavior and attitudes to resemble those of the desired group” (p. 134). This is similar to the group effect of “internalization” described above, which is the strongest and most long-lasting form of identification with a group’s values.

So it is not only specific, factual information which the developing “genius” needs. Zuckerman’s study of the development of future Nobel Prize winners found that

“the least important aspect of their apprenticeship was the acquiring of substantive knowledge from their master. Some even reported that in the limited sense of information and knowledge of the scientific literature, apprentices, focused on one or another problem, sometimes ‘knew more’ than their masters. A laureate in chemistry speaks for many of them: ‘It’s the contact: seeing how they operate, how they think, how they go about things. [Not the specific knowledge] Not at all. It’s learning a style of thinking, I guess. Certainly not specific knowledge...There were always people around who knew more than he did. It wasn’t that. It was a method of work that really got things done” (p. 249).

So it was not necessary for Yeats, Virginia, Stein and Parker to “apprentice” with established writers or creative artists, but with those who were working in the same way.

As another of Zuckerman’s interviewees describes it:

“I knew the techniques of research. I knew a lot of physics. I had the words, the libretto, but not quite the music. In other words, I have not been in contact with men who were deeply imbedded in the tradition of physics; men of high quality. This was my first real contact with first-rate creative minds at the high point of their power” (p. 247).

Zuckerman refers to this process as “socialization”:

“A wider orientation that included standards of work and modes of thought....Socialization includes more than is ordinarily understood by education or by training: it involves acquiring the norms and standards, the values and attitudes, as well as the knowledge, skills, and behavior patterns associated with particular statuses and roles. It is, in short, the process through which people are inducted into a culture or subculture” (p. 247).

Dorris (1987) maintains that a person’s “Level of Creativity” is dependent on

“the Structure of the Problem [which] includes those aspects of the Person and the [Broader and Immediate] Context...and the Process [which] includes the interplay between them during the attempts to solve the problem, the dynamics of which sometimes enhance and sometimes lessen the level of creativity attained” (p. 4).

For the writers, they developed a “style,” a way of writing, a way of thinking like writers, and they did this equally through talking to other group members--gaining feedback--as well as actually working with them on collaborative projects during their time in the groups. It is a type of training that is not necessarily available in the classroom, but can be quite successful when conducted in the salon.

For the Stars of each group, we have looked at their personality characteristics and Context; we will now look at the interplay and its effect on their creative development:

First, with the Host/Hostesses, the Stars’ most important relationship in the group, and

Second, with the group itself, how it (1) contributed to the Stars’ satisfaction by validating them as talented writers, and (2) lead them to greater productivity by motivating them through both stimulation and socialization, and giving them more visibility and access to outlets for their work.

## The Irish Literary Renaissance

We have seen that when Yeats entered the group he was already a published poet, already in love with Gonne, and had had at least one play produced in London. He wrote later that when he went to Martyn’s home in June of 1897, “a new scene was set, new actors appeared” in his life (in Jeffares, p. 319). Due to the efforts of Lady Gregory and his fellow group members’ validation of his role as a writer and stimulation to greater productivity, he was able to develop his creativity more fully and gain access to visibility and outlets that he didn’t have before.

## The Effect of Lady Gregory on Yeats

Lady Gregory and Yeats had, in effect, a “functional marriage” for many years, going on long after the group broke up, and even after he left the running of the Abbey to her. They are often viewed as a husband-wife team, but also, probably because of the differences in their ages, as mother-son. They collaborated together and also created outlets for their work, to both their advantages.

Yeats and Lady Gregory met for the first time in London in 1894, and he suggested that she pursue her interest in Irish folklore by talking to the locals around her home near Galway (Kohfeldt). Therefore, as Jeffares says, “their collaboration was initially routed in Willie’s interest in folklore which she sought to serve, but it soon grew into the creation of a national drama, and a national theatre which was to give their friendship full and exciting scope” (p. 117).

Both Anglo-Irish Protestant and staunch supporters of Irish nationalism in art as well as politics, Lady Gregory “shared his ambitions for Ireland [and] offered him sympathy, encouragement, and understanding...Their efforts were complementary” (Jeffares, p. 117). Yeats felt she was the one woman friend with whom “he felt the closest intellectual kinship” (Coxhead, p. 46), and according to Kohfeldt, their relationship was “founded on intellectual sympathy” (p. 303).

Hazard Adams maintains that Yeats was “always susceptible to--indeed he seems to have needed--the influence of a strong figure...But Lady Gregory’s friendship was of more effect than any of these” (p. 116). Coxhead describes their relationship as “a link that nothing would break till the woman, and the house itself, died” (p. 46). His friend Arthur Symons, however, felt that she was a bad influence on the poet, calling her the witch (Ulick O’Connor). Moore was jealous of their closeness:

“Moore, who was Augusta’s equal in rank, intelligence, and talent--if not in good temper and modesty--momentarily regretted that he himself was not the chosen one. He wrote that, ‘thinking of how happy their lives must be at Coole, implicated in literary partnership, my heart went out towards her in sudden sympathy. “She had been wise all her life through” I said, “she knew Willie to be her need at once, and she never hesitated”...Yet she knew me before she knew him”’ (in Kohfeldt, p. 136).

Their relationship has often been described in mother-son terms, although Kohfeldt also see them with Synge as failed lovers:

“Taken together, the three of them form a fine Freudian triangle: Synge, sick, unhappy, inhibited, mildly sado-masochistic, and extravagantly sexually frustrated; Yeats, full of poetry, vitality, and unsatisfied desire, and Augusta who, believing in the incompatibility of love and the social structure, had long ago written, ‘Perchance not so in heaven above,/But here a *woman* may not love.’ They were all defeated lovers” (p. 181-2).

But Kohfeldt also maintains that the Star and the Hostess were “together outside the satisfactions, entanglements and maturities of satisfied love” (p. 117) and describes Lady Gregory, Yeats and Synge as “a surrogate family with her as devoted wife and mother” (p. 182). In fact, when he received the letter notifying him of her death, Yeats had at first thought his real mother had died (Jeffares).

Lady Gregory, “when assuring Maude Gonne about her own intentions in regard to Yeats, had told her she was only doing for him what she’d do for her own son” (Jeffares, p. 130). Indeed, not only did they always refer to each other as “Willie” and “Lady Gregory,” but “preserving the chastity of their souls, neither looked directly at each other” (Kohfeldt, p. 117).

In his memoirs, Yeats referred to her as “mother, friend, sister and brother. I cannot realize the world without her--she brought to my wavering thoughts steadfast nobility” (in Kohfeldt, p. 207).

In the first summer he came to Coole, he wasn’t looking for a lover:

“still tired from the effect of the Jubilee Riots and the rough and tumble of revolutionary politics, he was white, haggard and still voiceless. He had never been so sad and miserable. Since Olivia [Shakespeare] left him no other woman had come into his life, and for nearly seven years none did. It did not occur to him to seek another love affair; he would repeat to himself over and over again ‘the last confession of Lancelot’: ‘I have loved a queen beyond measure and exceedingly long’...His nervous system was fraying; even dressing himself in the morning was an exhausting effort...But he was fortunate in being at Coole: ‘Lady Gregory began to send me in cups of soup when I was called.’ This was typical of the care he was to receive from her” (Jeffares, p. 106).

She put him in the best bedroom on the third floor, which was where he would always stay after that, and he told her about his love for Gonne (Kohfeldt). Ellman proposes,

“whether Willie’s malady was nervous strain or tuberculosis or, as seems likely, a combination of the two, the cure was due to Lady Gregory. She gave him a permanent home at Coole for his summers, with a definite, unalterable routine, and when he went to London her bounty followed him in great packages of food and wine. She lent him money, too, rather against his will, which he was not in a position to repay for many years” (p. 159).

Lady Gregory saw for the first time “the devastating effect, the strain of the ‘mystic marriage’” with Gonne (Jeffares, p. 130). Yeats

“was physically sick, poor and homeless; Augusta nursed him back to health, lent him money, and gave him ideal conditions in which to work--a quiet room above the library in the centre of the west side of the house, from where he could look down to the lake. ‘I found at last,’ he wrote, ‘what I had been seeking always, a life of order, and of labor, where all outward things were the image of an inward life’” (Malins, p. 9).

That fall she came back from Italy to lend him money to marry Gonne when she received “an incoherent letter” from him. When the two women in his life finally met a month later, Lady Gregory “asked Maude what her intentions were in regard to Willie and got the dusty answer that she and Yeats had important things to think about” (Jeffares, p. 112).

Although she helped him in London, at Coole Lady Gregory could give him a summer home and control his working conditions. One visitor, Sir Ian Hamilton, describes the experience:

“No one even can have heard anyone play up to Willie like Lady Gregory...All along the passage for some distance on either side of Yeats’ door were laid thick rugs to prevent the slightest sound reaching the holy of holies--Yeats’ bed. Down the passage every now and then would tiptoe a maid with a tray bearing (they told me) beef tea or arrowroot, though once I declare I distinctly smelt eggs and bacon. All suggestions that I could cheer him up a good deal if I went into his room and had a chat were met with horror. What I said about his groans and grumbles is hardly correct for they only came to me by hearsay through Lady Gregory and the servants. Actually I never once set eyes upon the aristocratic features of my friend Yeats on that occasion” (in Kohfeldt, p. 204).

Her validation extended to other parts of his life. They traveled together, with her son Robert, to Italy (Ellman). For his fortieth birthday she took up a collection from their friends and bought him a Kelmscott Chaucer with a stand (Kohfeldt). When he married Georgie, Lady Gregory, pleased with the engagement (Jeffares), talked to the bride’s mother allaying her fears that Yeats would be a suitable groom for her daughter (Ellman). Even during his honeymoon he wrote to his Host/Hostess (Jeffares).

Coxhead theorizes that

“Augusta’s physical care and cosseting of Yeats were to provoke titters, and certainly they must have been aggravating to fellow-guests, not to mention her own family. But it must not be forgotten that in the first years of his visits to Coole, he really was in need of rest and good food and fresh air, quite as much as of assistance in his literary projects, and of sympathy in his infatuation with the lovely revolutionary, Maude Gonne” (p. 44).

Indeed, her son Robert was “startled” that his mother had been giving Yeats the good wine Sir William had left behind (Kohfeldt).

But besides being a mother to Yeats, Lady Gregory, who also functioned as the Link in the group, was his patron and manager as well. In the tradition of a good manager of creative people, she subordinated other events and people to Yeats’ talent. Speaking of their collaboration she said, “‘he who loseth himself findeth himself’ for I had no thought of any personal benefit to myself when I helped in his work” (in Kohfeldt, p. 154).

In this role, Lady Gregory used her establishment contacts to raise money for their theater (Ulick O’Connor), and introduced Yeats to MP Plunkett (Kuch) and poet Blunt (Kohfeldt). But she also micro-managed his work.

Eventually he had his own “sacred’ writing room at Coole, the library (Coxhead, p. 104). Moore describes the scene there one working day, when Yeats entered the drawing room

“somewhat diffidently, I thought, with an invitation to me to go for a walk. Lady Gregory was appeased with the news that he had written five and half lines that morning, and a promise that he would be back at six, and would do a little more writing before dinner” (in Kohfeldt, p. 135-6).

Later, when Yeats went to work with Moore, Lady Gregory told him,

“be careful not to overwork him, and that it would be well not to let him go more than two hours without food--a glass of milk, or, better still, a cup of beef tea in the forenoon, and half an hour after lunch he was to have a glass of sherry and a biscuit” (in Kohfeldt, p. 136).

The attraction of the life she provided at Coole pulled him away from other alternatives. Lady Gregory didn’t like Gonne’s politics or her influence on Yeats, and the more time he spent writing at Coole, the less he devoted to political activities. She also didn’t like work that took him away from Ireland, as Yeats later wrote:

“I was accustomed to say to Lady Gregory when it seemed that some play of mine must be first performed outside Ireland, or when it seemed...that I myself might find it impossible to live in Ireland: ‘The crows of Tullira return to their trees in winter,’ or, ‘The crows return at nightfall,’ meaning that, after my death, my books would be a part of Irish literature. She, however, with her feeling for immediate action, for the present moment, disapproved of my London projects” (in Jeffares, p. 109-10).

The equilibrium she provided him was best seen in their life at Coole, where “the routine suited Willie” (Jeffares, p. 117). But in addition to providing this physical “order, peace and dignity,” Hazard Adams points out that she “supplied the stability of certain moral and social attitude, her sterner conscience part of the patrician code of behavior she had inherited” (p. 116).

Besides acting as his parent and patron, Lady Gregory validated Yeats’ self-image as a great poet as well. According to Jeffares, “he flourished in the comfort and social confidence of Coole, where he enjoyed the role of being a poet with a patron who not only shared his ambitions for Ireland but offered him sympathy, encouragement, and understanding” (p. 117). Because besides her mothering and managing,

“Coole gave him more, however, than an opportunity for physical recovery. Lost, as he described himself, on the road of the chameleon, beset by a multiplicity of interests, he found psychological reinforcement in Lady Gregory’s company. To him she seemed secure in her attitude, the certainty of her aristocratic code, her blend of dignity and humility” (Jeffares, p. 106).

They later fought about her “code,” although he admitted that he liked the confidence Lady Gregory had in her own personal values, even when he didn’t agree with them (Jeffares).

We have seen how, as the Hostess she was “excited” for all her guests, but Kohfeldt also points out that Yeats “was the only beneficiary who felt its full weight” (p. 127).

When his own values conflicted with each other, she validated his belief in the importance of spending time working. He told her that he really didn’t want to go to the United States in 1901 on an anti-Boer War lecture tour at Moore’s insistence, and she told him to stay home and write. In June of the next year she wrote to him, “I don’t like losing any of your visit, the summer slips away so quickly and oh! You have so much work to do” (Kohfeldt, p. 178). Her real “happiness” was “watching his genius flower” at Coole (Coxhead, p. 46).

Always one to conceal “his more intimate self,” after his American tour in 1904 this secretive part of him “became much more definite than it had been before...He will let no one, except Lady Gregory, and one or two other women friends, observe the soul which...he was all the time trying to improve” (Ellman, p. 171).

The effect on his writing of this calm, along with her loans, was that he was, he said, “through the greater part of my working life to write without thought of anything but the beauty or utility of what I wrote” (in Jeffares, p. 131).

Coming into the group as a lyric, not a dramatic poet, Yeats needed a collaborator as well as a good place to write (Coxhead), and in Lady Gregory he found one that complemented his talents. Donne’s daughter, Iseult, in describing his working habits, said that Yeats “had to exteriorise everything he wrote before he wrote it in talk and discussion, and even ask for advice, and then he would begin to write the first draft and talk it over more, and the second and so on” (in Rodgers, p. 16). Lady Gregory had her own description of them working together that first summer:

“a most charming companion, never out of humor, gentle, interested in all that went on, liking to do his work in the library in the midst of the coming and going, then if I was typing in the drawing-room, suddenly bursting in with some great new idea, and when it was expounded laughing and saying, ‘I treat you, as my father says, as an anvil to beat out my ideas on’” (in Coxhead, p. 117).

They also collected folk tales together, in a scene described by Moore in a letter to Yeats: “she goes into the cottage listens to the story, takes it down, while you wait outside, sitting on a bit of wall, Yeats, like an old jackdaw, and then filching her manuscript to put style upon it, just as you want to put style on me” (in Coxhead, p. 45).

From this recording of folk tales, she “was forming the style in which she gave dignity to the material, that idiosyncratic, idiomatic, colloquial, studiedly simple style,” which in turn gave Yeats a new, more simple style (Jeffares, p. 109). Her writing was less romantic and mystical than his, for “her work grew more directly and more consistently...out of the local life she observed and the life she read about in the Irish sagas” (Hazard Adams, p. 45).

When Yeats wrote poems at Coole, “composed as he paced the long walk between lawn and flower-border, or the strange brown velvet moss of the lake’s shores,” he would

receive feedback by showing his work to Lady Gregory first, where she had the pleasure of “reading his poems in his own hand, never first in print” (Coxhead). She would also read others’ works, such as Synge’s Aran Islands, aloud to him (Greene).

Lady Gregory’s strongest influence on his work was when they wrote plays together, although she often did not receive credit for what could often be an equal collaboration. She wrote “bits of dialogue” (Coxhead, p. 63) for both him and Moore (Kohfeldt), and they would make scenarios of the plays together to read out to the group at Coole late at night (Ulick O’Connor).

As Coxhead describes their work, “as an organization team they were superb...As a creative team, they were temperamentally at cross purposes...Yeats she could only patch, because his talent was essentially solitary and indrawn” (Coxhead, p. 101). She would suggest and he would dictate, telling her what was wrong, but, as he was a “destructive” critic, not how to fix it (Coxhead). She feels that Yeats “must take part of the blame” for Lady Gregory’s failure of nerve as a writer:

“They were comrades and equals, and his speaking his full mind to her was in the general sense a stimulus, and may be held to have increased her confidence; but over specific pieces of work, his attitude of negative criticism and deflation did her harm...[She gave him some negative comments, too], but I do not suppose that she ever succeeded in frightening him, whereas he constantly, whether or not he intended it, frightened her...She would certainly not have chosen to be without him...By and large he probably gave her more than he took away” (p. 107).

Still, in 1902 alone, staying most of the year at Coole, Yeats wrote five plays with her help. That summer “he had become much stronger physically and to this recovery is probably attributable some of the new firmness in his verse” (Ellman, p. 159).

They went on to write Cathleen ni Houlihan, which, staged by the Fays starring Gonne (Ulick O’Connor), was a big hit. In writing it, “she greatly aided Willie...something she later thought he never fully acknowledged” (Jeffares, p. 120). Kohfeldt claims Yeats had had a dream about the character, but had a hard time getting it into a play so he asked Lady Gregory for help. Her knowledge of dialects helped her write it “in one of the little school exam books she used for her folklore. Willie put in Cathleen’s chants. Augusta typed the whole thing and handed it to Willie. He took it. After all, it was his dream” (p. 146). She never took credit for it (Kohfeldt), but he did dedicate it to her. As Coxhead

points out, “short of being actually in the library at Coole with them, one cannot put one’s finger on what is his and what is hers...He thought of it and she wrote it” (p. 65). But Yeats said in a note to their Pot of Broth,

“I had hardly known how much of the play is my work, for Lady Gregory helped me as she has helped in every play of mine where there is dialect, and sometimes where there is not. In these first years of the Theatre we all helped one another with plots, ideas and dialogue, but certainly I was the most indebted as I had no mastery of speech that purported to be of real life” (in Coxhead, p. 98-9).

She let him put his name on Broth. Their other works together, mostly written at Coole, include Travelling Man, On Shadowy Waters, On Baile’s Strand, and The Hour Glass, and she helped him rewrite The Stories of Red Hanrahan there (Kohfeldt). On her suggestion (Ulick O’Connor), Yeats and Moore rewrote Martyn’s Tale of a Town as The Bending of the Bough at Coole, although she hated them collaborating (Jeffares).

We have seen that the most stunning concrete outcome of their work together is the Abbey Theatre. There is no question that she and Yeats were the guiding forces behind this project, although they could not have done it without the others’ assistance.

At the Abbey they often supported each other’s point of view, most notably when they sided together against AE in 1906 (Kuch), and against Synge on hiring Miss Horniman’s choice as director the following year (Kohfeldt). But the Star and the Hostess disagreed as well (Greene). When he and Miss Horniman, whom she never was fond of (Jeffares), wanted to demote the Fay brothers to just directing plays, Lady Gregory and Synge aligned against them; Yeats won (Greene). Lady Gregory always felt he was too subservient to Horniman (Jeffares).

But even after the group broke up, and their co-director, Synge, died too young in 1909 (Greene), they kept running it for another ten years until Yeats’ other work, other more attractive alternatives, took him away from it too often.

He wrote a letter resigning his official position in her life (Kohfeldt), but their friendship continued, as well as his visits to Coole, his poetry about the house and her. In August of 1928, she described one of their visits, “and yesterday evening,...Yeats having

come to stay for a while, we walked down to the river...And there, close to the bank,...two swans were sailing along towards the lake” (in Malins, p. 37-38).

### The Effect of the Others--Moore, AE, Martyn, Synge and Hyde--on Yeats

When Yeats came into the group, just before the beginning of the new century, according to Jeffares, “his own sense of form was to change, just as his life was changing, and just as intellectual life was changing. The nineties were over; as he put it later, ‘everybody got down off their stilts’” (p. 115). Ellman feels that during this time period he began to unify his two conflicting halves.

We certainly can’t determine how he would have changed if he had never communicated with the others, but we can determine that the influence of the rest of the group had on Yeats was similar to that of Lady Gregory--they validated his self-concept as a writer, affected his creative development and provided outlets for his work. At first glance, they all seem to be more similar to him than different--all middle class Irish nationalists, all creative, all devoted to beginning an Irish theatre. However, while there were enough similarities to provide him with satisfaction, there were enough differences to contribute to his productivity. From the time the Irish group first met, they found that their values coincided. But the heterophily in the group gave stimulation to Yeats and lead him to greater productivity.

The prime example was his increasingly tempestuous relationship with his oldest friend, AE. In later years Yeats referred to their relationship as “the antagonism that unites dear friends” (Kuch, p. 30). Kuch maintains that it was “a necessary stimulus for AE’s creativity,” but his reasoning could apply to Yeats--and any of the Stars--as well: “It prevented him from evaporating away in mysticism, it drove him to develop and defend his ideas, and it fired him with the desire to produce his own work” (p. 30)

We have seen how, from an early time, AE validated Yeats’ identity and his work; but they also had their differences, even when related to their shared interest in spiritualism. AE was a mystic; Yeats an occultist (Summerfield). On AE’s third visit to Coole, the two old

friends had, according to their Hostess, “a fiery argument in the woods yesterday on the sword, whether it was the symbol of fire or air, and called each other all the names,” but they were good friends again in the evening (in Kuch, p. 123).

AE didn't like Yeats and Moore working on the protest to Queen Victoria's visit to Dublin, and he was worried that his friend “would be led astray by a London dilettante” (Kuch, p. 180). Their biggest disagreement was on priorities--AE felt their work on the theatre took Yeats' away from his writing (Kuch) and his letters to Yeats' “protectress, Lady Gregory, reflect his distress at everything that seemed to distract Yeats from working at the poetry he had been born to write” (Summerfield, p. 114). By 1900 they were “quarreling openly” because AE felt that the theatre was “robbing Yeats of valuable time for poetry” and his new theatre friends would “rob Willie of his soul” (Kuch, p. 179-80).

Monk Gibbon described them as “the most marvelous antithesis”: “Even in appearance they did that; Yeats a clean-shaven, Roman pro-consular senator, Pontius Pilate perhaps, AE a bearded Greek” (in Rodgers, p. 185). Kuch theorizes that for Yeats, who was always “elegantly dressed the rough Donegal tweed generally worn by [AE] might have been a convenient symbol for formlessness and fanaticism” (p. 113). Friends noted that “on Yeats' entry AE would relapse from volubility into silence, as though he were overawed, and...Yeats, too, was inhibited in the other's presence” (Summerfield, p. 166).

Others contrasted the way they communicated; AE “was the best talker...a continual flow. In contrast to Yeats, who was a staccato talker, he had a continual build-up of imagery and he would talk the whole evening on his ideas” (Rodgers, p. 189). The methods they used when working with other writers was different as well; Padraic Colum said that “a young poet was apt to graduate from AE to Yeats. A poet was launched by AE but given direction by Yeats” (in Rodgers, p. 198).

Sean O'Faolain, a friend of both, felt that Yeats, as a Star, “did live a remote and isolated life, and the result of it was that he could speak with the voice of authority. AE didn't, and he did not speak with the voice of authority. Nobody today has the same authority that he had” (in Rodgers, p. 6).

AE kept other interests, but even during their battles in the theatre, AE wrote to Quinn, “I will be very glad to see W B Yeats again. I am always fighting with him, but if I hadn't him to fight with it would make a great gap in my life” (in Kuch, p. 219). By the

time the group broke up, their differences had become more important than their “common aspirations” (Summerfield, p. 116).

Yeats and Moore didn't think alike either. Lennox Robinson contrasted Yeats' “greyhound” mind with, “Moore, equally brilliant, was slow, so he couldn't keep up with the greyhound. It was a most interesting thing,...a perfectly grand mind of Moore, but so slowgoing. The white slug coming up to the greyhound” (in Rodgers, p. 89).

We have seen that Moore was critical of Yeats' appearance when he first saw him at his first premiere in London; even in later years, he described the Star, who as Oliver St. John Gogarty said, “was addicted to wearing silk ties of the Latin Quarter and dressing in black with poetical inclinations, as an umbrella that somebody had forgotten at a picnic” (in Rodgers, p. 78).

Yeats was a fan of both Zola and Ibsen, but this feeling wasn't shared by Synge (Greene), whose Riders to the Sea was too realistic for Yeats' taste (Kuch). None of the others were as devoted to Ibsen as Martyn was (Ulick O'Connor, p. 293).

Hyde could be very critical of Yeats (Daly), and for his part, Yeats felt Hyde spent too much time on the Gaelic League and not enough on his poetry (Dunleavy).

So what satisfaction could Yeats receive from this sometimes “turbulent” (Jeffares, p. 136) group of friends? They recognized him as the Star and the most talented writer in the group, the same way he saw himself, and put the same high value on creative endeavors, even if their priorities differed.

Although Yeats was already a published poet in 1897, during his years in the group he developed as a playwright and as a writer focused on certain themes. He received the all-important “socialization” he needed as a writer, and particularly as a playwright, from his friends, but they also communicated new necessary information that affected his work. Within his first year in the group the effect of their influence was showing in his work:

“Since publication of Hyde's Love Songs of Connacht, his own journey to the Aran Islands in 1896 in search of material for The Speckled Bird, and his association with Lady Gregory and Synge, Yeats had begun increasingly to use the English of the Irish-speaking districts as a corrective to the hushed tones of the Celtic Twilight” (Kuch, p. 140).

The 1899 letter writing campaign that the theatre's founders conducted in the Dublin Daily Express marked the “climax of Yeats' pan-Celtic propaganda” (Kuch, p. 169), when

he abandoned his Celtic orientation for a more Irish point of view. He originally had used these terms interchangeably; Celtic represented a more European point of view. Kuch maintains that “the increased emphasis which he accorded the Irish mode grew partly out of a shift in his own sensibility, partly out of his association with Lady Gregory and Synge, and partly out of his desire to distance himself from the way Celticism had become a literary fad” (p. 130). By 1905 he was writing to Quinn that he had “more homely phrases...[and] idiom of common speech” in his verse (Ellman, p. 181).

Part of his change came from criticism by other members. Moore, the Irritant, was cynical about Yeats’ writing style: “George jeers at this business about Willie’s writing four lines in a day and...reaching his record of seven lines. But...how much labor those four or seven lines had cost him” according to Frank O’Connor (in Rodgers, p. 15). Moore did feel that that “Yeats’ style gave only a slight notion of his personality, which was really more varied and inclusive than either his prose or verse disclosed” (Ellman, p. 135).

Even his continuing disagreements with AE had their effect. Kuch feels that he “may have been helped to achieve his concept of the mood by combining two conflicting approaches to poetry--his father’s and AE’s” (p. 147). The former taught him that a poem should have a personality; whereas the latter wrote poems that were more spiritual than emotional. In his memoirs Yeats summed up his artistic differences with AE: “I seem to him harsh, hypercritical, overbearing even, and he seems to encourage in all the arts the spirit of the amateur” (in Kuch, p. 176). AE also gave him exposure to the visual arts, sketching with him at Coole, and doing the original drawings for Countess Cathleen (Kuch).

Most of his theatre apprenticeship came from his relationship with Moore, who had the most theatre expertise when entering the group, and who was introduced to him by Martyn (Daly).

Much of the stimulation he received from the group came from the three in the outer circle--Lady Gregory, as we have seen, Synge and Hyde. Synge’s peasants, acknowledged by Yeats and Lady Gregory to be the best, taught him about that aspect of Irish life. His Aran Islands friends sent costumes, props, etc., for the first production of Riders (Greene).

The input Yeats received from the Bridge, Hyde, was invaluable information for his work. He was able to “guide Yeats expertly to areas of Gaelic literature otherwise closed to him” (Ellman, p. 22-3). He introduced Yeats to the Gaelic poets of Munster, and worked on many folk tales and poems with him (Dunleavy), although he was jealous of Hyde’s prose style (Ulick O’Connor). As part of the playwright’s apprenticeship, Hyde taught him “how to draw tales out of the storytellers, not interrupting them in the beginning or asking them to write theirs down.” Give them a drink and a smoke, he advised; listen until it’s over, “and then ask permission the second time to use a pencil and paper.” From him Yeats derived his “first real insight into the inherent nature of native Gaelic culture” (Ulick O’Connor, p. 114-6).

Hyde would read out his play scenarios at Coole in Irish, and Yeats and Lady Gregory would give him their plays to “put the Irish on it,” in the words of Quinn (in Ulick O’Connor, p. 210-1).

As in his relationship with Lady Gregory, much of the effect on his writing came from his collaborations with other group members. For example, he and Moore worked at Coole on rewriting Martyn’s Tale (Ulick O’Connor), and later on a version of Diarmuid. After a “good deal of argument,” they did manage to agree that Moore would handle the construction and Yeats the dialogue (Jeffares). When they read it out to AE at Coole he told them it was too modern and had too much sex (Kuch). After their collaboration, “though Yeats hated Moore’s style, he respected his skill in construction, and Moore must have constantly forced the sacrifice of some bewitching prose rhythm for the sake of the plot” (Ellman, p. 148).

We have already seen that AE hated Moore’s changes in Yeats’ work (Kuch), and Lady Gregory didn’t like them working together. Their final collaboration, which they began but did not finish, resulted in the fight that caused Moore to leave the group in 1902 (Jeffares).

The most important outlet and increased visibility that Yeats received from his membership in the group was the theatre they created to produce all their plays. Although the Abbey wouldn’t have existed without him and Lady Gregory, the others were equally important in its creation, and the communication and interrelationships that resulted affected

his creative development. Once he had a chance to try out his written plays on real actors and audiences, he learned that his old style didn't work well (Ellman).

We have looked at Lady Gregory's effect individually on his work, but the clique that formed including her, Yeats and Synge was also a powerful influence. Kuch says that the Star "formed only a few friendships in which he received as much as he gave," but "his work with Lady Gregory in [their and Synge's] Abbey Theatre is his most celebrated association" (p. xi). Their letters during the reorganization the Yeats forced at the end of 1905 show how Yeats' approach had changed from exerting his will over the others to cooperating, "the letters exchanged by the three [Yeats, Lady Gregory and Synge] at the time show how completely Yeats' previous control had been based on personal dominance and his joint action with Augusta and Synge--and how the three worked together to obtain formal control" (Kohfeldt, p. 180). They were able to get all the changes they wanted (Kuch), a feat he could not have accomplished on his own.

In some instances, Yeats also learned to subordinate his own needs to that of the creative development of the theatre. Coxhead says that, in the early years,

"What Yeats needed was the courage of his convictions, to persevere on his own course and let plot and character go hang; but what the Abbey needed in those anxious early years was the play that would fill the house. Accordingly he called in his closest friend [AE], who had the common touch" (p. 100).

Yeats was very jealous of AE's popularity (Kuch) among the amateur actors in the early days of the theatre, feeling he was not critical enough with them (Jeffares); "demanding little he offended few" as Kuch says. Yeats had complex and idiosyncratic ideas, and a "compulsive search for perfection, which was not always "balanced with praise" (p. 177). AE was the one who pointed out to him, "there is probably not one of the younger people of whom you have not said some stinging and contemptuous remark" (in Kohfeldt, p. 181). Because Yeats' "passion for the theatre was intense...[AE] was more approachable and more hospitable" (Kuch, p. 174-5).

A lot of the fights resulted from their differing priorities and because Yeats wanted to "command" a professional theatre (Kuch, p. 210). But Yeats recognized that AE's organization skills could turn the theatre society into the professional organization it needed to become (Kuch), and AE drew on his administrative experience to write a new constitution

(Summerfield). His 1904 reorganization made Yeats a director with Lady Gregory and Synge (Jeffares).

However, a battle over an actress' contract in early 1906 "gave AE his long awaited excuse to resign." He wrote telling Yeats that "I have felt for some years past that the old friendship between [us has] worn very thin." Yeats' own family sided with AE, and his father asked Lady Gregory to intervene. She wrote back to him "neither you nor Mr. [AE] need give me a list of Willie's crimes. He is not so near being sainted that the 'devil's advocate' need thunder out the case against him"; however, in this case she agreed with him (in Kuch, p. 226-8).

The result of all this was that his "literary association" and in effect his friendship with AE came to an end: "The quarrels...affected [AE] deeply. He was weary of Yeats' imperiousness and truculence...He decided to distance himself...He continued to be polite on the one or two occasions that they met and to talk with studied casualness about day to day events, but he formed a stubborn resolve to withdraw all his support" (Kohfeldt, p. 229)

But the Star got the outlet he envisioned for his and others' Irish plays and visibility with the establishment audience he sought for his work.

So despite--and because of--their differences, Yeats was able to validate his self-concept as a writer, particularly as a playwright, and became motivated to greater productivity due to the stimulation of new information and points of view, feedback about his writing, and actual collaboration with other group members.

## The Bloomsbury Group

Of all the Stars, Virginia came into the group with the least professional experience as a writer. Although she had decided on that role at an early age, and she had had some articles published in newspapers, she was just beginning work on her first novel when they began to meet. It would not be published until right after the group broke up, leading us to believe that her time in the group was more of an apprenticeship for her than it was for the others. But like them, she had a Host/Hostess who created the right conditions for her, and

a group of friends who gave her both the satisfaction of treating her like a writer and taking her writing seriously, and the stimulation and socialization she needed to be productive.

## The Effect of Vanessa on Virginia

It can be argued that Virginia and Vanessa Stephen have the only involuntary relationship among the key dyads, as they grew up as sisters. However, a more detailed look at the time they spent together shows that they were closer than usual for family members, and that their relationship was based more on attraction than blood.

Throughout her life, Virginia compared herself to Vanessa and found herself wanting. "How much I admire this handling of life as if it were a thing I could throw about; this handling of circumstances" (Malcolm, 1995, p. 70), she wrote about her sister. In her later years, when she had achieved great acclaim for her work, Virginia still felt her life was "bare, settled, and trivial" compared to Vanessa's "full, bohemian life with children and as a painter and lover to Duncan Grant" (DeSalvo, p. 83). After one of Vanessa's returns from her home in Cassis, Virginia wrote in her diary,

"Mercifully, Nessa is back. My earth is watered again. I go back to words of one syllable: feel come over me the feathery change: rather true that: as if my physical body put on some soft comfortable skin. She is a necessity to me--as I am not to her....The trifles that annoy other people, she passes off;...never in a muddle, or desperate, or worried; never spending a pound or a thought needlessly; yet with it all free, careless, airy, indifferent: a very notable achievement" (in Spalding, 1983, p. 225).

The oldest of the four Stephen children, Vanessa was three years older than her only sister. We have seen how, after their mother died, followed soon after by their older half sister, Stella, Vanessa took over the unwelcome role of partner to her domineering father. Like Lady Gregory accompanying her sick brother, she learned to take care of people, but she didn't welcome the lesson.

The sisters' similarities came from their joint upbringing in middle class Hyde Park Gate. Virginia felt that although they "could see the future, we were completely in the power of the past" (in Spalding, 1983, p. 37). Both were educated at home by their father, who asked for their opinions and encouraged them to read, and both competed for their brother Thoby's attention (Bell I). Their background "left both sisters very well-mannered,

supremely well-trained in judging and (if they wished) maintaining limitations beyond which civilized intercourse did not go" (Spalding, 1983, p. 25).

In "A Sketch of the Past," Virginia described "'a certain manner' that she and Vanessa were indelibly taught to assume when people came to tea at Hyde Park Gate": "We both learnt the rule of the game of Victorian society so thoroughly that we have never forgotten them. We still play the game. It is useful" (p. 78).

As soon as they could, they both broke with their Stephen relatives (Bell I), moving into the then-bohemian neighborhood of Bloomsbury, and setting up housekeeping with people their own age, whether married to them or not.

Despite their almost identical upbringing, their differences made them complementary from the beginning. At age three Virginia asked her sister which parent she liked best; since Vanessa picked her mother, Virginia stuck with Dad (Bell I). When their father died, Virginia felt terrible guilt, but Vanessa could barely disguise her relief. "His death was a liberation for Vanessa in a way that the grieving Virginia did not comprehend until years later" (Shone, 1976, p. 22). Vanessa barely tolerated their half brother George's attempts to bring her out into high society, and when she finally rebelled he began taking Virginia with him to parties, which she didn't protest (Bell I). In later years, though, Virginia was more reluctant than Vanessa to attend the Thursday evening salons, the type of party Vanessa preferred (Shone, 1976). Virginia was also "not wholly satisfied" by the Bell household, "something I think it was difficult for her Gordon Square friends to understand," according to Rose (p. 47).

They developed different points of view of their shared past as well. For Virginia, "though she viewed Hyde Park Gate days with disdain and even horror, there was fascination with the past which Vanessa could not share" (Shone, in Crabtree, p. 31-2).

While the whole group showed cohesion in setting themselves apart from the outside, non-creative world, as the only two women in the group, from the beginning the Stephens sisters were united as a clique within the male-dominated Bloomsbury. When she was still unmarried, the buggery of the Bloomsbury homosexuals bothered Virginia more than it did her sister (Spalding, 1983). Sexually, they were both virgins when they wed (Malcolm, 1996), but while Vanessa was "rather aggressively libertine" (Rose, p. 78-9), Virginia

asked her sister about frigidity on returning from her honeymoon (Bell I). Although Virginia eventually became more political, Vanessa was always “more revolutionary feminist” in her lifestyle than her sister (Spalding, 1983).

Besides the forces of homophily and heterophily, the sisters’ relationship was also based on attraction to each other. Her nephew-biographer sees this particularly in Virginia’s on-and-off again flirtation with her brother-in-law, Clive, which began when the three of them went on vacation with the newborn screaming Julian (Bell I). Vanessa was hurt by it, but as Quentin writes:

“[Virginia] was not in the least in love with Clive. In so far as she was in love with anyone she was in love with Vanessa...It was because she loved Vanessa so much that she had to injure her, to enter and in entering to break that charmed circle within which Vanessa and Clive were so happy and by which she was so cruelly excluded, and to have Vanessa for herself again by detaching the husband who, after all, was not worthy of her” (in Malcolm, 1995, p. 64).

After the Bell marriage was for all purposes over, there was a “relaxation of tension between the sisters” (Bell I, p. 169).

As Vanessa stepped in to take over her mother’s place in her father’s life, during their creative years in the group she functioned in that role for her sister as well. In Virginia’s many illnesses, she was protective and served as filter. It had begun when their half sister Stella died, “onerously” increasing Vanessa’s responsibilities, including caring for “the unstable Virginia” (Shone, 1976, p. 20). The earliest practical effect was Vanessa singlehandedly moving the family to Gordon Square, shipping Virginia off to visit Aunt Caroline at Trinity, until her doctors gave the okay for her to move back in with them that Christmas (Bell I). Vanessa soon developed a “social ruthlessness,” similar to Toklas’, which rid their new life of the Stephen relatives (Spalding, 1983, p. 63).

When Virginia was considering Leonard’s proposal, Vanessa wrote to her, “Leonard is the only person I have ever seen whom I can imagine as the right husband for you” (Spalding, 1983, p. 103). She then started inviting her future brother-in-law to parties to get to know him better (Spalding, 1983), and hosted their wedding breakfast (Bell I).

Vanessa kept the peace when her brother made the mistake of showing her husband’s nasty letters to Virginia (Bell I). She consulted with doctors about her sister’s health, and kept Leonard away from Virginia when his new wife was resting at a nursing home in

Twickenham. Later, she enlisted friends to help her take care of Virginia during a bad period, so Leonard could relax with Strachey, and then decided when her sister was well enough to go back to London. At a party in Charleston in the mid-twenties,

“the clamor in that hot candle-lit room was suddenly stilled by Virginia, who rose, staggered, turned exactly the color of a duck’s egg and tried blindly and inefficiently to make her way out of the room...Two persons acted promptly: Leonard and Vanessa moved swiftly and decisively, with the efficiency of long training to do what was necessary to take Virginia away from the room to fresh air” (Bell II, p. 114)

In the end, when Virginia was found floating in the River Ouse, after writing to her husband and her sister that she was hearing voices and wouldn’t recover (Bell I), it was Vanessa who took care of Leonard (Lehmann).

Vanessa validated her sister’s values, attitudes and beliefs in their personal lives. They were cohesive in their negative reaction to their half brother, Duckworth, based on their shared experience with him, as described by Quentin:

“In later years Virginia’s and Vanessa’s friends were a little astonished at the unkind mockery, the downright virulence with which the sisters referred to their half-brother. He seemed to be a slightly ridiculous but on the whole an inoffensive old buffer, and so, in a sense, he was. His public face was amiable. But to his half-sisters he stood for something horrible and obscene, the final element of foulness in what was already an appalling situation” (in Malcolm, 1995, p. 64).

At the time of Vanessa’s greatest tragedy, the death of her son Julian in the Spanish Civil War, she told their mutual friend, Sackville-West, “I cannot ever say how Virginia has helped me. Perhaps some day, not now, you will be able to tell her it’s true” (in Malcolm, 1995). Sackville-West passed on the thought a month or so later, and Virginia confided to her diary,

“Nessa’s little message: to me so profoundly touching, thus sent secretly via Vita that I have “helped” her more than she can say.’ The reversal of roles-- Virginia now the strong dispenser of comfort and stability to the pitifully broken Vanessa is one of the most beautiful and interesting moments in the Bloomsbury novel. Vanessa’s inability to tell Virginia directly of her love and gratitude is a measure of the depth of her reserve, the quality that gave her character its immense authority and her household its improbable peacefulness, which strangers sometimes mistook for hauteur, and her sister--emotional, wildly imaginative--for indifference” (in Malcolm, 1995, p. 72-3).

Virginia felt that she was not able to function without her sister’s validation in small ways as well. According to Bell (Vol. I), Virginia “felt curiously inadequate when it came

to choosing fabrics and making decisions about other decorative details. She relied heavily on the advice of [Vanessa]" (p. 4). Virginia asked Vanessa to help her furnish her first country home, Talland House (Bell I), perhaps because she described walking into Vanessa's room in Gordon Square as being filled with "that astonishing brightness in the heart of darkness" (Tickner, p. 81).

But more importantly, she wanted her sister's validation of her work and herself as a writer. Their complementary roles of writer and painter were decided early on (Bell I), and Virginia, who as an early twentieth century woman had no political power and couldn't vote, found that language was her best means to "express discontent and effect change" (Spalding, 1983, p. 65). She was pleased when Vanessa liked The Waves, telling her that only Leonard's opinion mattered more to her. She told Vanessa in a letter, "I always feel I'm writing more for you than for anybody" (in Spalding, 1983, p. 252).

Virginia also envied her sister's

"touch in letter writing that is beyond me. Something unexpected, like coming round a corner in a rose garden and finding it still daylight.' [She was right.] Virginia was the great novelist, but Vanessa was the natural letter writer; she had a gift for letter writing just as she had for making houses beautiful and agreeable. Virginia's letters have passages that surpass anything Vanessa could have written--set pieces that shimmer with her febrile genius--but they lack the ease and unself-consciousness...by which Vanessa's are consistently marked" (Malcolm, 1995, p. 72).

Despite her jealousy of Vanessa's talents and domestic accomplishments, there were times when she realized she was satisfied with her role. She wrote in her diary, "I had a day of intoxication when I said Children are nothing to this: when I sat surveying the whole book complete" (Tickner, p. 65).

Their talents were complementary as well. Even as children, "Vanessa's private, inner life, connected with the silent realm of form and color, was set against Virginia's clutter and love of words " (Spalding, 1983, p. 8-9). Virginia also felt her sister was "much simpler...Your simplicity is really that you take in much more than I do, who intensify atoms," she wrote (in Malcolm, 1995, p. 65). Virginia described them in a letter discussing Vanessa's project, the Friday Club: "She is said to have a genius for organization, and it all seems to interest her--it would bore me to death" (Spalding, 1983, p. 56).

Virginia's comparison of their two different approaches to art continued throughout their lives, and her jealousy of Vanessa's commercial successes is clear in this letter to her sister concerning the 1925 show of the London Artists' Association:

"I am amazed, a little alarmed (for as you have the children, the fame by rights belongs to me) by your combination of pure artistic vision and brilliance of imagination...I mean, people will say, What a gifted couple! Well: it would have been nicer had they said: Virginia had all the gifts: dear old Nessa was a domestic character--alas, alas, they'll never say that now!" (in Tickner).

Not surprisingly, Vanessa's effect can be seen in Virginia's work as well. One of her most basic influences was providing a model for characters in the novels, as Helen in The Voyage Out (Rose), Lily Briscoe in To the Lighthouse (Tickner), and Susan in The Waves (Haule). From her vacation home in Cassis in 1927, Vanessa wrote to her sister describing moths, which appeared in The Waves (Bell II).

Their productivity is best shown through the outlet of Hogarth Press, which "provided an important bond between her and Vanessa in their mature careers, replacing rivalry with cooperation on joint publications." Vanessa "provided woodcuts,...a wolf's head logo and the striking jacket designs" (Greeves, p. 1-2), beginning with their earliest publication, Kew Gardens (Shone, 1976). Designing all the jackets from 1922 on, she "created a house style and made a distinctive contribution" (Spalding, 1983, p. 198). This work with her painter-sister made Virginia's "interest in painting grow stronger...[previously she was] repelled by Bloomsbury painters' insistence on purely visual qualities" (Spalding, 1983, p. 166).

In a larger sense, however, in combination with the continual help of Leonard, it was Vanessa who cleared away a place of balance for Virginia to write in, a "room" of her own, so to speak.

## The Effect of the Others--Strachey, Grant, Leonard, Clive, Fry and Keynes--on Virginia

With a sister to compare herself to and create ideal writing conditions for her, what more did Virginia need? Like the others, she needed other creative people, both similar and different to her, to validate her role as a writer and her work, and to give her the different points of view and socialization she needed to become more productive. Eventually, as she finished this apprenticeship period, she needed an outlet and more visibility for her work, and the group provided it.

To the non-British, the similarities among this group of middle to upper middle class young Londoners are too obvious. But to Virginia, these mostly college educated, mostly homosexual group of males were also very different from her.

Although the Stephens and the Stracheys were both "related to half the most scholarly families in England," according to Raymond Mortimer (Holroyd I, p. 10), he grew up in a different family atmosphere than they did, "much happier...and more intellectually stimulating...It was a different kind of suffocation from which [the Strachey] children had to free themselves" (Shone, in Crabtree, p. 31). Holroyd (Vol. I) describes Virginia and Strachey's adult relationship as characterised by a "half amused, diffident rivalry...created as much by their similarities as by their differences in character, and below it ran a smoother undercurrent of real affection" (p. 431).

Bell (Vol. I) points out that, by marrying Leonard, Virginia "could not have remained more completely in Bloomsbury" (p. 3) unless she had married Strachey. Leonard officially entered the group very late, not returning from Ceylon until 1912; but although he knew most of them well from their Cambridge days, his differences are what stood out to her: "I'm going to marry a penniless Jew" she wrote to friend upon her engagement (in Bell II, p. 2-3). Their marriage was a long and satisfying one, probably because they both felt free to disagree: "Leonard says we owe a great deal to Shaw. I say that he only influenced the outer fringe of morality...Leonard says rot; I say damn. Then we go home. Leonard says I'm narrow. I say he's stunted" (in Bell II, p. 164).

Although Leonard, as the Sponsor, did not primarily function in the group as a conduit of stimulation from other fields, he was responsible for exposing her to the world of politics. She had already volunteered to help the Women's Suffrage Movement (Bell I), but it was Leonard who introduced her to the Webbs and brought her to many Labor Party (Meyerowitz), Fabian Society, and Cooperative Conferences, as well as anti-Fascist meetings. She became active in leftist politics, worked on elections with him, and eventually became a Fabian (Bell II). Williams (in Crabtree) asks, "what connections there really are between...[Virginia] Woolf on fiction and [Leonard] Woolf on the League of Nations" (p. 64-5). He concludes that there is influence, but no "general theory" linking all of the Bloomsberries' works. Indeed Clive, the Odd One Out from the ruling class, didn't like Virginia's political activities (Bell II).

Virginia "alternately liked Clive and was exasperated with him" (Spater, p. 130). She was a good two inches taller than he was (Bell II) and she complained to a friend, "what you miss in him is inspiration of any kind" (in Malcolm, 1995, p. 66).

Clive's function in conversation, according to fringe Bloomsberry Gerald Brenan, was "to egg on and provoke Virginia to one of her famous sallies" (in Spalding, 1980, p. 144). In her memoir, "Old Bloomsbury," Virginia describes a spring evening in the drawing room, "at any moment Clive might come in and he and I should begin to argue--amicably, impersonally at first; soon we should be hurling abuse at each other and pacing up and down the room" (in Malcolm, 1995, p. 62). At times he would back her up, particularly if they were engaged in "picking on" an outsider. Because of their on-and-off flirtation, usually initiated by Clive, Bell (Vol. I) describes their relationship as "long troubled" (p. 169), and they continued to fight in later years during visits to Cassis (Bell II).

Virginia was particularly fond of Fry, whom Brenan characterises in the group's conversations as "provocative" (in Spalding, 1980, p. 144), but Skidelsky (Vol. II) feels that her letters imply that she never liked Keynes, and she did describe him to Vanessa in the early twenties as "a simple man, not analytical as we are" (in Bell II, p. 90).

What satisfaction did she get from socializing with this unusual mix of intellectuals, whom she alternately liked and was fed up with? Primarily they treated her as a writer before her work came to a wider public. For Virginia, her role as the only single woman in a group of mostly male homosexuals was closely tied to validating her role as a writer. The

fact that these creative people--Strachey, Grant, and Keynes--didn't see her, for the most part, in a traditional woman's role, as an object of affection and potential wife, freed her to become the writer she knew she was. It took her a while to realize this, however: "It never struck me that the abstractness, the simplicity which had been so great a relief after Hyde Park Gate were largely due to the fact that the majority of young men who came there were not attracted by young women" (in Edel, p. 124).

However, "the charm" of Bloomsbury "was not merely that she could unrestrictedly use her mind, but also that nothing else except her mind mattered...It seemed that the idyll of abstract argument, without dressing for dinner, could go on forever." She was thrilled to find a group of males who "didn't notice clothes or looks. What a simplification of life, to have to worry not about how you appeared but only about how you made your point" (Rose, p. 40).

Indeed, the mix of sexual preferences present was an important part of the atmosphere. Virginia felt that the advantages of male homosexuals for a woman are that "one can be simple and honest at ease. But one can't fizz up like champagne" (Rose, p. 45-6).

The infamous Dreadnought Hoax, which is described in literary legend as a Bloomsbury prank, in reality only involved Virginia and Grant of our eight; but this escapade with him merely gave her "a new sense of the brutality and silliness of men" (Bell I, p. 161).

Nevertheless, she probably felt validated as an attractive woman by Clive's flirtation with her (Bell I); even as late as her engagement he told her that he still had a "special claim upon her" (Rose, p. 1). There must have been some similar female satisfaction in Strachey's proposal in 1908, but it is clear Virginia was equally pleased when it was called off the next day. He then began urging Leonard to marry her, validating her outstanding mental qualities, "You must marry Virginia...She's the only woman in the world with sufficient brains; it's a miracle that she should exist" (Spater, p. 55-6).

From their first meeting, Leonard had thought of her as an attractive as well as intelligent woman, remembering in his autobiography that both Virginia and Vanessa had "a look which warned him to be cautious,...[a look] of great intelligence, hypercritical, sarcastic, satirical" (in Spater, p. 25-6). But it wasn't only a meeting of true minds for him:

“Their beauty literally took one’s breath away...I stopped astonished...It was almost impossible for a man not to fall in love with them and I think that I did at once” (in Edel, p. 68). With Leonard she was not only validated as a woman but also as a writer, as she wrote to a friend, “Leonard wants me to say that if I cease to write when married, I shall be divorced” (Rose, p. 88).

Leonard not only literally validated her existence by actually saving her life in one of her early suicide attempts, but also validated her worse fears by eventually seeing that “there was a close connection between her madness and the sources of her creativity” (Rose, p. 258). He came along when she lectured at Cambridge (Bell II), and when she finally began to make money from her work, he appeared not to mind that she could afford to bring him to Cassis and “buy a house if I want” (Malcolm, 1995, p. 65-6). Leonard’s opinion of her work mattered even more to her than Vanessa’s (Spalding, 1983), even when he would criticize what she wrote (Bell II).

Despite their initial interest in having children (Bell II), most suspect that it was, in Rose’s words, a “sexless union.” If she was no longer validated as a physically attractive woman by her husband (although most indications are that the lack of interest in sex was more from her side than his), he still “considered her a genius” (Rose, p. 86-7).

The proof of Bell’s statement (in Vol. I) that marrying Leonard--a man with just enough heterophily, who validated her identity as a writer and brought her into contact with the stimulation of other, more political circles--was “the wisest decision of her life” can be seen in her discussion with a friend in the thirties:

“[Virginia said], as though addressing herself rather than me: ‘What do you think is probably the happiest moment in one’s whole life?’ While I was wondering how I should answer this sudden question, she went on, with a strange but very quiet radiance in her voice: ‘I think it’s the moment when one is walking in one’s garden, perhaps picking off a few dead flowers, and suddenly one thinks: My husband lives in that house--And he loves me.’ Her face shone, as I had never seen it....Not ‘my husband lives in that house--and I love him,’ but ‘he loves me.’ The importance of being loved by Leonard grew rather than diminished over the years” (in Spater, p. 62).

Strachey, despite his “diffident rivalry” (Holroyd I, p. 431) with her, valued her as a writer as well, sharing in her “jeering” at their friend David Garnett’s novels (Malcolm, 1995, p. 74). In fact, his taking on the role of Irritant in the group, freed her: “He remains...forever the clever undergraduate, whereas Woolf, perhaps because she hadn’t the chance to be a clever undergraduate, was forced to become something larger” (Rose, p. 92).

Strachey's respect for her as a writer extended, in a halo effect, to his affection for her as a person. One "rainy afternoon in the depths of the country," he asked Clive: "Love apart, whom would you most like to see coming up the drive?"...Bell hesitated a moment and Lytton replied to his own question: "Virginia, of course" (in Holroyd I, p. 431). Eventually, by her 50th birthday, as Bell (Vol. II) points out, "she was famous and Lytton was dead" (p. 165).

Grant also validated her contributions to the conversation; Brennan describes them as the "solo instruments," producing "at the appropriate moment some piece of elaborate fantasy, contradicting the serious and persistent assertions of the other instruments" (in Spalding, 1980, p. 144).

Fry loved To the Lighthouse (Bell II), and wrote to her to praise Orlando (Spalding, 1980). When Voyage was published Clive told her that she was writing too much like Conrad and Forster--a backhanded compliment, perhaps, but it is a validation to have one's first novel compared to top successful writers (Bell II). Mrs. Dalloway, however, he felt was "a masterpiece" (Rose).

Virginia also learned from the group that it was alright to subordinate one's personal life to one's creative life. Her well-known dream centered on the ability to have a time and place in which to create, the "room of one's own" with "no dinner bells and distractions and little time for doing something" she described in her 1908 letter to Grant (in Holroyd, Vol. I, p. 420).

Whereas Vanessa arranged things so that Virginia would have the right conditions for work, Leonard particularly arranged their lives to allow plenty of time for work. In later years, Leonard "strictly rationed" his wife's social life (Rose, p. 263), developing rest and food regimens to keep her healthy, recording her weight and periods (Rose). DeSalvo criticizes him for his treatment of her:

"Leonard monitored his wife's emotional health, telling her it was time to leave just as a party was becoming exciting, because he thought she had had enough. He believed Virginia should curtail her social life. He thought it affected her health adversely. There is no doubt that while Vita and Virginia were friends, Virginia believed herself to be far more vital than when she was under Leonard's influence alone....Vita realized that her friend's art required her to be in society, something that Leonard did not understand. She realized that Virginia based her fiction primarily upon observation, not upon imagination" (p. 89-90).

It is hard to see how his regulation of her had a deleterious effect on her creative output, however. Although we can of course believe that Leonard was primarily concerned for his wife's precarious physical and mental health, it is also clear from the fourth volume of his autobiography, Downhill all the Way, and the accompanying clarification from Malcolm, where the priorities for him and the Bloomsberries lay:

“We should have felt it to be not merely wrong but unpleasant not to work every morning for seven days a week and for about eleven months a year. Every morning, therefore, at about 9:30 after breakfast each of us, as if moved by a law of unquestioned nature, went off and ‘worked’ until lunch at one. It is surprising how much one can produce in a year, whether of buns or books or pots or pictures, if one works hard and professionally for three and a half hours every day for 330 days. That was why, despite her disabilities, Virginia was able to produce so much.’ (In Volume V, lest any reader suppose that Leonard and Virginia spent the rest of the day in effete pleasure, he points out that with reviews, reading for reviews, and in Virginia's case, thinking about work in progress or future work--and, in his own case, running the Hogarth Press and serving on political committees--they actually worked ten or twelve hours a day)” (1995, p. 70).

In the early years of their marriage the Woolfs wrote together, with a goal of 500 words a day, on her novel, Melymbrosia (Bell I) and his, The Village (Meyerowitz). When she showed him the finished version, now titled The Voyage Out, he took it to a publisher for her. She had shown Clive the first eight chapters six years before, but after that she never showed early drafts of her novels to anyone but Leonard (Bell I).

During this time of her “apprenticeship” in the group, Virginia developed her creativity by communicating with other writers who hadn't published novels either, but, because of their backgrounds and education, had slightly more professional experience and confidence in their writing careers than she did--working and talking about work with others she looked up to. Virginia began by joining in the conversations with the Cambridge men and found it “exhilarating” (Bell I, p. 38). She “affected to feel, and really did feel, awe in the presence of Saxon [Sydney-Turner] or of Lytton” (Bell I, p. 121). In later years, Strachey's criticism of her work, when he would “pick holes,” would put her “back into my working fighting mood” (in Rose, p. 77). He would read her his work in progress, although she fell asleep during Eminent Victorians (Bell II).

If indeed Virginia's work was based “primarily upon observation, not upon imagination,” as DeSalvo contends, she received enough stimulating experiences and input from the other group members, particularly the painters. Shone (in Crabtree) feels that

Virginia's "early stories and her novel Jacob's Room would seem to me to have been impossible without the pictures and painters' 'damned shop talk'" (p. 32). According to art critic and biographer Shone, she and Leonard

"accumulated works by artists they knew, above all, of course, by Vanessa Bell and Duncan Grant. Like many literary people, books more than pictures furnished their rooms and it is unlikely that Virginia...would have been so active a visitor to exhibitions if her sister had not been a painter" (in Monk's House, p. 6).

The artists also created woodcuts and decorations for her books published by Hogarth (Shone, 1976), and supplied paintings and other items for their various residences (Bell II), whether on commission, as presents (Monk's House) or as loans (Tickner).

Clive introduced her to the Paris salons and Rodin's studio when they first got to know each other, and it was he who got her to read the Cambridge man's guru, G E Moore (Bell I). A visit to his family home gave her exposure to objects which she observed and later used:

"Virginia sat and wrote at a table which was furnished with an inkpot fashioned out of the hoof of a favorite hunter. The animal's name and the date of its death were inscribed upon a silver cartouche. She often adverted to that inkpot in later life: never, in her experience, had there been an inkpot like it; it seemed a note of the entire house" (Bell I, p. 113).

Fry's most concrete effect we can see in her work is the use of the French dish "boeuf en daube" in Lighthouse, a culinary oddity he introduced to Bloomsbury. But Spalding (1980) also feels that it is "possible that Fry influenced the form of The Waves" (p. 259). When he died Virginia embarked on gathering information to write his biography (Bell II).

Keynes, as the Bridge, provided a totally different point of view in his contributions to the discussions. He had his Poems published by her and Leonard (Shone, 1976) and read his landmark essay, "My Early Beliefs" to them at a meeting of the Memoir Club (Spalding, 1983).

Discussing their effect on one another's work and the tendency of some critics to group all the Bloomsberries together as "school," Leonard claims that

“Our group[‘s]...basis was friendship...But we had no common theory, system or principles which we wanted to convert the world to. It is true that...Roger, Vanessa, Duncan and Clive played important parts, as painters or critics, in what came to be known as the Post-Impressionist Movement. But...Roger’s crusade for post-impressionism and ‘significant form’ against the orthodoxy of academic ‘representational’ painters and aestheticians were just as purely individual as Virginia’s writing of The Waves--they had nothing to do with any group. For there was no more a communal connection between Roger’s ‘Critical and Speculative Essays on Art,’ and Virginia’s Orlando than there was between Bentham’s Theory of Legislation, Hazlitt’s Principal Picture Galleries in England, and Byron’s Don Juan” (in Williams, in Crabtree, p. 60-1).

However, it is hard to think that having spent so many years together, discussing their thoughts on art and literature on a regular basis, that Virginia’s confidence in her own talents and work wouldn’t have been buoyed by listening to respected minds such as Fry and Keynes discuss their very “individual” ideas. Skidelsky (Vol. II), in analysing the effect of the group on Keynes’ work, agrees:

“Bloomsbury’s aesthetic theory--in so far as it was expressed in the writing of Roger and [Clive] Bell located beauty not in the subject matter or ‘narrative’ of a work of art, but in its formal structure, intuitively apprehended; the shift from flow of narrative to flow of thought is the distinguishing mark of [Virginia] Woolf’s novels. A parallel shift toward formalization, or model-building, was taking place in economics. It is harder to relate this to a change in perception; nevertheless, the general effect of the move to abstraction in economics was to place the mind of the economist rather than the narrator of the market at the source of economic reasoning. Modernism in the arts and collectivism in politics and economics thus came together in the assertion that the interpretation of reality is a creative act” (p. 407).

It would be hard to pinpoint where and when one group member first decided that “the interpretation of reality is a creative act,” but it is hard to deny the effect of that strongly held group value on the work of all of them, but particularly Virginia’s.

But besides giving her a “change in perception” and “interpretation of reality,” Bloomsbury also gave her the more concrete benefit every aspiring writer needs, an outlet for her work and more visibility with the public. The Hogarth Press is often looked on as a joint project between the Woolfs alone, but we have already seen that many of the Bloomsberries were involved.

Virginia’s birthday resolutions for 1915 were:

“to take Hogarth House, to buy a printing press, and to get a bulldog, to be called John. There is no further mention of John, but from the other birthday vows was born the enterprise which became the great labor, and passion, of the Woolfs’ lives. Leonard planned a pleasant change of pace and entertaining diversion for Virginia; Virginia hoped to distract Leonard from the Fabian Society and weaken the influence of Beatrice and Sidney Webb. Neither could have envisaged how ‘that strange offspring grew and throve’; transforming their lives and making its mark on English literary and intellectual life between the wars. Virginia’s choice of metaphor betrays what [their assistant] John Lehmann described as the Woolfs’ ‘emotional attitude towards the Press; as if it were the child their marriage never produced’” (Greeves, p. 1).

The Woolf’s decision to buy a printing press and start Hogarth Press in Richmond took them out of London and away from the group (Bell II). But in addition to setting type, pasting labels, stitching bindings, filling orders and wrapping packages, her main job was “attracting new authors and critically reviewing the manuscripts they submitted” (Spater, p. 109), keeping her in communication with creative people with new ideas. For Virginia personally, there was an immense emotional as well as literary benefit to Hogarth:

“For Virginia Hogarth Press was ‘exciting, soothing, ennobling and satisfying.’ Working in the midst of the busy world below stair, she felt the pulse of daily life steady her own irregular surges of elation and depression. The Press kept her in touch with young writers, new movements, politics and women’s affairs; and provided an important bond between her and Vanessa in their mature careers, replacing rivalry with cooperation on joint publications. Most importantly, the Hogarth Press gave Virginia a Room of Her Own in the form of independence from the unsuitable publisher Duckworth--not only a hated half-brother but determinedly anti-avant-garde. She valued her editorial and artistic freedom above all, calling herself ‘the only woman in England free to write what I like,’ and gained from it in confidence, optimism, energy and productivity” (Greeves, p. 1).

## The Americans in Paris

Although Stein was strongly influenced by her relationship with Toklas and their earlier salon with painters, she wasn’t validated as the literary genius they believed her to be until the writers came in the twenties, and she could learn from them in the ideal conditions Toklas created. When she started socializing with other writers, Stein’s work began to solidify and she eventually came to a wider public.

## The Effect of Toklas on Stein

The relationship between Stein and Toklas has been described and analysed over the years by numerous writers, including Diane Souhami in her excellent book, Gertrude and Alice. Here, after a description of that unique relationship, their similarities and differences, we will focus on what effect Toklas' role as wife and manager validated Stein's self-concept as a writer, contributed to her creative development, and gave her visibility and an outlet for her work.

As expected, of all the dyads Stein and Toklas have the strongest attraction between them. As Souhami says in her frontispiece, "Gertrude Stein and Alice Babette Toklas first met on Sunday 8 September 1907, in Paris" (Souhami, p. 12). From their very first meetings Stein "cast her spell" (Souhami, p. 84), and "from that day on they were together until Gertrude's death on Saturday 27 July 1946....[They] never travelled without each other or entertained separately, or worked on independent projects." Toklas said later that "it was Gertrude who held my complete attention as she did for all the many years I knew her until her death, and all these empty ones since then" (in Souhami, p. 12).

Their similarities are obvious. They were "two odd-looking, strong-minded women" (Souhami, foreword), who "saw things from the same angle, as people do when they are perfectly congenial," according to Sylvia Beach (in Souhami, p. 148-9). They were both brought up in San Francisco,

"daughters of European Jews, who were first-generation immigrants to America. Both travelled in Europe when they were children, and were in their teens when their mothers died. They had a Californian openness and hospitality, a cultured interest in Europe, a kind of pioneer courage" (Souhami, p. 13).

In Toklas' voice, Stein said "as I am an ardent Californian and as Gertrude spent her youth there I have often begged her to be born in California but she always remained firmly born in Allegheny, Pennsylvania" (Autobiography, p. 77). They found out later that when growing up in San Francisco they were both members of the Mercantile and Mechanics Library (Souhami), and both saw Millet's Man with a Hoe at the same exhibit in their youth.

Souhami reports that “fifty years later, as a married couple, Gertrude and Alice saw [it] again. Both felt shocked at how much smaller it was than they remembered” (p. 26).

When Toklas’ San Francisco friend Annette Rosenshine went to live in Paris and was psychoanalysed by Stein, she showed her all the letters she received from her family and friends, including Toklas. “So for nearly a year before meeting Alice, Gertrude formed some opinion of her through her letters,” (Souhami, p. 80), but it wasn’t necessarily positive. After Toklas found out about this breach of confidence in later years she always referred to Rosenshine as the “stinker” (Souhami).

With all of this homophily in their lives, was there any heterophily between them? Surprisingly, yes. Physically, they

“made a strange-looking pair. In photographs they look like a double act of pontiff and acolyte, or Little and Large, or a mountain and its shadow. Alice is always carrying the bags and umbrellas, or sitting in the lesser chair, or walking behind Gertrude, or is scarcely visible at all...Friends liked Gertrude’s pleasant handshake, huge personality, conversation, repose and easy laughter. Alice was sharp, and more exacting company” (Souhami, p. 11-3).

Despite the similarities of their upbringings, Stein “was raised in the rough and tumble of a large odd minded family [while] Alice was always the little lady...[in a neighborhood of entrepreneurs and] self-made men” (Souhami, p. 34). In comparing their adolescences, Stein was surprised to find that not everyone had “that period” of “breaking down.” “Not I,” said Toklas. “And she said, looking at me, ‘Lucky you!’” (in Souhami).

In the Autobiography Stein pointed out their differences, but using Toklas’s voice. “Gertrude never likes her food hot and I do like mine hot, we never agree about this” (p. 124-5); “Gertrude is awfully patient over the breaking of even the most cherished objects, and it is I, I am sorry to say, who usually breaks them” (p. 96); and “Gertrude liked country-house visiting less than I did” (p. 139-41). Toklas loved Avila, Spain, when they visited, “but Gertrude said she could not work there” (Souhami, p. 115-6), so they came home. In St. Remy, however, Toklas started to cry when the weather was bad, and so back to Paris they went. Stein was told by her doctors to quit smoking, but Toklas kept on, chain smoking Pall Malls until she was 86 (Souhami).

Beach described her first vision of them, “walking down the rue Dupuytren. One of them, with a very fine face, was stout and wore a long robe, and on her head, a most

becoming top of a basket. She was accompanied by a slim, dark whimsical woman: she reminded me of a gypsy.” As she got to know them she felt that “their two characters...seemed to me quite independent of each other” (in Souhami, p. 148-9). Their friend Mabel Dodge described the experience of watching the two of them eat: Stein “loved beef and I used to like to see her sit down in front of five pounds of rare meat three inches thick and with strong wrists wielding knife and fork, finish it with gusto, while Alice ate a little slice daintily, like a cat” (in Souhami, p. 107-8).

Visitors commented on Stein’s “sense of repose...Alice had none” (Souhami, p. 146). She “prepared her answers well in advance of the moment she could say them--and she could not compete with Gertrude’s quick retorts” (Simon, p. 145). William Rogers, the soldier they befriended and traveled with during the war and dubbed “Kiddie,” described them as “dear enemies” (in Souhami, p. 225).

More than any other dyad in all our groups, Stein and Toklas “fulfilled the codes and expectations of conventional romantic love” (Simon, p. 13). Souhami describes it as “a devoted marriage, funny, quietly eventful, orderly, domestic, intimate and happy...of the sort that eludes so many heroes and heroines” (Foreword). She describes them as depending “on no one but themselves and they were everything to each other” (Souhami, p. 114).

On one of their first “dates” she and Stein “ate cakes in a patisserie off the Boulevard St. Michel” (Souhami, p. 12) and talked about books, and, reversing their later pattern, Stein took control of Toklas’ life by making her and her roommate, Harriet Levy, move to a hotel after their landlord’s son was too nice to them. On their vacation in Spain in 1908 Stein proposed to Toklas. “It was her wish ‘to win my bride’...[Her San Francisco friends] had not loved Alice in the way Gertrude intended so to do...Alice was to dote and depend...But most of all, and at the root of the tryst, was desire” (Souhami, p. 94). Toklas cried a lot.

Once Stein proposed, the roles were clear: “Gertrude was to be the husband and Alice the wife” (Souhami, p. 94). The more they were together the more “the roles polarized into husband and wife” (Souhami, p. 127). “Little Alice B. is the wife for me,” Stein wrote, and Toklas referred to Stein as “he or her husband” (Souhami, p. 12).

When a mutual friend from San Francisco was returning to America, Toklas took her aside and explained that “you must see that when Harriet goes back to America, that she does not return to Paris because it is already arranged that I should go stay with Gertrude and Leo” (in Souhami, p. 97). Soon Toklas moved in and 27 rue de Fleurus began to “smell of beeswax and lavender.” Leo moved out of his study to give Toklas her own room, and eventually went to live in Italy (Souhami).

If the Star-Host/Hostess relationship falls into Lederer and Jackson’s category of “Stable Satisfactory,” Stein and Toklas can also fit snugly into Winch’s “Ibsenian Complementariness, where “the husband is the protector and caretaker of his wife, who plays the role of a doll-child” (Swensen, p. 302), or better yet, the “Masters and Servant Girls” category. In this relationship

“the wife is much more competent than the Ibsenian wife. The husband is the head of the house and the wife is the servant, but a capable and worthy servant. There are two levels of complementariness in this kind of marriage. On the overt, public level, the man is dominating, self-assured and somewhat frosty, while the wife is compliant, active, nurturing, and outgoing. The husband is the master, and the wife is the servant girl...On a deeper level, however, the wife is a nurturing, accepting, and emotionally strong supporter of her husband who has a streak of dependency in his personality” (Swensen, p. 304).

Souhami maintains that Toklas “fostered this image of the self-effacing maid servant, and it belied her force of character and true role in the relationship” (p. 11). Beach however saw them in very different family roles: “Alice had a great deal more finesse than Gertrude. And she was grown up. Gertrude was a child, something of an infant prodigy” (in Souhami, p. 148-9).

Either way, they were “faithful partners” (Souhami, p. 161), their relationship was “exclusive”, and Toklas would “brook no competition for Gertrude’s time and attention” (Souhami, p. 97-8). When she found letters to Stein written years before by her earlier lover, she destroyed them all, as she did with their own personal notes after Stein’s death. Hemingway was appalled by a conversation he overheard, hearing “Alice speaking to Gertrude as he had never heard one person speak to another...’Don’t Pussy...I’ll do anything, Pussy, but please don’t do it” (Souhami, p. 152), and later told a biographer that his relationship with Stein ended because of “Alice’s jealousy of any of Gertrude’s real men-friends” (Hoffman, p. 119). Indeed, by the end of decade “Alice had to get rid of

him" (Souhami, p. 153). This was "no easy task, [and] would stand as Alice's most notorious triumph. He was, after all, so charming" (Simon, p. 122).

There is no doubt that Toklas' role gave her influence, if not power, over Stein: "For over the years, a paradox developed in Gertrude and Alice's relationship and what, ostensibly, were Alice's acts of service to Gertrude, became her means of control" (Souhami, p. 137). Although Hemingway and others have identified the (as we now call it) co-dependency in the relationship, in terms of self-image, Stein "was not the victim. It suited her to be managed, shielded and freed" (Souhami, p. 146).

One of the first times Toklas ever really used her latent negative power was around 1911 or 1912 when she got rid of their mutual friend Dodge (Simon, p. 80):

Dodge "gave her jobs to do--meeting visitors from the station or talking to guests, while Mabel dressed...One morning at breakfast Mabel said to her, 'Well I can't understand you. What makes you contented? What keeps you going?' Alice replied, 'Why I suppose it's my feeling for Gertrude.' Trouble came one lunchtime at the Villa... Mabel thought that during the writing of the portrait Gertrude 'seemed to grow warmer to me.' Mabel responded in 'a sort of flirtatious way,' even though [she was attracted to a young boy at the time.] '[Stein gave me a] strong look over the table that it seemed to cut across the air to me in a band of electrified steel--a smile traveling across on it--powerful--Heaven! I remember it *now* so keenly!' Alice left the table and went out to the terrace. Gertrude gave a surprised, noticing glance after her and as she didn't return, got up and followed after. Gertrude came back alone. 'She doesn't want to come to lunch,' she told Mabel, 'she feels the heat today.' 'From that time Alice began to separate Gertrude and me--poco poco.' Mabel's friendship with Gertrude ended. The end was, she felt sure, 'Alice's final and successful effort in turning Gertrude from me--her influencing and her wish and I missed my jolly fat friend very much.' For Alice the 'band of electrified steel' was between her and Gertrude alone. And no one else should come too near it" (Souhami, p. 109).

Toklas earned her status in Stein's life by working at the role of wife. Even before she moved in, "Alice began to make herself useful at [Fleurus]. She went there every day...Often Alice did not leave...until midnight, busy as she was with typing and listening and cooking" (Souhami, p. 86-90). During the salons, Toklas "saw to the food and drink" (Souhami, p. 151). She had loved to cook from an early age, and when she discovered that Stein missed American food while living in Paris, Toklas cooked it for her. In fact, "food was extremely important to Gertrude." (Souhami, p. 115). Toklas imposed "a domestic routine on their life that she controlled religiously" (Brinnin, p. 244).

As not only the Hostess but the wife, "while Gertrude talked to the creative men, Alice sat with the wives, or showed them round the kitchen" (Souhami, p. 115). As she described it

"The geniuses came and talked to Gertrude and the wives sat with me. How they unroll, an endless vista through the years...Hadley and Pauline Hemingway and Mrs. Anderson, and Mrs. Bravig Imbs and the Mrs. Ford Maddox Ford and endless others, geniuses, near geniuses and might be geniuses, all having wives, and I have sat and talked with them all the wives and later on, well later on too, I have sat and talked with all" (Autobiography, p. 95).

During the salons they would sometimes fight (Brinnin), Toklas "quietly reprimanding her when she went too far" (Mellow, p. 387), or interrupting Stein's conversation "to put her right" (Souhami, p. 151). Thomson recalled Stein recounting a story: She "would get repetitive and vague...Alice would say...looking up from...knitting, 'I'm sorry, Lovey; it wasn't like that at all.' 'Alright, Pussy...you tell it.'" (in Simon, p. 175), the names they used for each other even in front of strangers (Souhami, p. 12). Toklas told Fay, "I am always beaten in discussion," but as he pointed out, "she scored her victories in other ways" (in Souhami, p. 157).

William Rogers, the "Kiddie," had the opportunity to observe their day to day relationship and Toklas' triumphs on the road. Toklas had stressed that they must leave "early" to reach their destination for lunch. Mellow describes the scene:

"Gertrude, in a mood of injured reasonableness, intimated that she had never before held Alice up. Alice's reply was a firm, 'I think we ought to start at nine.' Nine, it was settled, was a sensible hour for Gertrude: 'Start whenever you please. Start at nine and I'll be ready. Nine is all right.' Alice, once more, repeated, 'early.'

"[Rogers says] 'At that last obstinate "early," Miss Stein got up from her desk, passed the fireplace and reached the door between the salon and garden...She tramped back to the fireplace, hesitated and stopped...She announced positively, once and for all, "Only, of course, I won't get up until eight. I wouldn't get up until eight no matter where I was going I wouldn't get up until eight."

"Alice bending over the knitting, declared, 'we must start as early as we can.'"

"The next morning at ten thirty, Gertrude settled herself behind the wheel of her Ford, announcing, 'Here I am, and where is everybody else?' Alice, who had been up since five thirty, Rogers recalled, 'took an entire minute to open her door, plant one foot and then the other on the running board, pull herself up to the floor of the car, step inside, turn, begin to sit, sit, reach for the door, grasp the handle, pull it, and then lean back.' In the tug of war in their domestic arrangements, Alice was often reduced to such small victories" (p. 516-7).

Although they considered themselves married, in her will, Stein could describe her only as "my friend Alice B. Toklas" (Souhami, p. 249), making her co-executor and leaving her the paintings. Stein was buried in Pere Lechaise, and on the other side of the stone is

carved "Alice B. Toklas." Toklas soon gave up her rights as executor (Mellow) and took a monthly allowance from the estate. Complicated legal fights over the paintings ensued for years, but the pictures "didn't represent money to Alice. They were symbols of Gertrude and the life they had shared" (Souhami, p. 268).

Besides being a wife in their personal lives, in Stein's professional life from the beginning Toklas "was Gertrude's editor, amanuensis, secretary, housekeeper" (Souhami, p. 94), and the manager of Stein's career. Stein said that she "is always forethoughtful, which is what is pleasant for me" (Souhami, p. 14). From the beginning, despite her "parchment certifying me as a bachelor of music" (in Souhami, p. 40-1), Toklas decided she didn't have enough talent, so she "promoted Gertrude's talent instead" (Souhami, p. 14). Even Toklas' girlhood friend, Rosenshine, said that in Stein Toklas felt she had "found the brilliant personality worthy of her talents" (in Souhami, p. 88-9).

Toklas served as an a "brusque and uncompromising manager," who "guarded, promoted and protected Gertrude." When Toklas's friend Rosenshine made a return visit, she observed, "how efficient Alice's power over Stein had become... 'It was first rate teamwork...I was ostracised as far as Gertrude was concerned'" (in Souhami, p. 146).

Her role as manager as early as their World War I volunteer service, when "all the bureaucratic jobs went to Alice" (Souhami, p. 132-4).

One of Toklas' key functions was to manage the salon by keeping it free from disruptive people, becoming even more ruthless than Vanessa was in eliminating the Stephens' relatives. She chased "away those who threatened to become too close to Gertrude or who disturbed their routines" (Souhami, p. 98). In her "unobtrusive way" she served as an effective "screening agent" (Brinnin, p. 275). It was very clear that "those wanted to see Gertrude were first checked out by Alice, and if Alice did not approve, they were turned away...Visitors to their Paris apartment found her frightening" (Souhami, p. 14). Yet she was discreet:

"Most guests never realized they were being scrutinized and mercilessly evaluated [by Toklas]. Alice never did and never would cease in her analysis of Gertrude's friends, sorting in her mind the acceptable from the discardable. She could forget but not forgive, she had admitted, and rarely did she forget" (Simon, p. 80).

She was in charge of screening out the bores, those who did not discuss what Stein did not want to hear. "But boorishness was never the only reason for a snub. Dullness and conventionality were just as vulnerable. Gertrude preferred the interesting fake to the distinguished good character." As the American writers came to Paris, "one after another they came. And one after another--except for a few chosen by Alice--they went" (Simon, p. 111). For those chosen, "Alice...unobtrusively but firmly arranged the audiences" (Brinnin, p. 129).

Toklas often answered questions put to Stein (Souhami), and indeed the writer's greatest commercial triumph came when their voices became one in The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas, which sounded so much like Toklas, many friends thought she had indeed written it. Although she "did not swerve from doing all she could to promote" whatever Stein wrote, "Alice believed that if Gertrude wrote a memoir it would almost certainly be a success. Gertrude did not want to write one. 'It does not bother me to delight them,' she said" (Souhami, p. 185). When she did sit down to write the Autobiography in six weeks at Bilignin, she was motivated by "heightened fame, a creative slump and the hope of pleasing Alice" (Bridgman, p. 206).

Toklas' ability to create equilibrium wherever they went was evidenced on their 1933-34 American tour. She took over from the original tour organizer and handled all arrangements and media relations:

"As ever, she freed Gertrude from any hint of domestic or creative disorder...It was not a new thing for Alice to regulate life for Gertrude. As the tour got underway her duties multiplied. She protected Gertrude's every move, fielded off unwanted visitors and made sure the itinerary left plenty of time for lunch, tea and supper, and for having a good time...[When they decided Stein wouldn't show up for an interview, she told the reporter], 'You people should have interviewed Miss Stein many years ago when she was not so well known and not so busy'" (Souhami, p. 206-10).

Throughout the trip she acted as "impresario, booking clerk and guard. She knew when to be self-effacing and when to call the tune." The newspapers variously described Toklas as "girl Friday, enigmatic bodyguard, typist and constant companion" (Souhami, p. 206-8).

But most important, the routine which they were both "at meticulous pains to observe," no matter where they were, allowed Stein to write every day. She "had now learned to work in concentrated short periods--sometimes for minutes, sometimes for hours,

through the course of every day” (Brinnin, p. 244). When Making first appeared in print, “we were very happy” (Autobiography, p. 233).

But what was the effect on Stein’s work? Like Lady Gregory and Vanessa, Toklas was adept at creating a balanced environment: She

“put a great deal of energy into creating for [them] an extremely social, pleasant and stress-free style of living...Gertrude was freed from all domestic chores and could concentrate on her work. Fortunately for Alice, being a genius did not take up all Gertrude’s time. There was plenty left for her, and for travelling, visiting friends and shopping” (Souhami, p. 114-5).

Toklas’ talents were uniquely suited to this role. According to Fay,

“Gertrude leaned on her, used her and followed her advice...Alice knew how to entertain, listen to, stimulate Gertrude and to calm her. She knew how to guide her and divert her. In a word she gave her good advice. Even in her friendships, she played a discreet but influential role, because she drew in or rejected those who came near Gertrude, according to her own judgment” (in Souhami, p. 157).

In reviewing Toklas’ memoir in 1963, Time magazine called it “the book of a woman who all her life...looked in a mirror and saw someone else” (in Souhami, p. 268). Toklas’ emergence as a writer in her later years hints at one of the ways the two of them kept these roles so clear. Stein had made her Host/Hostess “terrified at putting pen to paper” (Souhami, p. 260). Toklas couldn’t bring herself to do it when van Vechten first asked her to write Stein’s biography, in what would have been an interesting literary twist. Indeed, Stein had made fun of her cookbook idea (Souhami), but when it was published in 1954 (Simon) it rivaled Stein’s most popular work.

These clear cut roles, much like Virginia and Vanessa’s early decision of who was to write and who was to paint, reinforced Stein’s self-image and gave them both confidence. As Souhami states, they “learned the wisdom of being true to themselves” (Souhami, Foreword): “They were so emphatically and uncompromisingly themselves, that the world could do nothing less than accept them as they were” (Souhami, p. 15).

Toklas definitely provided validation of Stein’s values, attitudes and beliefs as well as her work. Their “roles of writer and amanuensis” were all inclusive. Similar to Yeats, Lady Gregory and Synge’s time working on the Abbey when they saw no one else for

days, Stein and Toklas “continued their remarks, conversation, arguments and flirtations of the days and nights. Life and literature were one” (Souhami, p. 129).

Toklas, who did not begin professional writing in earnest until after Stein died, was fascinated from the beginning not only by her new lover but also by her writing. She knew it when she first met her in 1907: “I may say that only three times in my life have I met a genius and each time a bell within me rang and I was not mistaken, and I may say that in each case it was before there was any general recognition of the quality of genius in them” (Autobiography, p. 9-10; the other two were Picasso and Alfred North Whitehead).

Souhami emphasizes, “their deepest point of agreement, and the focus of much of their shared life, was that Gertrude was a genius. (‘Twentieth century literature is Gertrude Stein,’ Gertrude said) and that she and her genius must be served” (p. 14). This validation,

“made for a perfect symbiosis, a harmonious division of labor. Stein liked to write, talk to people, drive the car, stay in bed until midday, lie in the sun, walk the dog, look at paintings and meditate about herself and life. Anything else made her nervous. Alice did the rest” (Souhami, p. 14).

Stein’s previous roommate, her brother Leo, never provided validation for her. It began with his withdrawal of support for Picasso, whom he said was stupid. Stein said Picasso was a genius, as she was, because “she was expressing the same things in literature”; Toklas agreed (Souhami, p. 101). When Leo moved out in 1913, she and Toklas “decided never to see him again...For Gertrude the rift was absolute and she never spoke to him again...She was the artist, he was the critic and she did not want criticism, she wanted praise--which Alice gave her in abundance” (Souhami, p. 104-5). As Hoffman says, “with the advent of Toklas and the final exit of her brother, Stein emerged as the articulate center of her own circle of painters and writers” (p. 104).

Toklas even created Stein’s physical image by cutting her hair:

”Madame de Clermont-Tonnerre came in very late to one of the parties, almost every one had gone, and her hair was cut...That night Gertrude Stein said to me, I guess I will have to too. Cut it off she said and I did. I was still cutting the next evening, I had been cutting a little more all day and by this time it was only a cap of hair when Anderson came in. Well, how do you like it, said I rather fearfully. I like it, he said, it makes her look like a monk” (Autobiography, p. 267).

Toklas helped Stein with her costumes as well. She helped choose her clothes (Souhami), ordered them (Autobiography), and knit her “thick non-colored shapeless

woolen clothes and honest woolen stockings,” as described by Katherine Anne Porter (in Brinnin, p. 277).

Of course, her validation of Stein’s work was most important. Even when Toklas first began typing Stein’s manuscripts, her “enthusiasm for long sentences, bottom nature and the continual present, and her love and praise, came at an important time for Gertrude” (Souhami, p. 87-8). Dodge observed, when they were staying with her, that each morning they “were both equally delighted at what Gertrude had written the night before” (Souhami, p. 107-8).

They “saw life from the same point of view” (Simon, p. 13) and agreed on their opinions of their many visitors and friends. The first time she took Toklas to meet Picasso, she explained his art to her new friend (Souhami). Henry MacBride, the art critic for the New York Sun, was already a big Stein fan, so when he came Toklas liked him too (Simon). The same was true of Robert Coates, who later wrote for The New Yorker and praised Stein’s work in print. They banished William Carlos Williams after his visit because he told Stein to burn all but the good things she had written. The two women, on the other hand, “intended that every word of every page she had written should find its way into print” (Souhami, p. 159).

Toklas even validated Stein’s portrait by Picasso when it was being shipped to the Metropolitan Museum of Art: “Lawyers wanted [Picasso] to sign a paper guaranteeing the portrait was by him, but Alice refused to ask him. ‘Good God,’ she wrote to Kiddie. ‘Don’t they know it’s Gertrude Stein by Picasso?’” (Souhami, p. 257).

Toklas’ best defense perhaps came in a conversation with writer James Branch Cabel when he asked her, “Is Gertrude Stein serious? Desperately, I replied. That puts a different light on it, he said. For you, I said, not for me” (in Bridgman, p. 109).

This validation of her work in turn validated Stein’s self-image as a writer--a genius--as well. *She* knew she was a genius, but until someone else, whose opinion she valued, knew it, she was not able to achieve much creatively. Through a clear cut definition of their roles Stein was able to evolve into her own self-image as a genius.

Eventually Toklas’ duties were extended to include direct help on Stein’s work, particularly typing and proofreading (Hoffman). Each morning Toklas would transcribe

Stein's handwritten output from the night before on "a worn out Blickensdorf typewriter." One of the few people who could ever decipher Stein's handwriting, she developed what she called "a Gertrude Stein technique, like playing Bach" (in Souhami, p. 59). Beyond that, Stein could get valuable feedback from Toklas, discussing "her analysis of character" with Toklas as they walked through Paris, "meditating, making sentences and observing incidents, which she then incorporated into the writing of the day" (Souhami, p. 87-8).

In Mallorca in 1915, Stein began writing "about their personal world" for the first time, in a piece called "Lifting Belly" (Souhami, p. 127). At the end of the twenties, she made her lover and their poodle the main characters in her only film scenario, "Film Two Soeurs Qui ne sont Pas Soeurs" (Bridgman).

But besides serving as inspiration, typist, proofreader, manager and validating Stein's role as a writer and genius, there is evidence that Toklas actually collaborated with Stein on some of her works. In the Autobiography Toklas' role as cook is tied closely to Stein's writing:

"This is how portrait-writing began. Helene [the cook] used to stay at home with her husband Sunday evenings...I like cooking, I am an extremely good five-minute cook, and besides, Gertrude Stein liked from time to time to have me make american dishes. One Sunday evening I was very busy preparing one of these and then I called Gertrude to come in from the atelier for supper. She came in much excited and would not sit down. Here I want to show you something, she said. No I said it has to be eaten hot. No, she said, you have to see this first. Gertrude Stein never likes her food hot and I do like mine hot, we never agree about this. She admits that one can wait to cool it but one cannot heat it once it is on a plate so it is agreed that I have it served as hot as I like. In spite of my protests and the food cooling I had to read...It was the portrait called Ada, the first in Geography & Plays...Finally I read it all and was terribly pleased with it. And then we ate our supper" (p. 124-5).

Scholars who have studied the actual manuscripts are sure that Toklas, like Lady Gregory, was also a collaborator.

"[Toklas] habitually made notations in her friend's manuscripts, usually with a red pencil...Sometimes...Alice would write a word in her own hand to clarify Gertrude scrawl...While her changes are trivial, they are not errors in transcription, but conscious revisions...[Her contribution] tends to be more factually direct than Gertrude's, she was clearly an apt mimic...Given the special emphasis Gertrude put upon this portrait ["Ada"]; given its subject; given its date somewhere around 1909-10; given the manuscript in two hands; and given the conclusion that the two people are one, the evidence is persuasive that this was a collaboration of symbolic significance, sealing the relationship between the two women" (Bridgman, p. 210-1).

The 1925 manuscript of A Novel of Thank You has nine long passages in Toklas' hand, and the infamous autobiography does have some of the subject's notes and phrases which were "cancelled" by her (Bridgman, p. 206). But Toklas didn't have time to add "being a pretty good author" to her list of roles--"I am a pretty good housekeeper and a pretty good gardener and a pretty good needlewoman and pretty good secretary and a pretty good editor, and a pretty good vet for dogs and I have to do them all at once" (Autobiography, p. 272)--until after Stein's death.

Toklas did have time to be Stein's "pretty good" publicist, beginning with the review copies of Three Lives she sent out, carefully saving the Boston and Kansas City reviews (Souhami). This led her to subscribe to Romeike's clipping bureau, "the advertisement of Romeike in the San Francisco Argonaut having been one of the romances of my childhood" (Autobiography, p. 123). She "was an excellent impresario. She managed and organized both their lives, shaped their fame and promoted their public image...polished anecdotes about themselves until they became legend" (Souhami, p. 15). She served as an agent to get Stein's pieces in American magazines, although she was rejected by The New Yorker when Katherine White told her that "she was not allowed to buy anything her boss [Ross] didn't understand" (Kunkel, p. 308).

Toklas also chose Stein's motto for her, "A rose is a rose is a rose is a rose," from the poem "Sacred Emily," for Stein's stationery (Souhami).

But by 1930 when the group was breaking up, Toklas had decided that the only way to get Stein to a wider audience was to do it herself. So she founded her own publishing company, Plain Editions, and Stein sold a Picasso to cover the initial investment (Souhami). As she explained it in Toklas' voice:

"I now myself began to think about publishing the work of Gertrude Stein. I asked her to invent a name for my editions and she laughed and said, call it Plain Editions. And Plain Editions it is. All that I knew about what I would have to do was that I would have to get the book printed and then to get it distributed, that is sold. I talked to everybody about how these two things were to be accomplished. At first I thought I would associate someone with me but that soon did not please me and I decided to do it all by myself" (Autobiography, p. 261).

Toklas was a hands on publisher. She worried about the binding: "Gertrude wanted the first book Lucy Church Amiably to look like a school book and to be bound in blue."

Then she worried about the distribution: "The real difficulty was to get to the booksellers" (Autobiography, p. 261-2). In the early thirties she published Lucy Church Amiably (Souhami), How to Write (Bridgman), the French translation of Before the Flowers of Friendship Faded Faded (Mellow), and her "ambitious...series of three, beginning with Operas and Plays,...going on with Matisse, Picasso and Gertrude Stein and Two Shorter Stories, and then going on with Two Long Poems and Many Shorter Ones" (Autobiography, p. 265).

Toklas still continued to type all the manuscripts (Autobiography), and started making extra copies as war threatened in 1935. But she purposely stopped typing when the Germans grew closer five years later because she knew that the soldiers would not be able to read Stein's handwriting (Souhami).

After Stein's death, Toklas still "dedicated herself to furthering Gertrude's reputation" (Brinnin, p. 253). When Katherine Anne Porter wrote a negative article about Stein in The Atlantic Monthly, Toklas got two writer friends to answer it. She worked with Leon Katz, who was annotating Stein's notebooks, only because she thought they "would be sealed and deposited at Yale," keeping Stein's early thoughts about everyone, including Toklas, from tarnishing her public reputation (Simon, p. 228).

She also continued to find outlets for Stein. Besides seeing that her second opera with Thomson, The Mother of Us All was premiered, and hosting the party for the cast of the 1952 revival of Four Saints (Souhami), she worked closely with four writers who were involved in getting Stein's works published (Simon). The Yale University Press brought out one volume per year for eight years, with forewords written by friends, and Toklas sold forty of Stein's Picasso drawings to finance publication (Souhami).

Toklas kept the legend she had created alive through speaking engagements and trying to control any Stein biographies:

"After nearly forty years of creating and publicizing the legend of Gertrude, Alice would not permit a negative word or prying eye. Her reaction was always swift and hard, and she mustered up whatever forces she could from among those few she trusted...Anyone who dared to write about Gertrude risked Alice's wrath with every word" (Simon, p. 198-200).

## The Effect of the Others--Hemingway, Fitzgerald, McAlmon, Thomson, Anderson and Ray--on Stein

It is easy to see how Stein received validation of herself and her work from Toklas, as well as motivation and stimulation to be productive. What did she get out of socializing with the other group members?

Although Stein's group began when she was much older than the other Stars, and she had an extensive background of experience of her own, she had not socialized with writers or others with access to outside stimulation until this group began to form in the early twenties. In that sense, this period of her development not only validated her self-image, but also made her less insular and self-centered, giving her access to stimulation from other areas, and leading to her more mainstream works, such as the Autobiography. Much has been written about the inspiration she received in her earlier writing years by hosting salons with modern painters, but we need to look now at how her associations with this group, consisting of a photographer and five writers, one of whom was also a composer, affected her self-concept, productivity and creative development.

We have seen how Stein and Toklas had both homophily as well as heterophily--and the others? They were all American writers, except Ray who only did some minor writing, but they were also all men, and all much younger than she except for Anderson. However, Stein did say in a letter, "when I ran down the male [gays] to Hemingway it was because I thought he was a secret one" (in Souhami, p. 180). He said that in one of his talks with her "he received the impression that she was trying to persuade him of something more than simple toleration of homosexuality" (Galantiere, p. 26). But they hit it off "just like brothers," and she and Thomson "like two Harvard men" (Wittke, p. 8).

Even when they were still getting along, she described Hemingway as "rather foreign-looking" (Autobiography, p. 229-30), and they disagreed about Anderson (Autobiography, p. 236). Although she had the most homophily with Anderson, "their most representative works are not remotely alike" (Brinnin, p. 237). He tried to get her to go to the Pen Club meetings in Paris but "she said she loved him very much but not the Pen Club" (Autobiography, p. 266).

Stein's relationship with Fitzgerald was one long love fest, but he was a drinker, which she would not abide, so he was "usually" sober when he came to Fleurus (Mellow, p. 330). McAlmon on the other hand, was thought by Toklas to be "irresponsibly drunk" during all his time at the salon (Souhami, p. 163-4), and after only three years he and Stein were exchanging nasty letters. She fought with Thomson, but he was able to be invited back (Mellow). His later works revealed a style very different from that he exhibited when working with her; a style that "Stein would not approve," according to Wittke (p. 30-1).

In this stage of her artistic life, "her most important personal associations would tend to be with Americans who wrote rather than Europeans who painted" (Brinnin, p. 229). As the early group of painters did not, this group of writers, with all their differences, validated Stein's role as a fellow writer, and treated her like a genius.

The first to come was Anderson. He had already read her Tender Buttons (Mellow) and even written a parody of it (Howe). He told Sylvia Beach of his admiration for Stein, and in her letter of introduction Beach said, "he is so anxious to know you, for he says you have influenced him every so much and that you stand as such as great master of words" (Hobhouse, p. 114). At their first meeting, Anderson told her directly "how she helped him find his tools, helped him believe in himself as a writer and she was pleased" (Townsend, p. 180). Validation indeed:

"She took it as a declaration of love and was quick to answer him in kind. 'I don't think you quite realize what it meant,' she wrote to him, 'to have someone and you have been the only one quite simply to understand what it is all about simply understand as anyone would suppose every one would understand and to so charmingly and directly tell it to me.' From the first exchange, their correspondence reads like a series of love letters...[They] kept up an intimacy the basis of which can be most clearly read in their happy recognition of their own peculiarly American temperaments and personalities and in their embattled sense of having broken with tradition and confounded it...[Their very different works] are products of a shared striving to bring into literature something beyond the means of literature" (Brinnin, p. 236-7).

Anderson sent her works "in which it was evident he continued to learn from the writings of his mentor" (Hobhouse, p. 114). At their few meetings together they agreed about writing, their mutual admiration for Ulysses S Grant, and then their bewilderment at Hemingway's turning on them (Mellow).

When Making was published, she wrote to Anderson “there are some pretty wonderful sentences in it, and we know how fond we both are of sentences” (Souhami, p. 266). This “devotion” of Anderson’s worked both ways; it gave her “a needed living proof that she was who she thought she was” (Hobhouse, p. 114). She wrote to him the year after their meeting, “I have never had more genuine emotion than when you came and understood me” (in Townsend, p. 180).

Anderson sent her a letter of praise when the Autobiography was published (Mellow) and was quoted as describing her as “a sort of toolmaker. She has given me a lot’... Gertrude introduced Anderson to his medium, as if for the first time, giving him the sense that he could do anything he wanted with it” (in Townsend, p. 100).

In the Autobiography she described to the public how much this validation of her work meant to her:

“Gertrude Stein was moved and pleased as she has very rarely been. Sherwood Anderson came and quite simply and directly as is his way told her what he thought of her work and what it had meant to him in his development. He told it to her then and what was even rarer he told it in print immediately after. Gertrude Stein and Anderson have always been the best of friends but I do not believe even he realizes how much his visit meant to her” (p. 212-3).

Stein and Fitzgerald also engaged in a mutual admiration society over each other’s works. Of all those Stein met in the twenties, he was “the one she liked best, and continued to like despite the rarity of their meetings” (Hobhouse, p. 126). “Fitzgerald and [e e] cummings are the best of the crowd,” she said (Sprigge, p. 147), calling him “the only one of the younger writers who wrote naturally in sentences” (Mellow, p. 330). From the first time he “came to join the charmed circle about her feet...he had her deepest confidence and affection” (Brinnin, p. 240), and told her that she was “a very handsome, acutely sensitive, gallant kind lady” (Souhami, p. 153). Although their relationship, too, “did not encompass many meetings,...they wrote admiringly to each other” (Mellow, p. 330). When they did get together, Fitzgerald would validate her opinions by telling Hemingway stories (Sklar), and offering “the devotion and tributes of someone she recognized as a genuinely gifted writer” (Hobhouse, p. 126-7).

Soon after the first meeting he wrote to her, “I am so anxious to get The Making of Americans and learn something from it and imitate things out of it which I shall doubtless

do” (Brinnin, p. 240-1). The letter Stein wrote him after reading his newly-published The Great Gatsby. “clearly suggests the teacher-master relationship Fitzgerald allowed to grow up between them” (LeVot, p. 197). She praised his first novel as well, and Fitzgerald replied, “it honestly makes me shiver to know that such a writer as you attributes such a significance to my factitious, meretricious (metricious?) This Side of Paradise.” Years later when he finally published Tender Is the Night, he sent her a copy inscribed, “Is this the book you asked for?” (Souhami, p. 153), and encouraged his fledgling writer-daughter to read “As Fine as Melanctha” (Sprigge, p. 141).

Unlike some who came, Thomson “was no sycophant and his objective sense of Gertrude’s personality was as clear as the affection in which he would hold for her for many years” (Brinnin, p. 278). But he had the advantage of being not only a writer but also an expert in music, and who was able to validate her belief in what she was trying to do in literature. Even before they met, he was “intrigued by Stein and challenged by her Tender Buttons..He sensed there was logic behind her puzzling arrangement of words and grammatical incoherences” (Witke, p. 4). When they did begin to see each other, in 1925, her teacher role surfaced at first, recognizing “in him the makings of a disciple” (Witke, p. 13).

Thomson was quoted as describing her with all affection as expecting “to be granted the freedom of a man without allowing anyone to sacrifice the respect due her as a woman” (Brinnin, p. 278). He validated all her different roles:

“There were many Gertrudes, the neighborhood Gertrude, a homely peasant country woman, the Dr. Johnson Gertrude, laying down the law, the *homme des lettres*, *homme not femme*, the *saloniere*, giving her opinion on everything, and Gertrude the hermetic poet, hard-working, humble...not humble before the view of other people on her work, but humble before a piece of paper” (in Sprigge, p. 140).

“Stein’s detached language and Thomson’s explicative music are two sides of the same coin” according to Witke, so his strongest validation of her work came soon after they met when he began to set her Susie Asado, Preciosilla and Capital, Capitals to music. When she heard what he had done with her works, “she delighted in listening to her words framed by his music. They saw a great deal of each other,” as she says in the Autobiography (p. 246).

McAlmon, on the other hand, said she liked “adulation even if it was from parasites, bores or gigolos and pimps” (Brinnin, p. 176). In his memoir he described her as having “a child’s vanity and love of praise,” so that she “believed all of the soft-soaping and flatteries and, one gathers, still believes them.” He wrote a satirical profile of her and criticised her work in Outlook. But even he, who had a stormy relationship with Stein throughout his few short years in the group, admitted that before they met his “admiration for ‘Melanctha’ was great” (in Boyle, p. 4). On his first visit, they shared “a mutual passion for Trollope’s novels, for documentaries, autobiographies and biographical things” (Reynolds, p. 35), and later he published a writer backed by her, Robert Coates (Smoller).

And then there was Hemingway, who in the beginning told her “it was a vital day for me when I stumbled upon you” (Souhami). In their first days together

“Though she did not particularly encourage him, Hemingway sought out Gertrude time and again. He hungered for her private and special regard and, while she was never distant to his advances, she accepted him with a preference that was not more or less than that she granted to many other engaging and talented young men who came into her preserve. When on occasion she left Paris for the country, he said the city was empty without her, sent nostalgic postcards begging her to come back because he had just discovered sleep and what a fine way it was to spend the winter and needed her to cheer up the town, and otherwise counted the days until her return. Like a child showing off before an only half-attentive parent, he was, on the one hand, continually calling her attention to his exploits in boxing, bull fighting...and, on the other, telling her how mightily he was struggling with creative problems and how much, under her guidance, he was learning...[He moved around a lot but] was never out of touch with Gertrude, and never lost his hunger for her advice and approval. He sent word counts of his progress, reported in detail the all-night writing hours he kept, and analysed for her every shift in his creative impulse, including those bad times when his head was ‘like a frozen cabbage’” (Brinnin, p. 252-3).

From Pamplona he wrote, “Isn’t writing a hard job, though? It used to be easy before I met you. I certainly was bad, gosh, I’m awfully bad now but it’s a different kind of bad.” Some feel that even Hemingway’s initial interest in bullfighting was “less love at first sight for the sport than it was need to love the art of bullfight because Gertrude had praised it to him” (Brinnin, p. 257).

Stein loved the fact that he was “a born listener” (in Brinnin, p. 250), and gave him advice on writing as well as setting type for his Three Stories (Reynolds). She used him as a character in “Objects Lie on a Table. A Play,” emphasizing “the conventionality of Ernest’s courtesy as well as his desire to learn,” although in the story “the pupil was not

always as attentive as might be wished in the presence of an established figure. 'When visiting they had said to him, listen while we are talking.' ...Furthermore, she would not suffer herself to be regarded as a fool. 'Do we suppose that all she knows is that a rose is a rose is a rose is a rose?'" (" (Bridgman, p. 165-6).

He and his pregnant wife Hadley took Stein's advice and "went away and well within the prescribed year they came back with a new born baby. Newspaper work was over" (Autobiography, p. 231).

Even from her "pupils," like Hemingway, she learned from this feedback, talking about writers and writing. Before either of them received outside recognition for their work, when they were together, "every new acceptance [by a publisher]...was occasion for extravagant congratulations. They both had a clearly defined feeling, if only a vague picture, of coming glory, and shared their confidence like an illicit secret" (Brinnin, p. 253). They would follow "current gossip like bloodhounds" (Brinnin), talking "endlessly about the character of Harold Loeb," a small Paris publisher. Stein and Hemingway disputed the value of e e cummings; he "accused Cummings of having copied everything," whereas she "said that Cummings did not copy, he was the natural heir of the New England tradition" (Autobiography, p. 237).

Hemingway showed her his manuscripts the day after his first visit to Fleurus, and Stein told him, "there is a great deal of description in this, she said, and not particularly good description. Begin over again and concentrate, she said." They used to "walk together and talk together a great deal" (Autobiography, p. 230). According to Brinnin, they "conferred piece by piece about most of the work he had written" (p. 250). "Remarks are not literature," she advised Hemingway (Autobiography, p. 237).

Hemingway "quoted Gertrude to herself in letters," but also validated her influence on him to the outside world:

“Ernest began to emulate something of her manner in his own letters to others, and even for a time attempted, as she had years before, to find the literary equivalence of the methods of Cezanne...From Gertrude, as his early works began to show, he had learned the value of skillfully maneuvered repetitions, the simple power of the declarative sentence, and the necessity for saturation in an attitude within which the writer can write as a possessed and still self-possessed being, rather than as mere reporter or analyst. Her passion for charts and diagrams and the bones of a thing, the scientific exactitude she had retained through many years when she had nothing to do with science, was obviously of great value to him in assessing his own work. As he wrote to Edmund Wilson, ‘Her method is invaluable for analysing anything or making notes on a person or place.’ While this reference to her ‘method’ undoubtedly takes in the whole of Gertrude Stein’s approach to literature, in specific terms it likely applies to her determination to isolate experience as well as words” (Brinnin, p. 257-8).

In a lot of his early stories Hemingway imitated her style, particularly her “elliptical references and ironic repetitions” (Bridgman).

But mostly in later years he disavowed any respect for Stein’s works, saying she “disliked the drudgery of revision and the obligation to make her writing intelligible” (Souhami, p. 175). She got her digs in, too, by telling an interviewer that Hemingway “was not really good after 1925...When I first met Hemingway he had a truly sensitive capacity for emotion, and that was the stuff of the first stories...Then it happened. I saw it happen and tried to save what was fine there, but it was too late” (Brinnin, p. 261).

However, even his parody of her and Anderson, Torrents (Reynolds), was a validation of sorts of her role as a writer worthy of parody, although it did lead to a rift in the their three-member clique. In the Autobiography she describes her and Anderson discussing how “Hemingway had been formed by the two of them and they were both a little proud and a little ashamed of the work of their minds...And then they both agreed that they have a weakness for Hemingway because he is such a good pupil” (p. 234).

Years later he said to John Peale Bishop, “Pound was right half the time, and when he was wrong, he was so wrong you were never in any doubt about it. Gertrude was always right” (in Brinnin, p. 252), and to George Plimpton, “here it is simpler and better to thank Gertrude for everything I learned from her about the abstract relationships of words, and say how fond I was of her” (in Donnelly, p. H12).

If Stein’s effect on her “pupils” was great, for her part, her “morale was very much lifted by the attentions of young writers like Anderson and Ernest Hemingway” (Hobhouse, p. 116). Stein “seems to have blossomed under the attention of Ernest” (Mellow, p. 317),

and Bridgman feels that his coming, along with that of Anderson, “turned Gertrude to self-explication, an activity that she carried on industriously for the rest of her life” (p. 165).

Hemingway’s coming made her realize that “the time was ripe for a review of her career” (Bridgman, p. 165), and she decided publish a representative selection of her work, Geography and Plays. Also that year she wrote Elucide to “realize clearly just what her writing meant and why it was as it was” (Autobiography, p. 226).

The fact that this group did not physically meet together as often as the other three actually gave Stein more access to information because of the frequent travels of the group members, particularly to America. Because she did not return to the States until 1933, the other members were her main sources of regular, firsthand information about what was going on in literature back home. Indeed, Anderson brought her Hemingway (Baker), who in turn brought Fitzgerald (LeVot), and McAlmon brought William Carlos Williams. Anderson’s influence also lead to Stein and Toklas’ later trip to America (Mellow).

As the group members on the outer part of the circle, Thomson, the Odd One Out, Anderson, the Link, and Ray, the Bridge, and, would be expected to have provided the most outside stimulation and different points of view.

Ray brought literally a different point of view from his field of photography. Although their relationship was never really close, Stein did admit to some of his influence in her description of her first visit to his studio in the Autobiography:

“He showed us pictures of Marcel Duchamp and a lot of other people and he asked if he might come and take photographs of the studio and of Gertrude Stein. He did and he also took some of me and we were very pleased with the result. He has at intervals taken pictures of Gertrude Stein and she is always fascinated with his way of using lights. She always comes home very pleased” (p. 213).

Thomson, the Odd One Out, introduced her to Bernard Fay, who became a long-time friend (Souhami), and also showed her his pictures by Christian Berard: “Gertrude Stein used to look at them a great deal. She could not find out at all what she thought about them. She and Virgil Thomson used to talk about them endlessly. Virgil said he knew nothing about pictures but he thought these wonderful” (Autobiography, p. 246).

But, of course, the most important stimulation that Thomson gave her access to was contemporary music. He had the advantage of not only knowing the creative differences between literature and music, but “being a writer as well, saw their similarities” (Wittke, p. 8-9). At their first meeting he invited her and Toklas to attend a concert of his works. According to Wittke, “Stein’s companion Alice B. Toklas had a respectable musical background. As a result this [concert]...further cemented the budding friendship of the three of them and eventually led to the creation of Four Saints and The Mother of Us All” (p. 13). He later played Satie for her (Mellow) and introduced her to the composer (Kathleen Hoover). Thomson wrote pieces specifically for her to improvise (Mellow), although “she could only play white notes and the span of an octave was all she could handle” (Wittke, p. 40).

Their goal was the same:

“What Virgil was trying to do was very difficult: to use simple materials in a way that made them sound fresh, even radical. In a way, this is just what Stein was up to: taking everyday language and scrambling it to make it new. Stein’s best lines, as Thomson put it, ‘leap off the page at you’” (in Wittke, p. 20).

“Stein did this in literature and Virgil, ever her disciple, aspired to do so in music” (Wittke, p. 31). He wrote Five Portraits, based on the literary portraits she had written earlier. Eventually he wrote more than 150 of these, including portraits of Stein and Toklas (Wittke).

Later when he was approached by Joyce to collaborate on a ballet based on Finnegan’s Wake, Thomson “very reluctantly turned it down out of loyalty to Gertrude Stein. She would have been furious and would have considered it an act of betrayal of their friendship” (Wittke, p. 12). For her part, she felt that “he was the only one who really understood her” (Brinnin, p. 323).

As Sprigge describes it, “it is sometimes said by Gertrude’s detractors that social life at 27 rue de Fleurus was contrived to one end alone, the furtherance of her literary career” (p. 132).

The Americans’ publicising of each other commenced right from the beginning of the group, when Anderson agreed to write a preface for Stein’s Geography. The editor at Four Seas Publications, Edmund R. Brown, gratefully wrote to her, “I am sure that Sherwood

Anderson's explanatory preface to your book will be very helpful, not only as an aid to the general reader but also to us in marketing." In his complimentary introduction he wrote that hers "was the most important pioneer work being done in the field of letters" (Souhami, p. 151).

At the same time Anderson also wrote articles such as "The Work of Gertrude Stein" and "Four American Impressions," which appeared in the New Republic, about his meeting with her, and included a sketch of her in his collection of newspaper pieces, Hello Towns (Howe). Fitzgerald tried to get his Scribner's editor, Maxwell Perkins, to publish Making (Mellow), Hemingway reviewed Geography in the Tribune when it was published in 1923, and the next year did the same for Anderson's Story Teller's Story (Reynolds).

Ray, the Bridge, photographed her often, becoming "something of an official photographer" at Fleurus (Mellow, p. 305), and offered to act as Stein's agent with British Vogue, but nothing came of it (Baldwin).

Besides convincing Ford Maddox Ford to serialize Stein's Making in his transatlantic review (Souhami), Hemingway rushed to publish her when he was made commissioning editor (Bridgman), and fought with Ford to get him to pay Stein and not reduce the type size and spacing of her work (Reynolds).

In the first reviews of Hemingway's In Our Time, when published in America by Liveright, there were constant reference to her effect on him: "There are...subtler traces of Gertrude Stein" (Saturday Review of Literature); "He shows the influence of Gertrude Stein very strongly" (New York Herald Tribune, in Reynolds, p. 328-9); and "a disciple of both Anderson and Gertrude Stein" (Edmund Wilson, in Hobhouse, p. 128).

Indeed, once she began associating with these writers, in public "her name was constantly associated with...Scott, Anderson and Hemingway in the halcyon twenties" (Hoffman, p. 16) in discussions of what was new in contemporary American literature. In 1924 Dial said "Hemingway must be counted as the only American but one--Mr. Anderson--who has felt the genius of Gertrude Stein's Three Lives and has evidently been influenced by it. Indeed Miss Stein, Mr. Anderson and Mr. Hemingway may now be said to form a

school by themselves...It is a distinctively American development in prose" (in Brinnin, p. 326).

But the two most important outlets she got out of the group were the Contact Press and her collaboration with Thomson.

McAlmon wrote to Stein from Switzerland in 1924 asking for something for his Contact Collection of Contemporary Writers. She sent him "Two Women" (Mellow). Stein later invited McAlmon to Fleurus business as well as social reasons (Brinnin). One year later he agreed to published 500 copies of Stein's Making (Souhami). She wanted it to appear in four to six volumes over two years; he said one. He felt that it was "suitable" for his Contact Editions, but that it was

"all of a piece' and offered no obvious divisions in material presentation, it had better be published as a single volume. Gertrude quickly sanctioned this improvement on her own scheme, and promised McAlmon that she would see to it that at least fifty friends bought advance copies. The manuscript was shortly on its way to the press of Maurice Darantiere in Dijon, a firm which had already served the cause of modernism by printing James Joyce's Ulysses. The printing job, as might be expected, was a nightmare for the French compositors. Countless repetitions, minute inversions, infinitesimal variations, all the characteristic tricks and turns of the early Stein were quite beyond them. And yet the circumstance of working in a language foreign to them was perhaps in its way an advantage, since they were not influenced by notions of their own about customary syntax or sentence balance. But Stein in any language would pose its special problems, and the possible advantage of ignorance was not enough to prevent them from committing hundreds of errors that were not only serious but barely discernible" (Brinnin, p. 266).

Stein angered McAlmon when she called the printer to give directions (Souhami), and when it was finally published that September, he told her he would pulp all the copies if they weren't sold in a year (Brinnin). By December, 103 copies had been sold and paid for (Mellow), but her visibility increased tremendously. It had been reviewed by Ethel Moorhead in This Quarterly, by Bryher in Poetry, and by Stephen Vincent Benet (negatively) in the Saturday Review of Literature, her first review in a popular American magazine (Smoller). In the long run, though, was not selling, "he became very angry [with her] and not without reason" (Autobiography, p. 243). Two years later, when they were still fighting, he let Stein bid on the remainders (Mellow).

The collaboration that Stein and Thomson engaged in began during this time when the composer set some of her pieces to music (Souhami) and included them on programs at the Salle d'Orgue in 1928 and the Copland-Sessions series in the following year (Kathleen

Hoover). Once he knew that he had “apprenticed himself by setting” many of her works, Thomson “felt he was now ready to wrestle with an opera. Stein was charmed and flattered when he suggested a large-scale work, and enthusiastically agreed” (Wittke, p. 17).

Their collaboration, beginning in 1927, was unique. “The conditions under which [it] was initiated were unparalleled in Gertrude’s career. Both the form and the subject matter were at least partially imposed upon her. Her habitual method of composition was to follow whim, but in this instance plans had to be made in consultation with another person”; the process “helped to coax Gertrude out of her cave of mystery” (Bridgman, p. 177).

Thomson

“soon demonstrated that he could work with Gertrude without compromise of his own standards and without making her feel that she was giving up artistic autonomy...Gertrude recognized his brilliance as a critic and his self-assurance as a composer from the very beginning of their relationship to have accepted him as an equal” (Brinnin, p. 278).

In addition, their ways of working were very similar:

“Both...were intuitive artists...The semantic sense of her words is subordinated to achieve only a functional effect...Thomson applied a similar technique to his music, liberating notes from their usual moorings in their musical environment and syntax... His use of well-known folk tunes and unadorned triadic tonality were the equivalent of Stein’s literary dislocations...Both Stein and Thomson were involved in deconstructing their language...[He called for] a new process of listening and reading. Stein did the same thing in her writing” (Wittke, p. 8-9).

Thomson had commissioned her to write the libretto (Mellow); she got her friends in America to come up with the money for him (Souhami). Influenced by her recent trip to Spain with Toklas, Stein “proposed a Spanish setting with Angels Teresa and Ignatius Loyola as subjects” (Spiegelman). She sent the libretto to him that summer (Mellow), and the finished product reflects their common values of language, music and America:

“The texture and rhythms of Stein’s language incorporated the plain monosyllabic style of American speech. Within the utterly French setting of his flat at Quai Voltaire, Virgil could hear the rhythms of the American dialect as foreign. Thomson recalled that setting Stein’s words ‘forced me to hear the sound that the American language really makes when sung’...The opera’s creation also reflects the twenties’ transatlantic love affair between New York and Paris... Her love of artfully constructed verbal edifices using the simplest of means, her contrapuntal interweaving of repeated words and phrases, as well as her childlike abstraction, all defined an inherently musical sensibility. ‘She wrote poetry...very much as a composer works,’ Thomson recalled. ‘She chose a theme and developed it, or rather, she let the words of it develop themselves through the free expansion of sound and sense...I took my musical freedom, following her poetic freedom, and what came out was a virtually total recall of my Southern Baptist childhood in Missouri...We saw among the religious a parallel to the life we were leading,’ Thomson wrote, ‘ in which consecrated artists were practicing their art surrounded by younger artists who were no less consecrated, and who were trying to learn and needing to learn the terrible disciplines of truth and spontaneity, of channeling their skills without loss of inspiration” (Lincoln Center, pp. 24, 20A).

He also devoted much time and energy to getting Four Saints produced, “playing and singing the score for anyone whom he could corral. Thomson, never a virtuoso, was an engaging and amusing performer. His comments and parodies of music were hilarious...Everybody loved Four Saints, but no one offered to put it on the stage” (Wittke). It was not produced until 1934 (Brinnin).

Teacher, genius, artist, writer, librettist--by the time the group broke up Stein was validated in all the roles she knew she played.

## The Algonquin Round Table

The Round Table legend portrays them as an extremely homogenous group, although we will see that there was enough heterophily among them as well. Parker, who, unlike Virginia, validated herself as a woman by having many affairs, received validation for herself as a writer from the group, but, unfortunately, also as a partying alcoholic. Most important, she learned her craft, received feedback and developed a style by socializing with this cohesive group. Although Parker considered most of them close friends, the attraction was strongest to Benchley, who validated her personally as well as professionally, but also tried to keep her balanced. He was not always successful.

## The Effect of Benchley on Parker

Unlike Stein and Toklas, Parker and Benchley had no marriage, although they were two heterosexuals of different genders but similar ages. They did have one of the most unconventional relationships in American literature. Brendan Gill, a later New Yorker editor, “puzzled aloud over Parker’s friendship with Robert Benchley...’those two were the oddest couple on earth’” (Grimes, October, 1994, p. 12). But to most of their friends, “the appearance of Dottie and Robert was of two kindred souls locked together in a life of laughter, mutual interest and a love of life” (Meade, p. 56-7). Beyond that, he also validated her values, attitudes and beliefs, as well as her self-image as the serious writer she wanted to be, and was a major factor in her creative development at this time in her life.

They first met when he came to work at Vanity Fair in 1919 and they shared an office, just before the Round Table began lunching (Meade). Parker felt then that he didn’t look like what he wrote, but that he was “one of the most charming men she had ever met” (Keats, p. 40). Robert Sherwood, who was soon hired to share the same office, described them as “fast company,” ideal to begin a career with (in Benchley, p. xiv). Sometimes, “for no apparent reason” she would call him “Fred,” but usually they referred to each other as “Mrs. Parker” and “Mr. Benchley” (Keats, p. 42).

When she was invited to the infamous first Algonquin luncheon, she “insisted” that both of her officemates be included (Meade, p. 59). As the group solidified, “it was natural for Dottie and Robert to be seen together” (Meade, p. 57). Although whenever they got drunk together they “would become rambunctious,” her best drinking company was Benchley or other Round Tablers (Meade, p. 94-5).

Beyond the obvious similarities of age and occupation, Parker and Benchley had a strong degree of homophily. They were, of course, “charter members” of the Round Table, and were friends together with other writers, such as the Murphys and Donald Ogden Stewart (Meade).

Their place in American literature was similar, as they, along with Hemingway, Fitzgerald, Lardner and others, “had proven that one could be talented, sophisticated, intellectual even--and still be American” (Frewin, p. 309). When their Sherwood was

reprimanded for satirizing one of the magazine's ads, they both supported him (Frewin). Fights with their boss left them both "still boiling, but trying to keep a low profile around the office...Dottie and Robert allowed themselves to blow out steam after lunch" (Meade, p. 64), which they began to take together at the Algonquin.

Their marital situations left them both, "genuinely confused. The crux of the matter was loyalty to people and concepts...Only too well did she understand what he feared becoming--a weakling, a failure, a self-pitying drunk--for she felt identical fears for herself" (Meade, p. 119-20). She never liked Benchley's other, suburban life, but she didn't want to be Gertrude:

"Her indignation was aroused not at the thought of Gertrude's entrapment, but at the thought of his, a perception of his marriage that he did nothing to discourage. What she couldn't bring herself to wonder was why he had chosen it. Instead, she preferred seeing him as a helpless victim, either of circumstances or of Gertrude, most likely the latter" (Meade, p. 63-4)."

Besides all this homophily, there was of course heterophily between them as well, besides their gender.

When they first met, both were teetotalers, but when Sherwood showed up one day in the office, acknowledging that he had a hangover, "Benchley expressed alarm and disapproval. Parker sprang to Sherwood's defense, declaring that she had once attended a cocktail party" (Meade, p. 55). She wrote a sketch and a lyric for Broun's revue, Shoot the Works (Frewin) which Benchley gave a bad review (Rosmond).

Parker went often to Woolcott's Neshobe; Benchley only went once--he didn't like the rules there (Frewin). He felt her New Yorker story, "Mrs. Hofstader on Josephine Street," was one of her funniest, even though "the idea of making fun of a black bothered Parker later" (Rosmond, p. 206). But their biggest rift came as she got more involved with left wing causes. Wilson says he found that she "openly ridiculed Benchley for selling out to Hollywood" (Meade, p. 250).

Their attraction is also obvious--"they hugely enjoyed one another's company" (Keats, p. 43). The more they worked together, and the worse her marriage got, the more her "intimacy with Benchley deepened" (Meade, p. 73). She went off on vacation with her husband, but mostly she missed her "closest friend" (Frewin, p. 53): "She openly admitted

her homesickness for Benchley and barraged him with postcards...Repeatedly she reminded him how much she missed him and wished he were there" (Meade, p. 79). Filling in for him as a New Yorker critic, she even pleaded in a PS to her column, "Personal to Robert Benchley. Please come home. Nothing is forgiven" (Frewin, p. 135). Once Eddie was out of her life, she and Benchley "became inseparable" (Meade, p. 57).

Even Lillian Hellman noted "the devotion he had for her and she for him" (in Frewin, p. 295); she "convinced herself that there were two people about whom Dorothy had never made an unkind remark: herself and Robert Benchley. Although she said nothing derogatory about Benchley after his death, she had not spared him during the thirties and forties" (Meade, p. 371). Sheilah Graham, a fellow Hollywood partygoer, also said, "he was the only person I did not hear her malign as soon as he left the room" (in Frewin, p. 193-4). In her later interviews when she said terrible things about all of her other friends, Parker described Benchley as "very funny and wonderful...damn well read and, though I hate the word,...cultured" (Frewin, p. 281).

When she came back from Europe in 1926, Parker had a date with Edmund Wilson, but only wanted to go to Tony's to see Benchley: "Wilson felt annoyed, but not surprised" (Meade, p. 175). Hellman said that Benchley had "loved" Parker (in Frewin, p. 295), and one of Parker's many cables to him from Europe said, "DEEPLY SUNK LOVE YOU SOMETHING TERRIBLE" (in Meade, p. 208). In Hollywood, for a while at least, she was seen "mostly with Benchley," according to Graham (in Frewin, p. 193).

But by the end of 1928, when Elinor Wylie died, instead of being consoled by her best friend in her grief, "she hardly even speaks to me," Benchley wrote to his wife. Within a few years, "her contacts with Benchley were increasingly limited to social occasions." Soon she was living with Alan Campbell, and "a coolness had developed" between Parker and Benchley, "but her withdrawal from Benchley predated her marriage" (Meade, p. 250).

In the later Hollywood years, he was "the person she missed most...which was ironic since he was living half of each year" there (Meade, p. 249). But by that time, as both of their careers progressed, alternatives were becoming more attractive, and not only the group, but its two key persons, were breaking up, eventually becoming farther apart than any of the Star-Hostess pairs did.

We have seen that Parker was not always wise in her choice of men to have relationships with, but this did not apply to Benchley, and he played the role of the ideal husband for her. "For all her helplessness she still exuded in print a pronounced cynicism about men. Robert Benchley was, of course, the exception" (Frewin, p. 66). After her disastrous affair with Charles MacArthur that ended in an abortion, she still hung out with him and Benchley since the two men were inseparable; she "could not escape his presence without giving up the company of Benchley. As a result, the three of them were often together" (Meade, p. 130).

During their years in the Round Table, they functioned almost like a husband-wife team, with a "Stable Satisfactory" marriage. They began by attending plays that they had to review together, since critics always got two free seats (Frewin). Soon they

"spent so much time together that people thought of them as a couple. Edmund Wilson believed their relationship was 'special' and 'rather peculiar' in that Dottie seemed to regard Benchley as 'a saint.' But Wilson did not suppose them to be sexually involved. Others assumed they must be...even some of the Round Table had their suspicions...Theirs was very much a romance of the unconsummated nineteenth-century variety, when the poetic notion of soulmates was not considered extraordinary....Benchley was her precious companion and closest confidant--and she also loved him. There was nothing remarkable about this because his male friends also found him lovable" (Meade, p. 96).

They became a "regular twosome" drinking at Tony's (Meade, p. 94-5), and neither of their spouses was happy about it. Although Benchley was the only one of the Algonquinites that Eddie was comfortable with, he never really understood why this nice guy and his wife had to spend so much time together. For her part, Parker disliked Benchley's wife before they even met. Gertrude claimed she didn't like Parker because on one occasion when she came to dinner, she didn't do the dishes (Meade).

One columnist "had hardly hidden the suggestion that Parker and Benchley were involved in a torrid liaison. Both rushed to him to deny the story...but didn't change their habits...It was, they lamely [told Eddie], necessary to be seen around together" (Meade, p. 56). After running into one of Benchley's mistresses on the Riviera, he left his family to go drinking with Parker. As Meade, says, "neither...[was] able to confide fully in their mates, they complemented each other psychologically, indeed were kindred souls" (p. 70).

Even as Benchley embarked on more affairs with various women, “neither the showgirl with her lack of sophistication nor Gertrude with her suburban matron mentality presented any competition for Dottie’s unique relationship with Benchley. She continued to be his confidant and hand-holder” (Meade, p. 121).

Most observers of the group are convinced that Parker “never consummated her love for [the] humorist” (Allen, p. G6). Meade states, “there was no adultery--nor would there ever be [between the two of them]--but they were unquestionably a couple. In 1920, friendship between a woman and a man was not unheard of, but it was uncommon when both people were married” (p. 70). Sherwood “described their relationship as intellectual” (Meade, p. 71), and Maslin (1994) refers to Benchley as “the true unavailable love of Dorothy Parker’s life” (p. B3).

When Parker split with Eddie, Benchley was the only one of the group to “receive an accurate accounting of the parting” (Meade, p. 98). Embarking on affairs with a succession of Eddie-look-alikes, she “confided” in Benchley and he gave her fatherly advice. When she let on that she was interested in Seward Collins, the wealthy new owner of Bookman, he told her “Go to it, Dottie! Smoke him out!” (Meade, p. 110). But he told her to dump MacArthur as soon as he began an affair with someone else. When she confided in Benchley the physical abuse she had suffered at the hands of her current lover, he advised, “Drop him, Dottie. He’s a killer” (Meade, p. 139). Benchley knew her well enough to see “the warning signs” when she began a disastrous affair with John Garrett (Frewin, p. 139), and after another beau dumped her, she disappeared for a while, moving to different hotels, until Benchley and Woolcott found her. “They told her to snap out of it. Plainly the man was a louse.” Soon she took a half vial of Veronal (Frewin, p. 148).

Through all Parker’s suicide attempts, Benchley was the one who helped. “Go easy on this suicide stuff. First thing you know, you’ll ruin your health” (Frewin, p. 105), he cautioned her. Eventually, he got tougher with her. “Why do you despise yourself?” he asked (Meade, p. 87). After an Algonquin party in 1926 he walked her to the elevator and she went up and took a large vial of barbiturates. When she didn’t show for lunch, he went to her room and found her,

“hardly breathing...[This] second time was rather different. When Benchley visited her in the hospital, he looked at her dolefully and said, ...’ if you don’t stop this sort of thing, you’ll make yourself sick’...He planned to use hard-hitting tactics this time, to try to frighten her. Her friends, he claimed, did not want to know. Her repeat performance was not simply a nuisance, it was more than that. It was a bloody great bore. ‘If you could have seen how utterly repulsive you looked when we found you,’ he scolded, ‘you would never have done it. You looked a drooling mess.’ And then, to soften the hurt, he said, ‘If you had any consideration at all for your friends, you’d shoot yourself cleanly and not be so revoltingly messy’...[Suicide was a felony but it ] was largely hushed up by the group at Benchley’s behest” (Frewin, p. 105-6).

And then, in a reversal of roles, “from a chair next to her bed, he began to unburden himself as though he were the one who had caved in” (Meade, p. 161).

His roles as husband and father were important to Parker. For all of her flaunting of conventional morality, she, according to Meade, “wanted freedom for herself but needed Robert to remain a father and husband, solid and leanable, upholding the traditional values of family sanctity” (p. 128). Someone had to do it, and this gave Parker the freedom to take a totally different role for herself, the independent, strong, free female. This division of roles colored her early reviews, which “helped to create a national attitude or style” (Keats, p. 10).

When he died, she felt such “anger and shock,” that all she could say was, “That’s dandy!”, a remark that Gertrude Benchley never forgave her. Although they had not been as close after the group broke up, he had “remained one of the most important people in her life. She loved him in a special way” (Meade, p. 319). According to Keats, “there had never been another man like Benchley in her life...’Isn’t it presumptuous of us to be alive, now that Robert is dead?’” she asked (Keats, p. 244).

In the end, Benchley was the one who not only validated her as a writer, but “knew and understood Dottie better than any of the Algonquin crowd. He knew that her familiar gaiety was nothing more than external drapery for her unhappiness. He knew, too, that she was always at war with the demons; that they seldom left her” (Frewin, p. 105), but he also “could always make her feel better” (Meade, p. 166).

Beginning with their lunches at the Algonquin, where they were “indulging themselves by eating there,” Parker and Benchley’s many activities together validated for her the lifestyle she was living and how it was connected to her work. Like the feedback in Stein and Toklas’ long walks and conversations, their “discussions in the office were

scarcely different from their table talk at the Algonquin...They would happily apprise one another of the absurdities and curiosities to be found in this world” (Keats, p. 43).

His first and strongest validation of her work came when Parker was fired from Vanity Fair in 1920. The first thing she did was to call Benchley, who took the next train in from Scarsdale to sit up commiserating with the Parkers (Meade). He decided to quit. “His job wasn’t attractive enough to keep him there” without Parker and Sherwood, who had also quit or been fired. The next day all three appeared in the office, “wearing red chevrons upside down on their sleeves in the manner of troops mustered out of service” (Frewin, p. 59). To them, “their dismissal was not important. Life was for living” (Frewin, p. 61), but Benchley’s “gesture of resigning, ‘out of moral indignation and professional ethics’ had, Dorothy said, ‘surprised her. Benchley had a family--two children,’ she commented. ‘It was the greatest act of friendship I’d known’” (Frewin, p. 60).

She looked to him for advice the same way Virginia consulted her sister. Debating whether to stay with the Murphys in Switzerland, she cabled Benchley, and, when she didn’t hear from him, went. By Christmas, she felt she needed his validation enough to cable him again, “YOU COME RIGHT OVER HERE AND EXPLAIN WHY THEY ARE HAVING ANOTHER YEAR” (Meade, p. 208). She returned to New York the next month to receive the O. Henry prize, and Benchley met her at the dock to go drinking (Meade).

“Underlying most of the wit and badinage,” at the Algonquin, was “a self-deprecating strain that affected the majority of the Round Tablers, not the least Dottie” (Frewin, p. 46). Besides sharing this “pain” with her readers, she “also needed to share unhappiness with her friends, particularly Benchley” (Meade, p. 151). The two of them tried to “strengthen each other by proclaiming how little they cared for public opinion” (Meade, p. 130). As Parker wrote to him in “To RCB,” collected in Sunset Gun, her poetry book named after the gun at West Point fired at sunset which had scared Benchley as a child, “Many people care;/But we don’t, do we?” (in Souhami, p. 130).

When Parker first became interested in political causes, he went along with her and even donated to her German-Jewish refugee fund (Meade), joined her to march in protest to the Sacco-Vanzetti decision (Frewin), and they put on waiters’ uniforms with her to break the strike at the Algonquin. However, when she, along with Broun and Woollcott,

demonstrated for employees at the Waldorf, but then crossed a picket line to go drinking at "21," Benchley was outraged when he found them and let them know it (Richard O'Connor).

His role as a husband, combined with his validation of her work as writer, had a strong effect on her concept as herself as a woman and a writer. Like "thousands of American women" Parker was trying to "deal with men as sexual equals...[rather than lose the fight and vanish] without a trace as they slunk back into traditional marriages and traditional roles" (Grimes, October, 1994, p. 12). From the beginning, Benchley "accepted her, not as a girlfriend, but as an equal partner in an alliance against the world" (Meade, p. 42).

Unfortunately, heavy drinking was one of the values they both validated. Benchley would start drinking at about five in the afternoon and would "go on for ten or more hours," but as is the case with many alcoholics, "very few people saw him drunk" (Rosmond, p. 100). By all reports Parker too "never appeared drunk but she was seldom completely sober" (Meade, p. 93).

But Benchley was also the one who introduced Parker to Hemingway, which had a strong effect on her writing. On his 1925 trip to Europe, Benchley had met Hemingway and upon his return regaled Parker with his stories of partying with him and Donald Ogden Stewart (Meade). When he introduced them the next year,

"the aura of Sylvia Beach's bookshop in Paris--of Gertrude Stein, Alice B. Toklas,...and other American emigres--surrounded the bearded writer. Mrs. Parker felt an instant rapport with him. Hemingway, for his part, displayed nothing more than a passing interest in her. A hedonist with a growing reputation for high-living and near-dying, he exemplified to her all the anarchistic traits of the bohemian litterateur. Above all, he was a fine, spare, taut writer of high talent, the total embodiment of a real artist. On first meeting Benchley and Parker, Hemingway told John Dos Passos that he found them 'obviously attractive people,' an opinion that, in relation to Mrs. Parker, was not to endure. She, for her part, wrote of him: 'Hemingway has an unerring sense of selection. He discards detail with a magnificent lavishness, he keeps his words to their short path. His is, as any reader knows, a dangerous influence. The simple thing he does looks so easy to do...he is clean...exciting...' For once in her literary life she had found someone to look up to" (Frewin).

After hearing Hemingway's stories, she decided to go to Paris herself "to become a different person, a real writer like Ernest" (Meade, p. 164).

But her socialization with Benchley and the other Round Tablers had the most effect on her writing style. The Star and the Host both wrote pieces “that spoke to their [generation],” and in fact, at one time, “wrote almost the same piece about meeting summer-hotel people in the city” (Gaines, p. 112-3).

Their relationship gave her material. When they first met, Parker and Benchley attended as many as nine theatre openings a week together on the free tickets that they or their critic friends received (Frewin). When Benchley was appearing in The Music Box Revue and still reviewing plays, Parker would go to the first acts for him. She mingled with a wealthy set thanks to Benchley’s friends, “Jock” Whitney, Pierpoint Morgan, and others. Her first attempt at short fiction, “Such a Pretty Little Picture,” which appeared in Smart Set in 1922 and was included in their 1934 anthology, was based on Benchley’s suburban life Parker found so appalling and so necessary: “Not yet prepared to expose herself, writing about her own failed marriage proved far too difficult. It was logical for her to address Benchley’s problems, with which she strongly identified anyway” (Meade, p. 99). By the following year, “Too Bad” appeared in the same magazine, based on her experience with Eddie (Meade).

Even when not working in the same office, they “continued to take a close interest in each other’s writing” (Rosmond, p. 111). When he found out that she was working at Wylie’s apartment “amid a library full of books....Robert encouraged her to go there more often” (Frewin, p. 108). Soon he was pushing her to “do something different” (in Frewin, p. 95), and, though it surprised the others, she wrote her first play. She returned to Benchley’s story as the basis for Close Harmony or The Lady Next Door, a collaboration with Elmer Rice which ran for only 24 performances. Benchley found it “moving” in his review, knowing full well it was based on his life (Frewin, p. 139). Frewin calls it “a love letter to Robert, who had helped her to wrench free of a dying marriage” (p. 127).

But when the two of them saw their friend Sherwood’s play, Road to Rome, forgotten now, but a Pulitzer Prize winner at the time, they gave up the idea of writing one themselves; it “put him out of their class immediately” (Gaines, p. 179).

Unlike Lady Gregory and Yeats, or Stein and Toklas, Parker and Benchley only actually collaborated a few times. While they were employed full-time at Vanity Fair, they worked on free-lance pieces together. Benchley passed on to her there his morbid fascination with death, subscribing to The Casket and Sunnyside, which had a joke column. They started writing epitaphs together, such as "Excuse My Dust" (in Keats, p. 44) which is now on Parker's headstone (Conroy).

The day after they both left Vanity Fair, they began telephoning people "to advertise their availability" (Meade, p. 69). They took an office and began to work on writing assignments together, including a brochure advertising Stetson hats (Meade, p. 111), and both were hired by Sherwood to do free-lance work for Life (Frewin). Later they wrote for the group's show, No Sirree! and created a one-act drama, "Nero," for the second show, The Forty-Niners (Gaines). Frewin reports that they tried to collaborate on a play when Benchley was living at the Royalton.

Eventually both Parker and Benchley wrote for the group's main outlet, The New Yorker, appearing in the first few issues (Kunkel), and then regularly after 1927 (Acocella). When she wrote "alongside" him there in the late twenties, "she was writing well" (Frewin, p. 94).

Parker got a lot of work at the New Yorker by filling in for Benchley when he was in Hollywood in the late twenties (Frewin) and early thirties (Rosmond). But the Host was also sometimes in a position to provide outlets for his friends' work. When he worked at Life he hired her to do fluff and pot-boilers which were "short, silly, easy to write" (Meade, p. 88), including her "Ballade at 35" with the line, "I loved them until they loved me" (in Frewin, p. 130).

In Gaines's estimation, both "left just enough writing behind to prompt the vain wish that they had written more" (p. 242).

The Effect of the Others--Woollcott, Connelly, Ross,  
Kaufman, FPA and Broun--on Parker

Despite her closeness to Benchley, Parker developed ongoing relationships with almost every member of the Algonquinites, with the exception of the Odd One Out, Kaufman.

Broun, who included her with Swope and Woollcott on his "All-American Talking Team" (Richard O'Connor, p. 83), shared with her his psychiatrist (Frewin), many drinking parties, and a flask of booze he brought with him to visit her in the hospital (Meade).

Donald Ogden Stewart's wife, Beatrice, claimed that Parker hated Woollcott (Gaines), but Frewin says "she did not particularly care for Alex but found [him] amusing and thus tolerable" (p. 135). Indeed, at the first luncheon, she "could not decide whether or not she even liked Woollcott or his friends" (Meade, p. 61). Woollcott always greeted her with "Hello, repulsive!" (Frewin), and she called Ross "junior" just to goad him (Kunkel).

She fought with FPA (Meade), who didn't come to visit her in the hospital after her first suicide attempt (Gaines). But when Benchley first started going to Hollywood in 1925, Parker "turned for companionship to FPA who was currently single again" (Meade, p. 147).

Both Ross (Kunkel) and Kaufman (Goldstein) would visit Parker and Benchley when they first went to Hollywood, where they went to the same parties. But throughout the group years, "she had never been fond of Kaufman," and in 1934 when he parodied her in his play Merrily We Roll Along, "now she hated him" (Meade, p. 241).

For all of them "life and literature were one" (Souhami, p. 129) as it was for Stein and Toklas. Unfortunately, the "life" that the Algonquinites combined with their writing involved excessive drinking and partying, much more than the other three groups, and this validated the lifestyle and image of herself that Parker developed during these years.

Even in the early days, when Parker was facing thirty, "a destructive pattern of chain-smoking, excessive drinking and unwise relationships had begun to emerge" (Fagan, p. 100). Parker summed up their attitude: "Damn it, it was the twenties and we had to be smarty" (Gaines).

Because most did come from different backgrounds than she, Parker did get stimulation from them. She met new people, such as MacArthur through Woollcott (Meade) and right wing Republican John Garrett through Connelly, and was “fascinated by the Woollcott-Harpo friendship” (Frewin, p. 127).

She also learned about other writers for Parker and her friends “reacted enthusiastically to the publication of a rising swell of books by the new and established literary lions from Europe...[such as] Virginia Woolf” (Frewin, p. 56). She got to know John O’Hara when his work was first appearing in the New Yorker (Kunkel).

Although both Vincent Sheean and Gilbert Seldes felt that Parker was a true artist (Keats), she too succumb to the self-deprecation of her talent “underlying most of the wit and badinage,” and if anyone came by her apartment when she was working, she would cover anything in her typewriter with a newspaper or towel. She “believed that most of her writing was worthless...It was an attitude shared at that time, and for most of his life, by Benchley” (Frewin, p. 46).

Although they validated each other’s values together, there were some causes that separated her from them, even early on. For example, Parker did not join Ross and Broun’s wives in their crusade to keep their maiden names. Tired of hearing them complain, Ross told them to “hire a hall.” They did and founded the Lucy Stone League. Broun joined, along with Kaufman’s wife Beatrice (Frewin). But Ross stayed away and Parker announced “I married *to* change my name” (Richard O’Connor, p. 81).

But the biggest break came with the differences in how the group members reacted to the Sacco-Vanzetti case, beginning the split that was to be final by the end of 1928: “The last scenes of the Round Table were marked by sniping over political conscience or the lack of it” (Gaines, p. 224). She, Benchley and others marched, were arrested, fined \$5 (Frewin), and Broun’s wife Hale and Parker’s boyfriend Seward Collins bailed them out. Parker got Collins to buy Times ads supporting the two Italians, and picketed again. She worked in the defense office, developing a crush on the Globe reporter, until Sacco and Vanzetti were executed on August 23rd (Meade).

Parker, who afterwards became even more active in left wing political causes in Hollywood, “found the indifferent behavior of other friends extremely vexing.” She told

Richard Lamparki in a later interview, "those people at the Round Table don't know a bloody thing...They just don't think about anything but the theatre" (Meade, p. 184).

As Leonard validated Virginia both as a woman and as a writer, Parker's male writer friends around the Round Table buoyed her confidence in herself as a "woman writer," a label she rejected, stating "it's a terrible thing to say, but I can't think of good women writers. Of course, calling them women writers is their ruin; they begin to think of themselves that way" (Leonard, p. 15).

Sometimes, they would treat her "just like one of the boys." One of their regular stops on the party circuit was the brothel of Polly Adler, who later published a memoir called A House Is Not a Home. As Keats describes it delicately,

"It was such a favorite haunt of the group that one of Dorothy's friends had a charge account and kept a black Japanese kimono there. This friend was in fact George S Kaufman. Attired in his kimono, 'he would sit down to play backgammon with Mrs. Adler for \$20 a game--this being the price of a girl's favor--while everyone would crowd around to see how the game came out...On occasion, Donald Ogden Stewart would take Dottie to Polly's in the afternoon, and she would sit in the parlor and chat while, [he] said, "I went upstairs to lay some lucky girl"' (in Frewin, p. 91).

But as Frewin says, "because she was a woman who could and did compete with men, she won for herself a firm seat at the Table; there was no way she could be ignored" (p. 309). Keats theorizes "the attention of these men had much to do with the metamorphosis of the scarcely known Mrs. Parker into the quite well-known Dorothy Parker" (p. 46).

The way she learned the most was from continual association with these other writers, as she developed a style that came naturally to her in the beginning, but was validated by their similar writings and activities.

Their constant partying was part of their style--short quips, lightly tossed off--and it showed in their fashion sense as well, according to Gaines:

"They were glorifying in their public profiles, playing happily to a city and a decade that seemed to be there for them alone. Their clothes were uniforms, emblems of style: Woollcott sported a cape and top hat to opening nights; Dorothy came to be known for her splendid hats; Benchley and [Donald Ogden] Stewart made an annual harvest-time ritual of buying Derbies at Brooks; Marc bought an Inverness; Heywood made a virtue of his dishabille which made Woollcott think of him as 'an unmade bed'" (in Frewin, p. 61).

Parker, perhaps, was the most fashionable, "elegant, not raffish" (Keats, p. 50). According to Keats, besides the hats she

“wore a feather boa that was always getting into the other people’s plates or was being set afire by other people’s cigarettes (someone said that it was the only boa that ever moulted), and this unfortunate boa and the bows on her shoes, and the curious fact that the chic and expensive clothing she wore did not, somehow, look exactly right on her, enhanced the general impression she created. It was one of innocence, utterly feminine and utterly helpless” (in Frewin, p. 48).

Swope’s Great Neck estate was considered Parker’s “weekend headquarters throughout most of the twenties” (Meade, p. 113). She said of the time, “Most of all...’It was fun” (Frewin, p. 42):

“She led [a life] in the company of extremely intelligent, effective and influential people. The style that she and her friends created called for one to go through life armed with a wry, hard suspicion; to be always ready to acknowledge excellence, but equally ready to express an informed contempt for all that was in any way bogus--meanwhile being just as ready to have a damned good time at every opportunity” (Keats, p. 10).

Meade theorizes that “the collective excesses of the Round Tablers made Dottie’s problems appear unexceptional” (p. 323).

Their offhanded comments eventually became better known than the originators; for example, “Let’s get out of these wet clothes and into a dry martini” was attributed to Parker, Benchley, Woolcott or FPA (Frewin). “‘It was a different time,’ Jennifer Jason Leigh [who was nominated for an Oscar for her portrayal of Parker in a major film] has said. ‘To have people be famous for what they said as opposed to what they looked like is very different from now.’ The word still ruled over the image” (Allen, p. G6).

Parker’s “wisecracks” were particularly good, “so good they outshone her poetry, short stories and screenplays, so oft-repeated that some of them have become clichés” (Allen, p. G6). Conversation has been described as her “best genre. In any case, it is for her wisecracks, and for the poems that read like wisecracks, that she seems to be remembered by the public” (Acocella, p. 81).

Her early years writing for FPA, the Link, can be seen as an apprenticeship, learning his style, “the ‘genteel’ tradition, excelling in urbanity, high wit and erudition” (Drennan, p. 23-4). She also learned about theatre, for “when Parker took over Vanity Fair’s theatre column, at the age of 24, she had never reviewed a play or anything else” (Acocella, p. 76). When she began socializing with the others, “there would be as many as nine openings in single week during the season” (Frewin, p. 89).

Parker and some of the others, did most of their Hollywood work once the group had broken up and, indeed this was one of the main factors in their demise. However, they began their work in film in small ways during their time as a group. One of her first freelance assignments, after losing her job on Vanity Fair, was writing subtitles for D. W. Griffith's Remodeling Her Husband when much of the movie industry was still in New York City (Meade). The whole group, however, always had a love-hate relationship with the movies, "which were wildly popular but they were trash to Round Table types such as Parker, who nevertheless took Hollywood's money for writing them. She would tell an interviewer, 'Hollywood money isn't money. It's congealed snow, melts in your hand and there you are'" (Allen, p. G6).

Each of the members used their most comfortable medium "to turn the past upside down...Parker in light verse, Benchley in comic essays," Kaufman and Connelly in their Life calendars (Goldstein, p. 75). But for Parker, the one type of writing she valued most, the short story, was what "she worked hardest on and wanted to be remembered for" (Acocella, p. 79). It would sometimes take her "as long as a month to smooth out a single short story" (Frewin, p. 64), but they often had "a clarity and deceptive simplicity that Hemingway rarely achieved" (Leonard, p. 15).

Between 1923 and 1932 Parker had four suicide attempts; it "was the period of her best work, but her editor had a hard time getting it out of her" (Acocella, p. 78). She had a reputation for always being late with copy (Meade) and being secretive about her work. In these prolific years, "The content of her verse began to change drastically, as she now marched past her readers a procession of macabre images not generally associated with popular humor...The experience of almost dying had cathartically released pent-up energies and purged her depression" (Meade, p. 108-9).

Her self-concept, as both a woman and as a writer, is reflected in Parker's more serious stories. In them, she brought the new woman of the 1920s to life, even though the picture wasn't always pretty:

“Her unique contribution was her portraits, in the stories of female dependency. This was a central concern of nineteenth-century women writers--Jane Austen, George Eliot, the Brontes--and also of some of the men, notably Thackeray. (Parker said that she read Vanity Fair ‘about a dozen times a year.’ Meade believes that Parker modelled herself on Becky Sharp). But in the twentieth century the rules changed. With the move to the city and the loosening of ties to family and class, women were thrown into a new situation -one in which they should have been freer, and in which some were (witness Sister Carrie) but in which others found themselves wholly abandoned, both by the system that had formerly hemmed them in and by the new one, which still had no place for them (witness Lily Bart). Even after women began to make their way economically in twentieth-century culture, they were still left with an ages-old inheritance of emotional dependency, the thing that marriage and the family, having created, once ministered to and now did not. If in the old days women were enslaved by men, they nevertheless had legal claims on them. Now they had no legal claims, so all the force of their dependency was shifted to an emotional claim--love, a matter that men viewed, and still view, differently from women. Hence Parker’s heroines, waiting by the phone, weeping, begging, hating themselves for begging. This is a story that is not over yet. Parker was one of the first writers to deal with it and she addressed it in a new way. Because, it seems, she identified with the man as well as the woman, she saw the women from the outside as well as from within, heard the tiresome repetitiousness of their complaints, saw how their eyelids got pink and sticky when they cried. She did not feel sorry for them. They made her wince, and we wince as we read the stories--for, burning with resentment though they are, they are even more emphatically a record of shame” (Acocella, p. 81).

The Algonquin life took its toll on her heroines and on her. After one suicide attempt Dr. Barach told her to cut down, but not necessarily to give up drinking. He tried to convince her that “by developing her instinctual drives at the expense of her serious nature, by then compounding the problem by partying and drinking, she was losing the energy to progress as a writer” (Meade, p. 162). She kept partying, but she also kept writing.

But there is a theory that her partying with the Algonquin may be one reason why she never worked in a longer form. Acocella says, “Why did Dottie limit herself so? You can blame the frivolity of the twenties, or you can point to those institutions of the twenties with which she was most closely associated--the Round Table, with its ban on seriousness, or The New Yorker, founded and edited by a Round Tabler.” However, it is futile to speculate on what Parker might have written. As Acocella concludes, “Female shame is a big subject, and for its sake Parker should have been bigger, but she is what we have, and it’s not nothing” (p. 80-1).

Besides partying, the Algonquinites did write together sometimes. A 1922 piece she did for the Saturday Evening Post became a collaboration with FPA, Women or Men I’m Not Married To (Frewin). In No Sirree! Parker wrote the lyrics to the “Everlasting Ingenue Blues” for Robert Sherwood (Meade).

When Parker and Kaufman collaborated, for no known reason, on a curtain-raiser film for his play written with Connelly, Beggar on Horseback, they delivered the script in six weeks but couldn't stand each other: "He felt put off by her obscenities, which he considered unladylike and offensive. She thought he was 'a mess' and could see 'nothing in that talent at all,' although she grudgingly admitted that he could be funny now and then" (Meade, p. 132).

Parker also made good use of the Round Table's major outlets, from FPA's columns to The New Yorker.

"He raised me from a couplet" (Gaines, p. 40), Parker said of FPA's influence on her. She had begun sending him items at the Tribune back in 1914 (Frewin). FPA printed her paen to suicide, "Resume," and her most famous line, "Men seldom make passes at girls who wear glasses." By the time the group broke up in 1928, Parker managed to pay for her European trip by the publication of her verse collection, Sobbing in the Conning Tower (Meade).

In his "Diary of Our Own Samuel Pepys" column he would describe all their exploits and end with, "But I loved Mistress Dorothy Parker best of any of them and loathe to leave her" (Meade, p. 92). All of the group's fun was chronicled the next day in FPA's column, and Parker's quips were picked up in international gossip columns (Frewin), so that "it was commonly presumed, by people who did not know her personally, that her life was a merry one, spent in delightful badinage with witty people" (Keats, p. 10).

Ross included her on the first advisory board for The New Yorker, although she "had no cash to invest" (Meade, p. 133), and by 1927 she was writing for him regularly (Acocella). Ross was one of the many businessmen who actually profited from

"the recent arrival of clever and ambitious women in the workplace.....Harold simply could not have pulled off The New Yorker without his own wife, Jane Grant, Paris correspondent Janet Flanner, Parker and others...[Although] it would be many years until he was wholly comfortable with the idea of women reporters--or even women secretaries" (Kunkel, p. 171).

She had some pieces--"the only readable material in the first few issues" (Kunkel, p. 105)--including reviews and poems during the first year. Two years later, Ross said that Parker had done "more than anything to put us on its foot or ear or wherever it is today" (in Kunkel, p. 156). Her short stories almost always appeared first there (Acocella).

When she was trashing the others, except Benchley, in the early sixties, she admitted that Ross, "was almost illiterate, wild and rough, never read anything, didn't know anything but had a great gift as an editor" (in Frewin, 281). However, she wasn't above nipping at the hand that was feeding her. Running into a disconsolate Ross in the summer of 1928, he said to her, "I thought you were coming into the office to write a piece last week. What happened?" She "turned upon him the eloquent magic of her dark and lovely eyes. 'Somebody was using the pencil,' she explained sorrowfully" (Frewin, p. 135).

Her envy/disdain relationship with great literature showed through in her "Constant Reader" column for The New Yorker. The last regular one appeared May 1928, although she wrote for the magazine occasionally until 1933 (Frewin). Acocella described it years later in the same magazine:

"Almost invariably she opens with a long comic complaint about her life. 'And this was the week I meant to get all that reading done,' begins a typical piece. But she couldn't read, she says, because she had the grippe or she was hungover or spring had arrived, and there's nothing she hates more than spring. She's a poor beleaguered woman, and what do people do? They *write books*, and then expect her to review them. Well, all right. (You can almost hear the gears shifting from vulnerability to aggression.) And she begins her perusal of the week's books, most of them ridiculously easy marks...She takes aim and, needless to say, she scores. A few of these pieces are still funny. There are times when, reading them, you wish Parker were here to take on Danielle Steel or Shirley MacLaine. And her reviews would no doubt seem more valuable now if the menaces they describe--Lindbergh mania, country-weekend etiquette--were still around to plague us. But many of Parker's victims are not menaces. Joke books, foreign-phrase books: who cares? Many *good* books were being published at the time, books that Parker didn't review. During the period of Dorothy's column, Edmund Wilson, in his book reviews for The New Republic, was writing about John Crowe Ransom, Allen Tate, Robert Penn Warren, Edna St. Vincent Millay, Hart Crane, E E Cummings, Thornton Wilder, Lytton Strachey, Andre Malraux, Gertrude Stein, Dos Passos, Hemingway, and Eliot among others. Parker, meanwhile, was shooting Margot Asquith in a barrel. On the rare occasion when she devoted a column to a writer she admired, she nevertheless found something to ridicule--how people misunderstood this writer (Lardner), how they praised that one's novel but ignored his short stories (Hemingway)--and spent most of her words on that. Finally, when she was cornered, when the column was about to end, and she had not said why the writer was good, she would unload some hysterical hyperbole (Hemingway she compared to the Grand Canyon;...) and then beat a hasty retreat. The Constant Reader columns are not really book reviews; they are standup-comedy routines. You don't have to listen to her opinion, she says. If she didn't like the book maybe that's just her hangover speaking. And anyway she didn't really read the book. She skimmed it, or she threw it out the window. She doesn't care much for reading ('I think the last thing I read was "Sketches by Boz."') Even less does she care for writing. When she composes so much as a telegram, she has to go lie down for the rest of the day" (p. 79).

## V. Epilogue

### A. The Dissolution of the Groups

Analysis of these four groups of friends proves the adage that "all good things must come to an end." A cursory look at the events of the time shows that they mostly broke up because of entropy--after eight years or ten years, it was just over. As Allen says, referring to the Algonquinites,

"Sooner or later, something goes wrong. A car wreck, a pregnancy, a fistfight, graduation, a stock market crash, arrests, failure, success, reality. Something goes wrong because there's nothing to go right, no tradition, no religion, no family, no reality. A coterie is a social unit based on nothing more than the fact that it exists, and the sense that it will always exist. But hit it with the Depression, fascism and alcoholism of Dorothy Parker's sort, and even a Round Table can tip over...But sooner or later something goes right, or wrong, and it ends" (p. G6).

A closer look shows that what led to the final break up of each group was some one--usually one or both of the key persons--moving away--usually geographically. The only exception is the Irish Literary Renaissance. The social group broke up in 1906 when the Angel, AE, removed himself from the Abbey Theatre, although the Star and the Hostess, Yeats and Lady Gregory, continued it, and continued to meet in both Dublin and Coole Park, for years afterwards.

If the member were entering an important Door when they met up, that Door closed behind them eight or nine years later. We've looked at the effects on the group as a whole and specifically on the Stars, but what was the end result of this passage in terms of later accomplishments? As emphasized in the initial overview, all of the members continued their creative careers, their time in the group a development period, rather than an aberration or a whimsical fling with the artistic world. Most went on to much greater creative accomplishments than they had had before or during the groups, with biographies being written about them and awards bestowed on them.

But a detailed look at the careers of the Stars shows that within a year or two--and sometimes immediately--they all achieved a type of success that had eluded them before. We don't know what they would--or wouldn't--have done if they hadn't met in these

groups, but the implication is that their time in the group allowed them to head in a different direction, to perhaps choose a different Door than they would have without the group.

### The End of the Irish Literary Renaissance--May 1906--and the Accomplishments of William Butler Yeats

As early as 1901, Ulick O'Connor reports that Martyn began to "distance himself" (p. 293) from the theatre because the others wouldn't follow Ibsen as fervently as he did. Martyn didn't like the peasant plays and was very angry with Yeats and Moore for re-writing his Tale of a Town (Kohfeldt).

By 1902 their Irish National Theatre Society is described by Jeffares as "turbulent" (p. 136), and Moore had his final fight with Yeats and left. Hyde worked on his last play with Lady Gregory, The Poorhouse (Coxhead) and Martyn, at that point, wasn't happy with what the Fay brothers were doing with the theatre.

AE by then was "virtually the leader of the third group--largely working class members who wanted an amateur theatre" (Jeffares, p. 136). Eventually it was Yeats' insistence on developing a professional theatre that brought his "literary association with [AE] to an end" (Kuch, p. 172). There were more fights over the next few years, and AE resigned at least once in 1904. But by 1905 it was "evident that the Society would either have to disband or turn professional" (Kuch, p. 224); they wanted to keep their original "social intent" but get rid of AE's democratic rules. In the fall of that year, Yeats "forced" a reorganization, and everything that he, Lady Gregory, AE and Synge wanted passed (Kuch).

But another fight early the following year, made AE so upset over his friend's attitude, that he resigned again. Although Yeats tried to get him back, his own father and sisters supported AE (Kuch).

In May of 1906 there was a general meeting to ratify the Abbey's new constitution. Yeats and Lady Gregory got the changes they wanted and a group of actors seceded to form the Theatre of Ireland with Martyn as president. Lady Gregory always referred to this group as "the enemy" (Kohfeldt, p. 229), and when AE "gave the new company his

blessing and his Deirdre" (Jeffares, p. 152), it marked the end of his association with the theatre and in effect the break up of the group (Kohfeldt). Yeats, Lady Gregory and Synge continued to operate the Abbey as co-directors, until Synge's death three years later at age 38, when the Star and Hostess carried on without him.

The Abbey Theatre was the greatest lasting success for the Irish Literary Renaissance, and it continues to this day. Ellman sums up the end results for the members:

"The effect upon the leading participants was overwhelming: Lady Gregory, a widow in her late forties who had previously written nothing of special value, revealed a considerable talent for comedy. John Millington Synge, who had planned to devote his life to writing critical articles on French writing for the English press, suddenly built a fantastic drama out of Irish life. George Moore and Edward Martyn, and many lesser known writers, found their outlook abruptly altered" (p. 127).

AE and Martyn both continued to live in Ireland for most of their lives, but by Martyn's death in 1923, "neither of them now counted for much in Moore's life. The detachment had been gradual" (Hone, p. 384).

One year after the group broke up the Abbey premiered Synge's Playboy of the Western World on a Saturday night (Greene). After the first act, Lady Gregory wired to Yeats, "Play Great Success." After a riot broke out at the end of the third act, she had to send a second wire (Kohfeldt). During the Monday night performance, Yeats called in the police (Ulick O'Connor).

By the second Monday night, the directors decided to hold a public debate, with Trinity students invited to be in the audience (Greene). Yeats got AE to agree to chair it, but, in Yeats' words, "he refused by a subterfuge and joined the others in the gallery." Kuch's explanation was that AE "found himself unable to refuse Yeats in private, but even more unable to support him in public." Lady Gregory wrote to Synge later, "Not one came to support us. [AE] was in the gallery we heard afterwards but did not come forward or speak...We had hardly anyone to speak on our side" (p. 230).

The debate also turned into a riot, with Yeats screaming from the stage: "The author of Cathleen ni Houlihan addresses you!" (Kohfeldt, p. 194). Copies of Yeats' speech were given out to audiences and a new defense was published soon after in the Abbey's house organ, The Arrow (Greene).

In their continued work together at the Abbey, Lady Gregory was worried that Yeats was “disgracefully subservient” to the new financial Sponsor of the theatre, Horniman (Jeffares, p. 158). The Englishwoman removed her financial support in 1907 (Greene), and the next year Yeats withdrew to concentrate on the “final text” of all his books, finishing his memoirs seven years later (Jeffares). When the Fays resigned in 1908, however, he, Lady Gregory and Synge became active directors once again (Kohfeldt).

In the theatre, by 1910, “things were going well with no Martyn, no Moore, no [AE], no Fays and with Miss Horniman about to detach herself completely and thus leaving Lady Gregory and himself in undisputed command” (Jeffares, p. 179). They both accompanied the Abbey on its American tours, separately and together (Kohfeldt).

But even at this time he was beginning to move on to other work. He and Lady Gregory tried to collaborate on a revision of Where There Is Nothing, but he said, “since I had last worked with her, her mastery of the stage and her knowledge of dialect had so increased that my imagination could not go neck and neck with hers...and so after an attempt to work alone I gave up my scheme to her” (in Kohfeldt, p. 198). He wrote no new plays from 1910 to 1916 (Ellman), but was “again writing philosophical statements in essay form to keep them separate from playwriting” (Jeffares, p. 170). In 1919 he wrote an open letter to Lady Gregory rejecting the Abbey:

“of recent years you have done all that is anxious and laborious in the supervision of the Abbey Theatre, and left me free to follow my own thoughts...We set out to make a ‘People’s Theatre’ and in that we have succeeded...Its success has been to me a discouragement and a defeat...I want to create for myself an audience like a secret society where admission is by favor and never to many...Instead of advertisements in the press I need a hostess, and even the most accomplished hostess must choose with more than usual care” (in Kohfeldt, p. 252).

By this point, although they were still close, they would have both agreed that Lady Gregory had outgrown her Hostess role in his life, and he no longer needed her as a Link. They were both heartened by the success of O’Casey’s Shadow of a Gunman at the Abbey, as it was “the very success that Yeats and Lady Gregory had dreamed of and planned for-- the young proletarian genius, untouched by outside influences, who should put the speech and the soul of working class Dublin on to the stage” (Coxhead, p. 184).

Yeats made a strong effort to stay in touch with AE, soliciting his opinions, and dedicating one of his books to “My mystical friend, G. R.” (Kuch, p. 41). With the

hindsight of old age, AE theorized that not only the group, but leaving the group, was important for his creative development, but also that of his "oldest friend" (Kuch, p. xi):

"Reminiscing in old age, AE took a more sympathetic view of Yeats' arrogance, explaining it as a necessary protective mask to cut him off from intimacy with all but those few people who, like Lady Gregory, possessed imagination which harmonized with his own. Similarly, AE realized that to accomplish an independent life work he had had to escape from the magnetic field of his friend's more powerful personality" (Summerfield, p. 166)

After AE's death, Yeats wrote to a friend, "I constantly quarrelled with [AE] but he never bore malice and in his last letter, a month before he died, he said that generally when he differed from me it was that he feared to be absorbed by my personality" (in Jeffares, p. 326). In our terms, the Star needs the others, particularly the Hostess, but the others need to get away from the Star eventually.

Jeffares theorizes that Yeats finally consummated his relationship with Gonne about two years after the group broke up. When her husband was executed after the Easter Uprising, he proposed, only to be rebuffed again, and to make the same offer to her "adopted niece" Iseult (Ellman). The other women in his life, including Lady Gregory and Olivia Shakespeare, were all busy looking for a suitable wife for him (Kohfeldt), and were pleased when he married Georgie Hyde-Lees in 1917 (Jeffares). Ellman says that "a great serenity came over Yeats as he emerged from the isolation and eccentricity of bachelorhood into peace and harmony" (p. 221), and Jeffares adds, "his marriage transformed his life" (p. 221). He certainly would not have been ready to pass through this major life "Door" during his time in the group.

After his years with the theatre though, Yeats wrote fewer plays and concentrated more on his poetry. He became even more interested in spiritualism, seances and automatic writing. In 1917 he began work on A Vision, which describes human personality in all 28 phases of the moon, assigning his friends and family to the phases he felt best represented them (Ellman). Jeffares says,

"the thoughts and imagery of A Vision underpin much of the poetry Yeats wrote after his marriage, giving it an air of assurance. This confidence, this sense of possessing a system of thought, a complete psychology, was what struck Virginia Woolf in 1930; she felt her own theory crude and jaunty beside his, realising the intricacy of his art--its meaning, seriousness and importance wholly engrossing 'this large active-minded, immensely vitalised man!'" (p. 225).

In the early twenties, he revised his autobiography as a “political and literary testament intended to give a philosophy to the movement” (Ellman, p. 238), and his 1923 Nobel Prize acceptance speech acknowledged both Lady Gregory and the late Synge. By this time,

“It was a time of great fulfillment: long a bachelor, he was now married with a son to carry on the Yeats name; long poor and unsettled, he was now rooted in Ireland, owning his castle in the West and his fine town house in Dublin; long deeply committed to Irish politics, he had now come--via the Contemporary Club, the Young Irish Society, the IRB [Irish Republican Brotherhood] and the president of the 1898 Association--to a position where he could join in the creation of the institution of the new state, where the people he met were like coral insects ‘but with some design in our heads of the ultimate island’ [as he wrote to Olivia Shakespeare]” (Jeffares, p. 266).

We can see in this description of his later life the themes that were developed during the 1897-1906 period, a peaceful refuge in the west of Ireland, leadership in organizations devoted to Irish nationalism and creating a “institution of the new state,” now his role in the Irish Senate.

We have also seen how his experiences during the time in the group made Yeats more “exteriorised,” and his widow pointed out to a biographer that “one quality in her husband had never ceased to astonish her, and she pointed it out to me as something I had not mentioned. This was his extraordinary sense of the way things would look to people later on” (Ellman, p. xxxii). When he began work on The Tower in 1924, he included poems he had written in his earlier days, but hadn’t published because “I didn’t want them to know too much about me” (in Jeffares, p. 275).

Lady Gregory’s death affected his work as well. He wrote a poem, “the Death of Lady Gregory,” which was not published, but in addition,

“now Coole had vanished from his life--a place where he had escaped from politics--he was perhaps shut out of his themes. He had nothing in his head; he wondered if the subconscious drama that was his imaginative life had ended with the death of Lady Gregory” (Jeffares, p. 319).

In the mid-thirties when Yeats was beginning to suffer from physical ailments, he wrote, “I long for quiet; long ago I used to find it at Coole. It was part of the genius of that house. Lady Gregory never rebelled like other Irish women I have known, who consumed themselves and their friends” (in Kohfeldt, p. 303). He visited Penns in the Rocks in England often, meeting Vanessa and Grant there, and he

“hoped to recreate the routine of Coole,--not only had he lost one who, as he wrote..., had been for nearly forty years his strength and his conscience, but he was heartbroken for the great rooms of Coole and its great woods--the only place where, he told Olivia Shakespeare, he had ever had unbroken health” (Jeffares, p. 310).

In 1941 Coole was demolished for building stone, despite the protests of O’Casey.

Gogarty wrote,

“All, all are gone, and the Big House is demolished. Not one of the seven woods remains, woods where on a tree you could find the initials G B S or J M S, but the tree may now be on a railway wagon going to supply the demand for building materials, though it makes one wonder what can be worth building in a land where there is no reverence for great times--great men” (in Kohfeldt, p. 303).

Actually the tree still stands, the front door knocker of the house was given to the Abbey, and the brass door knob to Shaw. As Coxhead reminds us,

“beautiful and historic though Coole Park may have been, it was the woman who made the soul of the house, not the house the soul of the woman. It was primarily for her, and not for the lake and the woods and the creature comforts that Yeats and the rest of them came” (p. 210-1).

### The End of Bloomsbury--March 1915--and the Accomplishments of Virginia Woolf

The Friday Club, one of the earliest Bloomsbury projects, began to break up in 1912, becoming an exhibiting only, rather than a meeting, place (Bell I), and even at this early date Holroyd says that Strachey “no longer felt quite the same towards Bloomsbury” (Vol. II, p. 70). The following year, Vanessa resigned from active participation in the Omega Workshops because it was affecting her own painting, and Spalding reports that in 1914, the sisters “temporarily withdrew from their former intimacy and the breach was never wholly repaired” (1983, p. 130). Vanessa later used this year as the date of the group’s death, “not just as a closely knit group...Many of the post-war experiments in life, letters and art were fed not by hope but by despair” (Skidelsky II, p. 17). By then Strachey was associating more with Ottoline Morrell and Augustus John (Holroyd II), and in the fall Adrian’s marriage meant “an end to life in Brunswick Square” (Shone, 1976). This led his former lover, Grant, to grow closer to Vanessa, and that same month, Virginia and Leonard moved to temporary quarters in Richmond, where they purchased Hogarth House (Bell II).

The Woolfs moved in to their new home, with their new printing press, on March 15 of 1915, and began their new venture, the Hogarth Press (Bell II). During the same month, Vanessa took Eleanor House on the Sussex Coast, where Grant was already holed up, painting. She moved into the boathouse with him, although her brother, Adrian, and David Garnett, Grant's current lover, came to visit on weekends. This established the pattern of Vanessa and Grant's future relationship, where she shared him with his lovers until her death in 1961. Clive visited as well (Shone, 1976), but he spent most of his time with his mistresses, and Fry began to run the Omega with Nina Hamnett, with whom he was having an affair (Spalding, 1980).

Keynes had begun his new job at the Treasury Department in January of that same year, and the pacifist Bloomsberries, although they attended the party he gave to celebrate, did not approve of his alignment with the government during the war. Shone points out that "some say...the outbreak of the First World War brought [Bloomsbury] to a rapid end; others that it survived the War and...only really flourished in the twenties and thirties" (1976, p. 15). But by the next year, 1916, Virginia was writing to a friend, "Bloomsbury has vanished like the morning mist," and at the end of the twenties told her diary, "Bloomsbury being done with I am going to face certain things. It is going to be a time of adventure and attack, rather lonely and painful, I think" (in Bell II, p. 143). She and Leonard befriended T S Eliot and others right after the war, new friends to "offset" the loss of Bloomsbury, according to Spater.

Although many of the same group members, and new friends, continued to socialize regularly at Charleston after Vanessa moved there in 1915, we can determine that the original Bloomsbury group effectively ended with the Woolfs move to Hogarth House in March of 1915.

By "the eve of 1914," the Bloomsberries were "becoming an influence in England...[radiating] strength and knowledge, power and well-being" (Edel, p. 189). Ironically, like the pre-Raphaelites, the members "really began to exist in the public imagination at the moment when the original group had dispersed" (Spalding, 1983, p. 180), acquiring "a mythical existence" (Bell II, p. 48). After the First World War

Bloomsbury “represented an avant-garde intellectual attitude that was naturally congenial to new writers who felt they were making a break with the past” (Lehmann, p. 42).

Between the wars, Skidelsky calls the group’s position “paradoxical”:

“It seemed to wield immense cultural power; at the same time the world’s springs of action were increasingly remote from its own. In a sense it triumphed. Its writers, painters and publicists all rose to the height of their success and influence in the 1920s. They became arbiters of taste, the conduit through which writers like Dostoevsky, Proust and Chekhov, painters like Cezanne, Matisse and Picasso and thinkers like Freud entered the British consciousness” (Vol. II, p. 17).

Although they remained friends after the group broke up, by 1930 Virginia was writing to a friend, “I seldom see Lytton...We don’t fit in...to his parties, nor he to ours” (Bell II, p. 155). In the next few years, when Stephen Spender (Rose) and other younger writers began to react against the group, the term Bloomsbury had become “a term of abuse” (Shone, 1976, p. 254).

Skidelsky says that in the years after the group dissolved the members were “able to find outlets and platforms for [their] works and theories in influential journals and art galleries and thus, to some extent, become an arbiter of taste. Through this position members were able to get their younger friends jobs, commissions and shows” (Vol. I, p. 250), such as the Woolfs and Strachey’s establishment of a fund to support Eliot in the early twenties (Bell II).

Virginia’s most long lasting group accomplishment was the Hogarth Press, which, as we have seen, began just as the group was breaking up, and she was actively involved in it until 1938 (Bell II). This project kept some of them working together for the next few years as Virginia and Leonard published works by Fry (Spalding, 1980) and Keynes (Shone, 1976), with decorations by Vanessa and Grant.

Greeves stresses the significance of this venture compared to other similar projects of the time:

“While post-war England saw a flowering of small presses and publishers, The Hogarth Press was distinct among them not only for its choice of authors but for surviving and flourishing through more than two decades of fierce competition and economic disaster. While other presses (such as Shakespeare’s Head and Nonesuch) concentrated on the fine printing of classics, the Hogarth Press’s emphasis was on content, aiming to present living or untranslated authors in attractive but plain and workmanlike editions. Virginia and Leonard prided themselves on their skill and care as typesetters, but shunned the ‘refinement and preciousness’ that Leonard called a ‘fungoid growth which culture breeds on art and literature.’ However, as much as the Woolfs preoccupied themselves with content, the contributions of the Bloomsbury artists ensured that the books were also immensely attractive. Carrington, Roger Fry, and Vanessa Bell provided woodcuts, Duncan Grant produced cover designs and decorations...Hogarth Press was in the vanguard of modern developments in novels and poetry, publishing two important statements for early modernism in Virginia and T. S. Eliot’s *Hogarth Essays*. The Press also took a leading role in contemporary debate over imperialism, disarmament and the rise of fascism, and home issues of education reform, women’s rights and labour conditions. Among its authors were six future Nobel prize winners, as well as Gorky, Chekov, Keynes, H. G. Wells, Christopher Isherwood and E. M. Forster...A conjunction of rare talent, time, personal necessity and opportunity brought about this phenomenon of the publishing world in the twentieth century” (p. 2).

In 1949 the Times Literary Supplement assessed their achievements:

“For those too young to have known it, the Bloomsbury world is like the memory of a legendary great-aunt; a clever, witty, rather scandalous great-aunt, who was a brilliant pianist, scholar and needlewoman, who could read six languages and make sauces, who collected epigrams and china and daringly turned her back on charity and good works. The influence of Bloomsbury can still be found in the adulation of French; in the mixture of delicious food with civilized values, and in ‘saying what you mean.’ Religion was covered by a belief in the importance of human relationships, and the belief seems reasonable enough, though one gets the impression that the milk of human kindness was kept in the larder and the tea was usually served with lemon. But Bloomsbury, at least in its own eyes, stood for something more important; it stood for tolerance and intelligence, for seriousness about art and skepticism about the pretensions of the self-important, and it carried on a crusade about the conscious philistinism of the English upper classes” (in Holroyd I).

As Malcolm says, “it is Virginia’s literary achievement that has given Bloomsbury its place in cultural history” (1995, p. 68). Although she had a few short pieces published before her sister’s marriage, she had begun her first novel in the “comparative splendor” (in Edel, p. 140) of Fitzroy Square right as the group began in 1907.

For Virginia, many doors opened in the early days in January of 1915--Voyage was published the same month that they moved into Hogarth House with their printing press, signalling the end of the group. The good reviews helped her health (Bell II), but as Rose says, “no one is likely to argue that it is her masterpiece. It is more uneven than Virginia’s

later work, and its charms are the charms of a first novel" (p. 50). But it was her first of many.

This same year she started keeping a diary again (Bell II), and began her second novel, Night and Day (Edel), which she told Grant was "perfectly orthodox and conventional" (Rose, p. 42). Published by Duckworth in 1919, Rose considers it "a step backward...her attempt to prove herself the master of the classical tradition of the English novel" (p. 94).

Kew Gardens, brought out by Hogarth the same year to good reviews, was followed by Jacob's Room three years later, the Hogarth Press' first full-length book (Bell II). Rose calls it the "culminating work" of the post-Bloomsbury period (p. 94) and DeSalvo, Virginia's "breakthrough vanguard novel, [published] to mixed reviews, though her friends thought it her masterpiece" (p. 83).

When she turned forty Virginia began Mrs. Dalloway, "the first novel in which she taps unabashedly the great reservoir of feminine experience...[it] represents her fullest self-portrait as an artist" (Rose, p. 123-6). After the instantly popular Lighthouse came out in 1927, she stopped hearing her mother's voice: "when she was done she felt freed from the ghosts of her parents, liberated from her bondage to the past" (Rose, p. 172).

Orlando, inspired by her friendship with Sackville-West, appeared the following year, a little more than a week before she lectured on women and fiction at Cambridge University (Bell II). She wrote an article on "American Fiction" for an American magazine, recognizing Lardner's work as "the best prose that has come our way" (Spater, p. 115), and criticising Anderson for spending too much time insisting that he was an American male (Townsend).

Her Cambridge lecture was published one year later as A Room of One's Own (Bell II), but in 1931 the publication of her novel The Waves was heralded by Hogarth as "a literary event of the first importance; the reading of it is an experience which no lover of English literature can afford to miss" (in Haule, p. xxiii). Virginia came to be considered one of the first "stream-of-consciousness" novelists, included by Sprigge with Stein, Proust, and Joyce (p. 55). In the last decade of her life she went on to publish Three Guineas, a memoir

of the Bells' son, Julian, and her biography of Fry (Bell II), but by then her bouts of mental instability had increased, and Forester had labeled her "the invalid lady of Bloomsbury" (Rose, p. xv).

Leonard, always the Sponsor, brought out Virginia's Death of the Moth and Other Stories a year after her suicide (Bell II), noting that he "punctuated and corrected obvious verbal mistakes" the way he had always done to her manuscripts before (in Haule, p. xxxiii) and to the many volumes which followed into the sixties. Before he died, Leonard had asked Quentin Bell to write a biography of Virginia (Spater); the first of two volumes came out in 1972 (Spalding, 1983), and they are still considered the definitive version of her life.

Virginia remembered her Bloomsbury experiences fondly, writing to a friend years after the group broke up,

"Where [Bloomsbury] seemed to me to triumph is in having worked out a view of life which was not by any means corrupt or sinister or merely intellectual; rather aesthetic and austere indeed; which still holds, and keeps them dining together, and staying together after twenty years; and no amount of quarrelling or success or failure has altered this. Now I do think this rather creditable" (in Shone, in Crabtree).

## The End of the Americans in Paris--Spring 1930--and the Accomplishments of Gertrude Stein

With such a loosely cohesive group as the Americans in Paris in the twenties, it is hard to pinpoint an exact date when they no longer came together. Only three years after they met, Hemingway was already trashing both Stein and Anderson in Torrents, cooling his relationship with them as well as Toklas (Mellow), and by the end of that year McAlmon "broke irrevocably" with Stein and left the group (Smoller, p. 225). In September he had published her Making, and they "soured. Gertrude would not give him a free hand...Alice's view was that he was irresponsibly drunk throughout the whole affair" (Souhami, p. 163-4). In the Autobiography, Stein gives her version: "Everybody quarreled. But that is Paris, except as a matter of fact Gertrude Stein and he never became friends again" (p. 216). By that time Hemingway was "no longer on speaking terms" (Reynolds, p. 340) with him either, and in the fall of 1926, Hemingway received his last letter from Anderson.

When Thomson stopped by on New Year's day, 1927, Stein and Toklas conveniently weren't at home--until they saw the score to her Susie Asado he had left behind, and then they got back in touch with him immediately (Souhami).

In 1928 Stein and Toklas found their dream house in Bilignin and began spending all summer, which got longer and longer, there. The following year in Paris the last issue of Little Review appeared, and the last of Natalie Barney's salons was held (Souhami).

In 1929, just before the break up of the group, Thomson sent her an invitation to a concert of his and received in reply "one of her cards engraved 'Miss Stein,' under which she wrote 'declines further acquaintance with Mr. Thomson'...Toklas had anyway never particularly liked him," according to Imbs. She thought him frivolous and 'darted little poisoned arrows whenever she could'" (Souhami, p. 183). However, about a year later he brought Stein and Toklas roses and was invited in to their new circle of friends, spending some time in the summers with them at Bilignin. He was, therefore, one of the few banished who was ever allowed to return.

The entire group was pretty much dissolved by early 1930. In February, Ray sent Stein a bill for 500 francs for "the last series of photographs" (Baldwin, p. 162), which he had taken. She wrote her reply on the back of the same sheet and sent it back to him:

"Kindly remember that you offered to take the last series of portraits the first time you saw my dog...that I have always refused to sit for anyone to photograph me...to give you the exclusive rights...You haven't ever been asked to give me any returns for your sale of my photograph. My dear Man Ray, we are all hard up but don't be silly about it" (Baldwin, p. 162).

As Baldwin says, "they never spoke to each other again. The bill was never paid. And the bitterness never left Man" (p. 162).

Others in the group who had once been considered close friends also began to receive handwritten notes and phone calls at about that time as well. Mellow says, "around 1930 the purge began. Some were given such chilly receptions...that it was clear their presence was no longer welcome; others were informed by curt notes of dismissal or by way of the telephone...The reasons for the purge are not altogether clear" (p. 404-5).

But Souhami has an explanation:

"Alice had had enough of all the young men. They ate her food, created work for her, distracted Gertrude from writing. She said that Gertrude was always finding excuses for not working. First it was because Picasso was there, then she hated starting on Monday, then [van Vechten] arrived unexpectedly, then Henry MacBride came. The little court dispersed. The devoted admirers became exiles. Friends of the exiles stayed away out of sympathy... 'No more hours of gossip, no more recriminating against a common fate with publishers, no more dropping in after dinner, no more little cakes, no more exciting painter discoveries to discuss, no more manuscripts to criticize, no more voyages in the country... I missed Gertrude and Alice very much for a year. Even now, sometimes, I regret the little cakes' [--Bravig Imbs]" (p. 184).

But she also points out that this was already "a pattern for Gertrude, prompted by Alice, ultimately to quarrel with and banish most of the young men, the painters and writers, she encouraged and advised" (p. 152). In the Autobiography, Toklas, in Stein's voice, says that "every one began at this time to be very occupied with their own affairs" (p. 247), but Souhami declares flatly that "the rejections were cool, deadly and delivered by Alice" (p. 181). As Simon explains, "though Gertrude and Alice liked to see people come, [they] equally liked to see them go and if they banished many, then there were always more" (p. 149), and Baldwin claims that by this time they "still had people to tea and cakes but in small groups and only after four in the afternoon" (p. 34).

Stein's break with Hemingway is harder to date. Brinnin asserts that "no single event marked Gertrude and Ernest's estrangement and no isolated reason can account for it,...[they just] drifted apart" (p. 258). Fitzgerald never received one of Toklas's notices of banishment. However, in April of 1930, his wife Zelda was admitted drunk (LeVot) to the Hospital in Malmaison, west of Paris for "anxiety" (Turnbull, p. 192), effectively ending his time in the group.

By 1931, Stein was describing a visit with van Vechten as "a nice peaceable time having really quarreled for keeps with all our young friends" (in Souhami, p. 184). Mellow dates the following year as the time by which Stein had "divested herself of the circle of young men" (p. 404), but it is clear that the group of writers we have focused on no longer got together at Fleurus after spring of 1930.

If Stein was already a genius when she began socializing with writers in the twenties, her work, though published, had only begun to reach a wider audience when they all broke up in 1930 Toklas' Plain Editions began to bring out her works (Mellow) and, in Axel's

Castle, Edmund Wilson, became the first “important intellectual journalist” to discuss her work “in the company of Proust, Joyce, Yeats and Eliot...[She started to] undertake a retrospective accounting of her life” (Bridgman, p. 205).

The next fall, she was ready to go through the next important “Door” in her career:

“Gertrude was 57. She was respected, sought after, quoted, interviewed and lampooned. But, except for contributions to the short-lived, scarcely read literary magazines, she was seldom published. Henry MacBride said to her, ‘There is a public for you but no publisher.’ Juan Gris had died without having achieved the success she felt he deserved. Mildred Aldrich had died with only one flurry of acclaim...Claribel Cone had died of pneumonia in Lausanne. Time was running out. Everyone knew of Gertrude, but only a few loyal followers publicised her as the genius she felt herself to be. And though Alice did not swerve from doing all she could to promote Gertrude, she let it be known that she would like her to be rich and successful in a popular way. Picasso and Matisse were rich and famous. Many of the young men whose careers Gertrude had encouraged were doing far better than she was. Fitzgerald and Hemingway had their reputations. Alice believed that if Gertrude wrote a memoir it would almost certainly be a success. Gertrude did not want to write one. ‘It does not bother me to delight them,’ she said. It was not the prospect of embarrassing others by her revelations that bothered her, but the sense of compromising her own talent. ‘Remarks are not literature,’ she had said to Hemingway. Gertrude told Alice that she should write her memoirs...There was nothing for it but for Gertrude to do the writing and to make them rich and famous in a popular way” (Souhami, p. 185).

It was too hot to go back to Paris, so from October to November they stayed in Bilignin; she finished the manuscript in six weeks. When it was published the following August, the first printing of 5,400 sold out in nine days (Souhami). It was a best seller (Hoffman), the choice of the Literary Club (Autobiography), and the Literary Guild. She was interviewed by The New York Times Magazine (Mellow).

Toklas gained fame from Stein’s memorializing of her, and as partners in life as well as publishing, both of them “took great delight in Gertrude’s success, when it happened late in their lives, and in spending the money she earned” (Souhami, p. 14-5).

In 1934 Four Saints, the opera she had written with Thomson finally was produced in Hartford, Connecticut (Mellow). Van Vechten wrote to them that the premiere “was a knockout and a wow. And that it upset New York as nothing else had that winter...[Buckminster Fuller came in a] bubble-shaped Dymaxion car with Clare Booth and Dorothy Hale (Souhami, p. 198-9). As Thomson told Wittke fifty years later,

“It was everybody’s *first time*... You see, in order to get something original and good you have to get somebody when he is young. After one or even one and a half successes you are beginning to imitate yourself a little bit. We had to work from scratch’...If Four Saints is a microcosm of its period, it also offers a window on several cultural currents of the early 1930s. The opera was born at the moment when the modernist sensibility moved from the fringes of the avant-garde into America’s traditional bastion of conservatism, the museum. The opera premiered at Hartford’s Wadsworth Athenaeum, in the country’s first architecturally modern museum wing. It coincided with the first museum retrospective of Pablo Picasso, who, like Gertrude Stein, had previously been labeled a cultural outlaw” (p. 22-3).

Less than three weeks later it moved to New York City for a longer run; at that premiere, “Cecil Beaton was in tears”; Gershwin, Toscanini and Paul Bowles were all there (Souhami). The reviews were great except for FPA who proclaimed, “I say it is spinach” (Brinnin, p. 326).

In the intervening year, the Autobiography had earned \$1000 from the excerpt in the Atlantic Monthly, \$3000 from the Literary Guild, and \$4500 from Harcourt; Stein and Toklas “loved the money” (Souhami, p. 195). But there was a downside to her commercial success:

“The irony did not escape her. She was exhibiting the same reaction that other newly successful writers had, and for which she had always reprimanded them. ‘Once they had made a success they became sterile, they could not go on. And I blamed them...Now I know better. It does cut off your flow’...Unexpected celebrity also shook her conception of herself. ‘All of a sudden I was not just I because so many people had known me...I was I no longer’...This disturbance of her identity is not easy to account for. Gertrude was hardly an unknown suddenly thrust into prominence. She had a reputation, several of them in fact, and had long listened to her merits and deficiencies being debated in public. Furthermore, she was accustomed to entertaining the famous of every rank, so that their society could hardly turn her head. Whatever the cause of the trauma, it directly affected her creativity. For the first time in her life, she could not write. ‘I began to think about how my writing would sound to others, how could I make them understand, I who had always lived within my self and my writing’...Virtually nothing that she produced in 1933 and 1934 was printed until well after her death [except in little magazines]” (Bridgman, p. 235).

So after achieving the wider renown she sought during her years socializing with a group of writers, she found that it had the unintended consequence of cutting off the creativity she had become renowned for. Either because or in spite of this, Stein decided to give in to her American friends’ pleas and take off for a triumphant tour of the United States (Souhami). She was interviewed as soon as she got off the ship--”Why don’t you write the way you talk?’...’Why don’t you read the way I write?’”--and at the Algonquin Hotel, “where literary and theatrical celebrities had long been the rule, Gertrude had aroused more

comment and interest, according to Frank Case, than anyone who had ever stopped there. Nothing could have pleased her more” (Brinnin, p. 336). Pictures of Stein and Toklas were in all the papers, with headlines such as “Gerty Gerty Stein Stein Is Back Home Home Back.” Her name was in lights in Times Square and “everyone seemed to know them--even the taxi drivers” (Souhami, p. 206-8). It bothered her that “people were more interested in her personality than her work” (Souhami, p. 195), but she lectured in New York, Chicago, and New England (Souhami).

By 1935 when she and Toklas returned to Paris, the Autobiography was in its fourth printing, she had articles in the New York Herald Tribune, Cosmopolitan (Mellow) and Vanity Fair, and transition published a nasty “Testimony Against Gertrude Stein” by one-time friends the Jolases, Braque and Matisse. But Bennet Cerf promised to publish one book of hers each year (Souhami), and she went on to write more magazine pieces and lecture at Oxford and Cambridge.

Hemingway took a public “swipe” at Stein in Green Hills of Africa three years after her description of him as “yellow” appeared in the Autobiography, recording, or creating, this dialogue with his wife:

“Yes, and he doesn’t have to read books written by some female he’s tried to help get published saying how he’s yellow.”

“She’s just jealous and malicious. You never should have helped her. Some people never forgive that.”

“It’s a damned shame, though, with all that talent gone to malice and nonsense and self-praise. It’s a god-damned shame, really. It’s a shame you never knew her before she went to pot. You know a funny thing; she never could write dialogue. It was terrible. She learned how to do it from my stuff and used it in that book. She had never written like that before. She never could forgive learning that and she was afraid people would notice it, where she’d learned it, so she had to attack me. It’s a funny racket, really. But I swear she was damned nice before she got ambitious. You would have like her then, really” (in Brinnin, p. 260).

During the Second World War she did broadcasts, wrote patriotic articles in The New York Times Magazine, Yale Poetry Review and Life, and spoke at GI schools and Army camps. She reinvigorated her salon for the soldiers after the war, where “she became one of the sights of Paris for the American army” (Souhami, p. 244). But,

“the nature of Gertrude’s salon had changed, and her old genius as a hostess now seemed less important than her simple patience and power to endure. She would receive the first unannounced visit of any GI warmly--she seemed...’like everybody’s grandmother,’ yet, except in rare cases, she managed to let the first time visitor know that he was not invited to a second meeting. This was a necessary limitation if she were not to be continually overwhelmed by callers, and its application was seldom interpreted as rudeness” (Brinnin, p. 396).

In 1946, two of her plays were produced at the Pasadena Playhouse (Mellow and Bridgman), and the Alice M. Ditson Fund for Music commissioned her and Thomson to write The Mother of Us All (Bridgman). She finished the libretto without hearing his music (Brinnin). The first copies of her last work, Brewsie and Willie, arrived five days before she died in June during an emergency operation for cancer (Souhami). An editorial in the Nation said,

“hearing that Gertrude Stein is dead is like learning that Paul Bunyan has been eaten by his ox Babe...Certainly she is not really dead: legends never die, and Miss Stein has made herself into an American legend more lasting than Barnum himself ever created. She sat in Paris as the Pythoness used to sit at Delphi: everybody in the world, from Picasso to a sergeant of the marines, came asking for a sign, and went away happy with some oracular utterance which he could finger as if it were a Chinese puzzle...The world will be a duller place without her; her sins harmed no one; at this moment she is sitting in the Elysian fields talking to Samuel Johnson, the only man who could ever be her match” (in Brinnin, p. 404).

In 1984 a Gertrude Stein Memorial Bookshop opened in her home town of Pittsburgh (O’Connell), and Four Saints has continued to be revived, most recently in 1996 at Lincoln Center. “As Stein wrote, ‘When this you see, remember me’” (Wittke, p. 22).

### The End of the Algonquin Round Table--December 1928--and the Accomplishments of Dorothy Parker

Although the Round Table had a very clear cut beginning with the Woollcott luncheon in June of 1919, most sources disagree about when it began to break up. Samuel Hopkins Adams says that as early as 1922 Broun’s mind “was beginning to turn elsewhere” (p. 148), although Gaines claims that even by 1926 he still came to lunch “but his column and thoughts were elsewhere” (p. 163). Kunkel feels that Ross “began pulling away from the group shortly after launching The New Yorker” in 1925, and “came to abhor the logrolling and to see the Round Table dissolute lifestyle for what it was--an insidious cannibalizer of

energy and...talent" (p. 82). Gaines agrees that by the next year Ross was "busy with The New Yorker[.] and when he came to the Algonquin for lunch it was with editorial and business associates and he sat apart from the Round Table" (p. 163). That year he got his wife, Jane Grant, to tell Woolcott to move out of their shared apartment (Gaines). The Irritant took "junior," the son of the their handyman, to serve as his valet (Samuel Hopkins Adams), and turned "splenetic" (Gaines, p. 85) on them.

Meade found that Parker started to "knock the Round Table" and began to tire of the group when she was spending more time with Seward Collins as early as 1926. Gaines says the same of Benchley that year: He "tired of the Round Table...thought it became self-conscious...it wasn't any great feud or break; he just stopped going to lunch there as much," according to his son and biographer, Nathaniel Benchley (p. 166). Gaines attributes the greatest change that year to Woolcott, "whose animus seemed redoubled," and feels that "Hollywood had taken Connelly by this time" (p. 164)

That spring Parker decided to go to Paris to write more and "none ...attempted to dissuade her" (Meade, p. 164). Benchley came to visit her there, and was called to Hollywood; but his visits to the other Coast "were short ones during most of the twenties, and his life was [still] based in the East" (Rosmond, p. 123). When Parker returned to New York in the fall, the Algonquin group was "changed--more sparsely attended than before and vaguely dispirited" (Gaines, p. 163).

Broun stopped playing poke with *Thanatopsis* in 1927 (Gaines), and Benchley spent three weeks in Hollywood that year. When Parker attempted suicide yet again and tied ribbons to cover the scars on her wrist: "There could have been no more eloquent symbol of the unhappy pass at which the Algonquin wits now found themselves. Their *toujours-gai* spontaneity was unimpaired, but intimacy among them seemed all but impossible" (Gaines, p. 78).

Their disagreements over politics, particularly Sacco-Vanzetti, began to show in 1927. The following year, however, marks the real break up of the group. Parker moved out of her room at the Algonquin, "where Round Table lunches had become less frequent" (Meade, p. 193), but the final coup came in December when Benchley went to Hollywood on a long term basis. He talked the offer over with both Parker and Robert Sherwood, and

“their warm encouragement persuaded him to accept. But it wasn’t a hard decision to make. He needed the money” (Frewin, p. 113).

As Gaines explains,

“At this point...[the group] began to fall apart...Simple geography had much to do with [it]; like Broun, Franklin Adams by now had a home in Connecticut to which they retreated with increasing frequency on weekends and even during the week. At the same time, the *Thanatopsis* game was becoming less attractive in proportion to its higher stakes and increased danger. Before the decade was out, Swope and Kaufman would begin bringing rich friends into the game who would finally outprice the original members. The incursion of economic realities with the Crash probably did more to dampen their group spirit than any other single factor, and to the extent that they were drawn together by ties of mutual insecurity and the hope for success by association their very successes rendered the group obsolete. But there were more proximate causes in rifts in the Round Table of 1928 as well: the delicate balance of certain marriages was thrown off by their gathering fortunes, and Woollcott’s dark side was becoming increasingly insistent force in the group” (p. 183-4).

Now that they were successful, they all became “too busy to take time off for two-hour lunches, but the members of the Round Table set were still in touch and aware of one another’s activities” (Goldstein, p. 193). Gaines feels that it “ended, as it had begun, in the daze following a cataclysm” (p. 202). Frewin says that they “all became rather jaded, as if everyone was trying a little too hard” (p. 159), and Jefferson that “there came a point at which the waning Algonquin party was emphatically over” (p. B).

Too many tourists were looking for them at lunchtime, and Case moved their table back to the Pergola Room. Besides new geographic living arrangements, most of them were “in professional ascendance and so...was the public stature of the privileged splintering group” (Gaines, p. 182). Connelly said that trying to remember when it ended was “like remembering falling asleep” (Gaines, p. 226), and when people would ask Case what had become of the group, he would shrug and say, “What became of the reservoir at Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street? These things do not last forever” (in Meade, p. 320).

By this time, “each had achieved his respective niche in contemporary American letters or theatre” (Drennan, p. 14). When Benchley began commuting to and from Hollywood, “Kaufman, Woollcott...Broun, Neysa [McMein], Ruth Gordon and the rest were [already] busy working on projects” (Frewin, p. 152).

However, Frewin claims that even in the summer of 1929,

“Neshobe was frequented by many of the old gang...And although the Algonquin lunches seemed as gay as ever, the more perceptive among the group realized that the Round Table was gradually sliding into decline...Dorothy realized it perhaps more than the rest. She had long been acutely tuned in to the movements and moods of the Vicious Circle” (p. 144).

By 1931, when her publisher threw a book party at the Algonquin for the publication of her Death and Taxes, dedicated “To Mr. Benchley”:

“the Vicious Circle, as it now scarcely remained, was an ectoplasmic image of what it had once been, now no longer a force, a full-blooded entity, its members being half in Hollywood and half on Broadway, with half...in England and elsewhere. Those who were still around the New York literary scene and Times Square, turned up at the Algonquin, fully expecting a drinking bash...The dispersal of the Algonquinites for the hotel on 44th Street had now all but been effected...The parties, too, were less in evidence; life was becoming rather more staid” (Frewin, p. 180)

The next year Parker moved to the Lowell, “to escape the painful memories she now associated with her Algonquin suite” (Meade, p. 221), and the demise of the group was painfully noted by one fringe member, Ferber:

“One day, having finished a long job of work and wishing to celebrate, I flounced into the Algonquin dining room, sat down at an empty place at the Round Table and found myself looking into the astonished and resentful faces of a family from Newton, Kansas...I mumbled an apology and left” (in Gaines).

Of all the Star-Host/Hostess pairings, Parker and Benchley ended up the farthest apart, not always geographically, but definitely emotionally. The more she got involved in political causes, the more Benchley would “lose patience with Dottie. He thought she was becoming too earnest,...and getting in with the wrong people” (Rosmond, p. 65). He blamed Lillian Hellman for her change in role to the defender of the downtrodden, telling a friend, “They’re such serious girls” (in Rosmond, p. 179). At about the same time, Parker found her second husband, Alan Campbell, to “usurp Robert’s role of confidant, comrade, and advisor” (Meade, p. 250). By 1937, Benchley was no longer able to support her. They met for drinks at “21” and she began to spout militant rhetoric:

“Robert was taken aback and greatly angered....As Dorothy kept inching to the left, she soon realized he was not following, but appeared to be increasingly skeptical of her direction...For several months she refused to answer his phone calls or visit him at the Garden of Allah [in Los Angeles], until eventually the intercession of friends brought about a reconciliation” (Meade, p. 256-9) .

Two years later he refused to emcee her benefit for the Spanish Children's Milk Fund (Meade). Frewin says that Parker "had always been prepared to stand up and be counted when she believed wholeheartedly in a cause. If the opinion of others disagreed with her, she was contemptuous of that opinion and was prepared even to reject old and valued friends like Benchley, if they did not agree with her consuming radical tilt" (p. 222), but "she felt saddest of all about Benchley" (Meade, p. 256).

Despite these varying explanations of when it started to decline, we can date the ending of the Algonquinites with the move of Benchley, the Host, to Hollywood on a more permanent basis in December of 1928.

As a group, the Algonquinites had a lot of accomplishments during their time in the group. They became the "first writing celebrities of a new mass culture" (Gaines, p. 254): "They felt themselves to be an elite, and they had considerable reason to believe they were right. From there, they went on to set another standard for the nation, to create a different intellectual climate" (Keats, p. 73). Frewin points out that, at their height, although some didn't like the Round Table, "you certainly couldn't ignore it" (p. 44).

We have seen how their major "group project," The New Yorker, "changed the face of contemporary fiction, perfected a new form of literary journalism, established new standards for humor and comic art, swayed the cultural and social agendas, and became synonymous with sophistication. It replaced convention with innovation" (Kunkel, p. 6).

Creatively, Parker had outgrown the group. In later years she described her own disillusionment with them to an Associated Press reporter:

"At first, I was in awe of them because they were being published. But then I came to realize I wasn't hearing anything very stimulating. I remember hearing Woolcott say, 'Reading Proust is like lying in somebody else's dirty bath water.' And then he'd go into ecstasy about something [mediocre], and I knew I'd had enough of the Round Table" (in Frewin).

Most importantly, by the time she "was clearly tiring of the Algonquinites,...she was emerging as a serious poet" (Frewin, p. 142). Recuperating from her emergency appendectomy in May of 1928, just months before Benchley took off for Hollywood, she began to write "Big Blonde" for the Bookman (Frewin).

Her beau, Collins, published it there as a favor to her, but it "marked a leap forward in her literary reputation" (Meade, p. 196). As Acocella appraises its importance:

“[It is the] most famous and best of the stories...What makes [the suicide scene] so hair-raising is that it is an inverted sex scene, taking Hazel’s situation down to its root, the female body. We see the breasts, the thighs, the nightgown flung back, only now the body is fat and tired, and the occasion is no longer one of fun but one of cold scrutiny, with the three strangers staring at Hazel’s nakedness, the doctor pinching her back into life. Never has female vulnerability been more terribly portrayed... ‘Blonde’ is not just Parker’s best story; none of the others comes near it...Parker has been praised for the extreme economy of her stories, many of them less than ten pages long, most of them faithful to the unities of time and place (a taxi ride, a conversation on a patio), all of them sketching in their characters with a stroke or two and leaving much for us to guess. They deserve praise, as the aptest container for what she had to say. But surely she herself must have noticed that her finest story, ‘Big Blonde,’ was her least economical story, more than twice as long as her average; that it did not observe the unities but covered ten years; and that, despite the autobiographical touches (the alcoholism, the suicide attempt), it was almost the only one of her major stories whose heroine was not like her but duller and nicer--a sympathetic character. Parker’s best story, in other words, is her least typical story. It is a voyage out, and that is what she needed. Instead she pulled in and pulled in, until at last she just disappeared” (p. 79-80)

Allen calls some of its lines, “the Muzak of Hell itself” (p. G6), and Leonard ranks it with “Horsie,” written in 1932, as “perfections; each one unlocks a small door to the feminine heart” (p. 15).

The critics agreed as “Big Blonde” won the prestigious O. Henry Prize, out of 2,000 entries, the very next year (Frewin). She came back from Europe in January of 1930 to receive the award, having written three poems and two short stories for The New Yorker while she was abroad (Meade). “Big Blonde” was included in her next collection, Laments for the Living, and named Best Short Story of the Year (Frewin). Despite the book’s great sales, she was disappointed (Meade).

At this time she also wrote for Vanity Fair, Literary Journal, McCall’s and Everybody’s. Fitzgerald tried to convince his editor, Perkins, to take her on as she “is at a high point as a producer and as to reputation I wouldn’t lose any time about this if it interests you” (Frewin, p. 129), and the founders of Viking “convinced her that it would be a crime if she didn’t write a novel” (Meade, p. 200).

Instead Parker took MGM’s offer of \$300 per week for three months (Meade), a contract that was “generous in terms and restrictive in conditions” (Frewin, p. 155).

In the thirties, she had nineteen stories in The New Yorker (Meade), and the first two years of the decade were “among the most personally difficult and professionally productive years in Parker’s life.” Death and Taxes, “a commercial and critical triumph” appeared in

1931 (Gaines, p. 210-1), dedicated "To Mr. Benchley" and called by FPA "her saddest and best book" (Frewin, p. 179). She only had one New Yorker story that year, but she renewed her "Constant Reader" column for the next two years, for the money (Meade).

In the mid-thirties she and Campbell wrote dialogue for movies, and she received a credit on a few films (Samuel Hopkins Adams). She met a Hollywood agent who got them a very good deal as a writing team at Paramount, but this move,

"effectively, was the end of Parker's career. She lived 33 years longer, but in those years she produced only eleven more stories. (Sadly, some of them are among her best.) She also co-authored two plays and wrote occasional magazine pieces. She contributed to about two dozen films, almost always in collaboration with Alan, but she hated the work" (Acocella, p. 78).

Parker and Campbell were nominated as a writing team for Oscars twice. After the first time in 1937 they signed a five year contract with Sam Goldwyn, "at a combined salary of \$5200 a week, an astonishing sum they somehow managed to spend--on houses, clothes and parties. Parker drank as much as ever. Alan drank more" (Meade, p. 78). Asked how she liked working in Hollywood, she said, "you make a little money and get caught up on your debts. We're up to 1912 now" (Frewin, p. 211). But her collections continued to sell well (Frewin), and Woolcott included her in his anthologies (Samuel Hopkins Adams, Frewin).

Once Parker was in Hollywood, she

"invested in politics. She helped found the Hollywood anti-Nazi League; according to Ring Lardner, Jr., she briefly joined the Communist Party. And she remained faithful to the Stalinist line long after other American leftists were repelled by events in the Soviet Union. She stopped speaking to many of her friends, accusing them of political cowardice" (Frewin, p. 78).

Parker formed the first trade union for screenwriters, the American Screenwriter's Guild with Hellman, Dashiell Hammett and others. Her article, "Soldiers of the Republic," appeared in The New Yorker in 1938, and Woolcott was "the first to respond, telephoning his congratulations and insisting on paying the costs to have it published in pamphlet form with wide distribution throughout the country. The article was to give her credibility as a serious writer" (Frewin, p. 233).

The Viking Portable Dorothy Parker was published, with an introduction by Somerset Maugham, in 1944, and

“everything Parker wrote that is memorable, and much that is unmemorable, fits neatly into the Viking Portable Dorothy Parker, the only comprehensive Parker collection still in print. According to a Viking editor, that book is one of the ten best-selling Portables--one slot below Emerson, one slot above Poe. Interest in Parker has not died” (Acocella, p. 81).

In the late forties, she was “in demand as a screenwriter” (Frewin, p. 253), and contributed to magazines, including The New Yorker, even after Ross’ death. Esquire bought a story from her in 1957 and then asked for regular book reviews. She was always late, but it “gave her the first financial security she had enjoyed since the thirties” (Meade, p. 356), and she reviewed more than 200 books for them in the next five years. The editor, Arnold Gingrich, even sent her checks when she didn’t send reviews, and convinced her to take part in a two-day writers’ symposium at Columbia University for a large fee. Soon she was writing lyrics for Candide with Leonard Bernstein and received the Marjorie Peabody Waite Award from the National Institute of Arts and Letters, but almost passed out drunk twice during her acceptance speech. She received an invitation to Yaddo, but hated it and didn’t accomplish anything there, and felt the same about her appointment as a teacher at California State College (Meade).

In the late sixties there was a lot of interest in adapting her work for the stage, and a trilogy of her stories were produced for television, leading to a flurry of interviews (Meade). When she died in 1967 she received a page one obituary in the New York Times, but many people “thought she had died ages ago” (Acocella, p. 78). Allen adds, “as for fulfilling her promise--coteries are founded on promise--Parker published two books of short stories and three books of light verse. Name one” (p. G6).

But in her heyday,

“she was for a while rich, famous and powerful. She had two husbands, four lovers, a mansion in Beverly Hills, a country estate in Pennsylvania, and a series of apartments in New York...Practically every bright remark of her day was attributed to her. Two Broadway plays were written about her and she was portrayed as a character in a third; she was the most talked about women of her time” (Keats, p. 9).

In 1993, her 100th birthday was celebrated by the Algonquin Hotel, and Carpenter believes that

**“it’s not hard to imagine how Dorothy Parker would have responded to the current fuss...Most likely she would have greeted each new tribute--the centennial stamp bearing her waifish likeness, a proclamation by the City of New York dedicating the day...in her honor, a Dorothy Parker Weekend Package at the Algonquin Hotel--with a whiskey-soaked, ‘What fresh hell is this?’”**

## B. Implications for Other Creative Groups

Besides the re-telling of lovely stories about incredibly interesting, as well as creative people, what other implications do our findings about these primary, informal, non-task, cluster groups have? There might be some new insights into the already analysed work of the four Stars, and even others such as Hemingway, whose work has often been looked at as the result of their individual talents, and sometimes their psychological and sociological backgrounds. There is the possibility of looking at their creative works now as the result of their roles as "Star" individuals in extremely integrated communication networks. This would be in the realm of the literary researcher.

There is also the possibility of new ways of looking at these individuals, and particularly the Stars, from the psychological point of view. What makes them the kind of persons who benefit from this group experience? Does it benefit some more than others? Joyce, for example, socialized, but not with a specific group of creative people, and it doesn't seem to have hindered his creativity. That is for the psychological researcher.

Perhaps the different personality types of the Stars contributed to the benefits they received from the group. Yeats and Stein were farther along in their creative development than Virginia and Parker. The former were Stars who gathered a group around them, whereas the latter were more unsure of their art when they met up with these others. This is in the realm of the personality researcher.

Beyond the Stars there are the personalities of the other role categories and how they contributed to the overall group experience. Why is it that this particular mix of roles sustains the group's cohesiveness as long as it does?

However, I feel that the larger implications of this analysis that is directly related to the fields of study that I have pursued, communications and business administration, fall into two main categories: (1) Recommendations for future communications research into this area, and (2) Direct applications to organizations--both non-profit and for-profit--that are interested in fostering creativity among their employees.

## *1. Implications for Future Communications Research*

One thing that is clear from the above analysis of the effect of this experience on the four Stars is that they were affected in a variety of ways:

They received social-emotional support;

They received validation of not only their personal values but also their individual self-concepts as artists (and as women in some cases);

They developed their skills as writers, not by through any formal training by more experienced writers, but through the socialization process of spending time communicating with other writers;

Their satisfaction was increased by being with similar people they liked who liked them back;

Their productivity was increased by the outside stimulation of people different from themselves who brought the points of view of other fields; and

They were able to have access to established organizations as well as the resources to increase their visibility and to create new outlets for their work which would not be acceptable to established organizations.

Not bad for eight or nine years spent in drawing rooms and country homes having fascinating conversations with interesting people.

Of our 31 creative people thirteen (Synge, Hyde, Strachey, Leonard, Clive, Fry, Keynes, Fitzgerald, McAlmon, Thomson, Benchley, Woollcott, and Broun) attended higher level education with the advantage of the socialization of freshman and sophomore years. Even those thirteen obviously felt the need to continue socializing when they were beginning their after-college careers. Now that a larger percentage of young people have the advantage of this experience, and probably an even larger percentage of those embarking on "creative" careers, there is an even more compelling reason to give a hard look at what effect this process has on their creative development.

A brief review of the literature on groups shows that it primarily deals with the groups--what types of groups have higher or lower satisfaction? What types of groups are more productive? What makes an effective leader? The literature on creativity and group behavior primarily deals with creative problem solving, task groups, and laboratory settings. While these studies have certainly been valuable, they are limited. They don't allow access to what Dorris refers to as "the wide swath of life which is essential to the sort of professional/creative/career development" (personal communication, June 30, 1997) that we have looked at in these Stars.

As an example, a glance at the Table of Contents of Kevin Durkin's extensive analysis of early adulthood or career development, Developmental Social Psychology, shows how lightly this topic is dealt with. The sections headed "Relationships," which includes a subsection on "Attachment through the Lifespan"; "Other Relationships," dealing with "Friendship" and "Affairs," as opposed to "Siblings"; "Relating to the Broader Community"; "Developmental Social Expectations"; and "Role Conflict and Role Uncertainty" take up a total of eleven pages out of the 35-page chapter on adulthood in a 630 page textbook.

However, from personal experience, when my college students complain to me about having to work in a group on a creative project--such as an advertising campaign--I point out to them that 95% of their working lives, to say nothing of their personal lives, will be spent "working in groups."

## *2. Direct Applications to Organizations*

This type of research takes on an even greater immediate importance because of the ongoing developments in the business world today: Organizations searching for ways to become more creative, restructuring their employees into teams and groups.

My original research in this area, cited earlier, involved the one-on-one relationship between an editor and his writers, which was applicable to the relationship between a manager and his work with employees involved in similar creative work. While this relationship is still key in organizations, particularly in knowledge-based industries such as publishing, advertising, education, software development, etc., the role of the team in the creative process has taken on increased importance for all organizations who wish to compete more aggressively in today's international, high technology environment. These industries are "characterized by observation, positioning, flattened organizations, missions, teams, and cunning. It is a world of psychology, of cognition, of adaptation" (Arthur, p. 108).

Three works that deal specifically with this challenge and how today's organizations have met it are Lisa K. Gundry, Jill R. Kickul and Charles W. Prather's, "Building the Creative Organization," in the Spring, 1994, issue of Organizational Dynamics, Gary Hamel and C. K. Prahalad's Competing for the Future of the same year, and John Kao's Jamming: The Art and Discipline of Business Creativity from last year.

Kao looks at today's companies using the metaphor of the jazz technique whereby musicians improvise as a group. For businesses he defines "jam" as,

"to take a theme, a question, a notion, a whim, an idea, pass it around, break it up, put it together, turn it over, run it backward, fly with it as far as possible, out of sight, never retreating...but yes, here it comes, homing in, changed, new, the essence, like nothing ever before" (inscription).

An apt and colorful description of the flow of communication that took place in Coole Park, Bloomsbury, rue de Fleurus and the Algonquin lunch table.

Kao sees the evolution of businesses as falling in to four eras; the last two are the informational, which we are in now, and "the creative," which we are now entering, which he defines as

"Information technology is evolving into the technology of relationships, facilitating the flow of creative interaction through computer-based communication networks, groupware, increasingly intelligent agents, knowledge representation and management systems, videoconferencing systems and the convergence of different forms of traditional media" (p. 4).

All of these technologies involve creative people communicating, often in small groups. As to the importance of the creativity of these people, Kao stresses that "the minds of gifted people are what truly distinguish one organization from another...But minds alone, however prolific with fresh ideas, are nothing without processes specifically designed to translate these fresh ideas into valued products and services" (p. xiii-xiv).

So how do the findings of our above analysis of these groups apply to today's creative business setting?

The advantage to the Star of having a Host/Hostess is obvious; wouldn't we all love to have an Alice B. Toklas to take care of all day-to-day matters leaving us free to think? In

a business setting, a particularly dedicated assistant could fulfill this role for an outstanding manager.

Identifying employees who fill the three inner circle roles might be more difficult. But it is clear from the research that having someone who creates a certain amount of tension--the Irritant--is not a bad thing. The other members were fond of this person, at least for a while, and he gave them a point that they could all agree on--that he was a pain to have around. Creating groups marked by total harmony where similar personalities get along, is probably *not* the most productive way to encourage creativity in a team.

The three outer circle roles--the Odd One Out, the Link, and the Bridge--proved to be particularly important to the success of the groups because they served as "connections" to other groups, points of view and fields of interest. The Odd One Out remains a certain distance from the social life of the members, and also spends time in other groups. The Link to the establishment, would be easy enough to include in any work team, someone from senior management, for example, who has the authority to provide access to outside resources. Equally important, I feel, are the Bridges, who actually do some writing, thereby giving them something in common with the other members. But they are ultimately known for work in totally different fields, creative in themselves.

How should these groups be created? The mix of people included is obviously a factor. Testing for personality types--"Are you an Irritant?"--might be problematic. However, it is clear that a mix of genders is positive, although we have noted that the women in these groups are either Star or Hostess, the leadership positions. Mixing together different functions, however, is not as difficult in the business setting and is already practiced by some companies.

For example, Gundry, et al, describe the guidelines DuPont's Center for Creativity and Innovation gives for running creative problem-solving workshops, are similar to the situation in these writers' groups. For example, they require a manager with a core group of five to seven employees who are familiar with the problem and also feel that it is an important one (p. 32). This size seems to be ideal--the writers groups all had seven to eight members, with lots of "fringe" friends who came and went from time to time.

They also cite DuPont's practice of including at least one member in a team who has been trained in creative thinking techniques, while the leader, of course, "must value, support, and encourage the application of creative thinking" (p. 23).

Although our groups did not have a "leader" in the traditional sense, the Star did serve as a "center," someone they could all look up to for his or her talents and skills in their own area. They also had the Link to give them access to outlets for their work. DuPont recommends that the senior manager in charge, or the department that sponsors the particular workshop, must have authority over the resources that can be used to solve the problem--for example, money--and that the manager has to actively participate. This leads to action, not just ideas (p. 32).

Third, and most interesting to me, is that DuPont requires that the group include "one or more individuals who are competent but not knowledgeable about the problem under discussion...These people, known as 'wild cards,' can bring a fresh perspective to the issue. The wild cards are typically employees from outside the business unit attending the workshops" (p. 32). This inclusion of a "Bridge" is similar to Janis prescription for avoiding "groupthink" and underlines the importance of the three outer circle roles to creative groups. They know enough to contribute, but not so much as to be locked in to one way of thinking.

Hamel and Prahalad advocate fostering this mix of inside and outside thinking, which they refer to as "genetic diversity" (p. 56), throughout the organization as well as the whole industry, not just in teams. They caution against the type of closed thinking that leads to a downward spiral. At the industry level,

"lack of genetic variety was understandable, and almost forgivable, as long as competition took place within a 'closed system'...[But then] whole industries become vulnerable to new rules when all the incumbents accept, more or less, the same industry conventions. An industry full of clones is an opportunity for any company that isn't locked into the dominant managerial frame" (p. 58).

On the managerial level, Hamel and Prahalad point out that "perceptual barriers that result from lack of genetic diversity are often the highest and most impenetrable in those managers who possess the most political clout. (This is a nice way of saying the bottleneck is usually at the top of the bottle.)...Success reduces genetic variety," and eventually led to the break up our groups. They advocate such structural changes as "skunk works,

intrapreneurship, spin-offs, and other forms of bottom-up innovations” (p. 59-61), although managers have to acknowledge that often these will lead to failures before they yield successes, and they take a long time, by corporate standards, to pay off, maybe eight or nine years.

So much for Dorris’ aspects of the person, how does an organization cultivate the Contexts and Processes that lead to more creative approaches to problems? How can there be a creative environment that isn’t just a free-for-all with no concrete results?

Gundry, et al, list ten dimensions of the environment in a creative organization, and they are the ones most consistently cited in other descriptions: “Challenge, freedom, dynamism, trust and openness, idea time, playfulness and humor, conflicts, idea support, debates, and risk-taking” (p. 34), all of which we have seen evidence of in our groups get-togethers. The trick is getting these characteristics to become part of the cultural norm of an organization, to be internalized the way it was for our creative people, and not just part of the lip service of top management.

Kao refers to this as “clearing a place for creativity”:

“a sanctum for the shared values, perceptions and goals of the people working on any given project. Group microcultures breed in those spaces, of course, and they sometimes run counter to the mainstream corporate culture. Knowing this, creative leadership may publicly define the space as something apart from business as usual, a semi-separate grazing ground for ideas whose integrity must be respected” (p. 66).

In other words, Virginia was right: The creative person needs “a room of one’s own,” as well as a room full of friends.

We have seen that our groups created for themselves comfortable spaces that were conducive to creativity, one in the city and one in the country. Except for the Algonquin Hotel, all were private homes where they could control the physical surroundings as well as who came and went. They also all shared both proximity and availability. In other words, they lived and worked close enough to each other that it was very easy for them to meet and socialize, and, because of the nature of the work that they did and how they supported themselves, they had very flexible hours so they had time to socialize together.

In a work setting, this can translate into areas set aside for purely informal get-togethers with no set structure. The group will find its own structure--regular times when people will be there, furnishings, seating arrangements, etc.

Some of the characteristics of the place, according to Kao, would be "safe, casual, liberating. Not so small as to be limiting, not so big as to kill intimacy. Creature comfortable, stimulating, free of distractions and intrusions. Not too open, not too closed; sometimes schedule-bound, sometimes not" (p. 58).

Kao cites examples. Bell Atlantic has brown sheets of paper on the walls and conference rooms so ideas can be jotted down and Xerox has whiteboard-covered walls the way the Bloomsberries painted the walls, doors, lintels and furniture of Gordon Square and Charleston. First Virtual Corporation and Story Street Studios designed all their space from the ground up to facilitate communication among different parts of the organization, "cross-pollinating" and allowing for the contact with people outside the field that we have seen is so important.

And what should the employees in these areas do? Our writers mostly talked. "Conversation, that was all!" remembers Virginia. Kao finds this to be one of the keys to his jazz metaphor, stressing improvisation and jamming:

"Conversation comes as close to being an experience of shared improvisation as you will find in everyday life...But conversation still requires an underlying, all-but-invisible sheet music....Almost invariably, however, we try to break free of the sheet music...toward future possibility, toward individual authenticity and expressiveness, toward personal desire, toward the experimental. That impulse is what makes jazz--and, in business, what stimulates innovation, great strategic conversation, and corporate jamming" (p. 34).

Gundry, et al, cites DuPont's encouragement of "comments or short discussions made during meetings called for another purpose" to more structured forms like "the 'brown bag lunch,' in which trained facilitators discuss and practice creative thinking techniques while enjoying lunch with volunteer participants" (p. 23).

Regular rituals such as these are important to fostering a creative culture as well as serving as symbols of top management's expectations. Three tools that have been successfully used by creative organizations, and were also evident to different degrees in our four groups were food, dress and sharing others' creative works. Marge Myers, assistant director of Carnegie-Mellon University's Studio for Creative Inquiry, when asked

what one thing is most important to nurturing creativity in artists, responded instantly, “food.” She insists that whenever her program brings their artists together they serve snacks, the ubiquitous wine and cheese or other flexible food, not unlike Toklas’ “little cakes.” The Body Shop staffers wear uniforms, “T-shirts proclaiming messages in support of their store’s community campaigns,” similar to Yeats and AE’s soft bow ties. In their training programs for entrepreneurs, Gundry, et al, also use such films as The Dead Poets’ Society to exemplify the “creative individual in a stifling environment in which initiative is not just devalued but punished,” similar to the readings and input from non-group creative people who would come to visit. Gundry et al emphasize, however, that these tools must be “regularly used and talked about if they are to effectively spur creativity” (p. 28).

Brainstorming, formal and informal, has now become commonplace in many organizations. But Gundry, et al, also describe two of the techniques used by Airco Industrial Gases to stimulate creativity through its TQM, or total quality management, program: free wheeling and round robin procedures.

\* Free wheeling “involves establishing a spontaneous atmosphere that fosters creative notions for finding or solving a particular problem...Participants continually build upon one another’s ideas.”

\* The round robin technique “provides each participant with an equal opportunity to express and convey his or her ideas, so that no one person dominates the session.”

Once again, very similar to the activities in our groups.

But the most important tool a company has to give its employees to get creative solutions and new strategies is a different perspective on the old and the new problems, what Kao refers to as clearing beliefs and clearing the mind. Clearing beliefs involves getting rid of assumptions and allowing new boundaries to take their place. He describes the clearing the mind as “relaxed knowingness” or “focused reverie.” Anderson referred to it as “shoveling out the temple” before he sat to write each day.

Of course employees’ creative work in teams and on their own should be visibly rewarded, the spirit needs to be integrated throughout the organization, at all levels, so that this cultural norm of risky creative thinking becomes “an anchor that ties each individual to the group and conveys a comforting sense of solidarity, even among people who don’t work face to face” (Kao, p. 84).

As the corporation has evolved, it has adapted to new technologies and environments. Today that means knowledge organizations that must be creatively restructured into groups and teams who have to respond creatively to problems and come up with new solutions. One of the ways organizations can do this is to borrow techniques that other creative people have used, even if unconsciously, to develop their personal creativity to its fullest potential.

If a Nobel Prize winner, with hundreds of poems and plays to his credit, can say at the end of his life, "say my glory was I had such friends," who are we to disagree?

## **VI. Appendices**

### **A. List of Group Members**

#### **W. B. Yeats & the Irish Literary Renaissance (1897-1906)**

Lady Augusta Gregory, playwright  
George Moore, novelist, playwright  
AE (George Russell), poet, artist, playwright  
Edward Martyn, playwright  
John Millington Synge, playwright  
Douglas Hyde, playwright, politician

#### **Virginia Woolf & the Bloomsbury Group (1907-1915)**

Vanessa Bell, painter  
Lytton Strachey, biographer, critic  
Duncan Grant, painter  
Leonard Woolf, editor, critic, political writer  
Clive Bell, art critic  
Roger Fry, painter, art critic  
John Maynard Keynes, economist

#### **Gertrude Stein & the Americans in Paris (1921-1930)**

Alice B. Toklas, cook, publisher, writer  
Ernest Hemingway, novelist  
F. Scott Fitzgerald, novelist  
Robert McAlmon, writer, publisher  
Virgil Thomson, composer, music critic  
Sherwood Anderson, novelist  
Man Ray, photographer

#### **Dorothy Parker & the Algonquin Round Table (1919-1928)**

Robert Benchley, humorist, actor  
Alexander Woollcott, critic  
Marc Connelly, playwright  
Harold Ross, publisher  
George S Kaufman, playwright  
FPA (Franklin P. Adams), columnist, critic  
Heywood Broun, columnist, sports writer

## B: "During" Chronologies

N. B.: See the section on "Data Collection" for how these chronologies were created, and an explanation of the listings which precede each matrix. Sources are cited in parentheses at the beginning of each piece of information.

### The Irish Literary Renaissance, 1897-1906

**Yeats' Dad**

**Lady Gregory's Coole Park**

**Lady Gregory's son Robert**

**Martyn's Tullira**

**Hyde's Gaelic League**

**Yeats, Lady Gregory and Martyn's Thea.** (from 1897 to 1899 and 1902 to 1904)

**Yeats, Lady Gregory, Moore and Martyn's Thea.** (from 1899 to 1902)

**Yeats, Lady Gregory and Synge's Abbey** (from 1904 to 1906)

#### ENTRY

(Jeffares) c. Jun., right after Jubilee riots; **Yeats** and **Symons** traveling together, stay with **Martyn**, had met in Lond. thru **Moore**; **Yeats** invoked "lunar power" in the room above the chapel in the castle and **Martyn** got angry; **Lady Gregory** comes to call; invites all to Coole for tea; Wm. Sharp (Fiona) visited too; **Symons** already gone back to Lond. to ed. The Savoy"; "a new scene was set, new actors appeared"--**Yeats** letter to Olivia Shakespeare, Feb. 27, '34 (319); "**Yeats** wrote that when he went to Coole the curtain had fallen on the first act of his drama, his propaganda for a new kind of Irish lit., his education, his articles, his speech, the setting up of the Irish Lit. Soc. in Lond. and Dublin which had given a new generation of writers and critics opportunities to reassess the nature of Irish lit. to denounce past propaganda. Now he thought that if Ireland would not read lit. it might listen to it" (109)

(Kohfeldt) Day after the Jubilee riots, **Lady Gregory** goes to Tullira to meet **Yeats**; she hadn't celebrated the Queen's Jubilee; then visited friend at Duras; **Yeats** and **Martyn** come there to visit; she and **Yeats** "begin between them the conversation which led to the founding of the [**Yeats, Lady Gregory and Synge's**] Abbey Thea."--plaque in the house (113); **Yeats** and **Martyn** each had unprod. plays; **Lady Gregory** began to realize **Gonne's** hold on **Yeats**

(Coxhead) **Lady Gregory** suggests Dublin as the proper place for her, **Yeats** and **Martyn's** thea., but with no idea of using Irish actors because there weren't any; **Lady Gregory's** "part in [her, **Yeats** and **Martyn's** thea.] in these 1st years was that of organizer and hostess" (45)

(Hazard Adams) **Yeats** and **Martyn** visit de Basterot at Duras while **Lady Gregory's** there; "on 1 of those days at Duras...[**Martyn**], my neighbor, came to see the Count, bringing with him Mr. **Yeats**, whom I did not then know very well, tho I cared for his work very much and had already, thru his directions, been gathering folklore...Tho I had never been at all interested in theatres, our talk turned on plays...I said it was a pity we had no Irish theatre where such plays [as **Martyn's**] could be given. Mr. **Yeats** said that it had always been a dream of his, but he had of late thought it an impossible 1, for it could not at first pay its way, and there was no money to be found for such a thing in Irish...We went on talking about it, and things seemed to grow possible as we talked, and before the end of the afternoon we had made our plan"--**Lady Gregory** (31)

(Ulick O'Connor) **Lady Gregory** invites **Yeats** to spend rest of vacation at Coole after **Symons** leaves; "1st occasion on which they had an opportunity to make an impression on one another" (112); suggest **Moore** as co-dir.

## OTHER RELATIONSHIPS

(Ellman) Organizations **Yeats** belonged to: Contemporary Club, Dublin Hermetic Soc., Blavatsky Lodge, Young Irish Soc., Golden Dawn, Irish Lit. Soc., Rhymers Club, Nat'l. Lit. Soc., Irish Mystical Order, Stella Matatina, his, **Lady Gregory** and **Synge's** Abbey, Free State Sen., To-Morrow, Irish Acad.

(Ellman) **Yeats** "drew into creative activity **Synge** and **Lady Gregory**" (1)

(Ellman) "The external hist. of the Irish dramatic movement is well known. A handful of playwrights bent upon a nat'l. thea. was joined by a group of actors with the same goal; the plays that were written for a small playhouse in a small country have since been presented throughout the world. The effect upon the leading participants was overwhelming: **Lady Gregory**, a widow in her late 40s who had previously written nothing of special value, revealed a considerable talent for comedy...**Synge**, who had planned to devote his life to writing critical articles on Fr. writing for the Eng. press, suddenly built a fantastic drama out of Irish life. **Moore**...**Martyn**, and many lesser known writers, found their outlook abruptly altered" (127)

(Jeffares) "**Yeats** later described them as bound to each other by mutual contempt: 'When I told **Martyn** that **Moore** had good points, he replied: 'I know **Moore** a good deal longer than you do. He has no good points.' And a week or so later **Moore** said: 'That man **Martyn** is the most selfish man alive. He thinks that I am damned and he doesn't care!'"--**Yeats' Autobiog.** (117)

(Jeffares) **Yeats** was tone-deaf, but "was, however, conscious of tunes when making his poems; indeed he was surprised that [AE] used only 2 tunes when composing verses"(119); sometimes composed to a tune on **Martyn's** organ while writing

(Jeffares) Maude G. always thought **Lady Gregory** was in love with **Yeats** and was "amused by the rivalry between the 2 patrons: 'Ms. Horniman brought back Italian plaques to decorate [their and **Synge's**] Abbey but **Lady Gregory** carried off [**Yeats**] to visit the Italian towns where they were made'" (181-2)

(Kohfeldt) *Hemingway* referred to "the cheap Irish love of defeat"

(Kohfeldt) **Martyn** came to Coole to find **Yeats**; didn't like the peasants and they didn't like him, but **Lady Gregory** changed him

(Kohfeldt) **Lady Gregory** with **Yeats** squeezed **Martyn** out of the Abbey

(Kohfeldt) When the audience was small, at her, **Yeats** and **Synge's** Abbey, **Lady Gregory** would go out the back and come in so it would look like more people; would go to the newsp. after a perf. to ask for notices

(Kohfeldt) "The 3 of them [**Yeats**, **Lady Gregory** and **Synge**], along with all the other Irish gentlemen who were invited to Coole to do something for lit, nationalism, were joining hands to leap out of their dying [ruling] class into lit. glory" (127)

(Kohfeldt) **Moore** was jealous of **Lady Gregory's** influence on **Yeats**; "[**Yeats** entered the drawing room] somewhat diffidently, I thought, with an invitation to me to go for a walk. **Lady Gregory** was appeased with the news that he had written 5 and 1/2 lines that morn., and a promise that he would be back at 6, and would do a little more writing before dinner"--**Moore, Hail & Farewell** (135-6)

(Kohfeldt) **Lady Gregory** was jealous of **Moore's** influence on **Yeats**; "something about a man of genius and a man of talent coming together, speaking quickly under her breath, so that her scratch would escape notice"--**Moore, Hail** (136)

(Kohfeldt) When **Yeats** came to work with **Moore**, **Lady Gregory** told him, "be careful not to overwork him, and that it would be well not to let him go more than 2 hrs. without food--a glass of milk, or, better still, a cup of beef tea in the forenoon, and half an hour after lunch he was to have a glass of sherry and a biscuit"--**Moore, Hail** (136)

(Kohfeldt) **Moore**, who was [**Lady Gregory's**] equal in rank, intelligence, and talent--if not in good temper and modesty--momentarily regretted that he himself was not the chosen 1. He wrote that, 'thinking of how happy their lives must be at Coole, implicated in lit. partnership, my heart went out towards her in sudden sympathy. "She had been wise all her life thru," I said, "she knew [**Yeats**] to be her need at once, and she never hesitated"...Yet she knew me before she knew him"--**Moore, Hail** (136)

(Kohfeldt) **Lady Gregory** "could approach playwriting cautiously, apparently unselfishly, writing dialogue for [**Yeats and Moore**], even writing entire scenarios for [**Hyde**] to transl. into Irish" (154)

(Kohfeldt) "While other people were seeing visions, learning Gaelic, and plotting the downfall of Eng., the playwrights and actors were doing what Ireland most needed, creating a structure that would use the energies and develop the talents of some of their fellow citizens while entertaining others" (173-4)

(Kohfeldt) "It seemed to me as tho a new province was being added to Ireland"--Sara Allgood, actress, Memories (174)

(Kohfeldt) The cleaning woman at **Yeats, Lady Gregory and Synge's Abbey** described **Lady Gregory's** "receptions at which Miss H. 'would smoke a cigar and enjoy a glass of claret-cup made by **Lady Gregory's** own hands"--Lennox R., Ireland's Abbey Thea. (177)

(Kohfeldt) "Taken together, the 3 of them form a fine Freudian triangle: **Synge**, sick, unhappy, inhibited, mildly sado-masochistic, and extravagantly sexually frustrated; **Yeats**, full of poetry, vitality, and unsatisfied desire, and [**Lady Gregory**], who, believing in the incompatibility of love and the social structure, had long ago written, 'Perchance not so in heaven above, / But here a woman may not love.' They were all defeated lovers" (181-2)

(Kohfeldt) "**Yeats** wrote about **Synge**, 'often for mos. together he and I and **Lady Gregory** would see no 1 outside the Abbey thea.' [**Lady Gregory**] wrote 'of the thea. years in Dublin when no 1 of us saw any 1 from the outside. We just moved from the Abbey to the Nassau [Hotel] and back again, we 3 always...' They formed a surrogate family with [**Lady Gregory**] as devoted wife and mother and **Synge** as wayward child. Because the 3 of them were Anglo-Irish Prot., because the 3 of them were creators, they gave each other the kind of non-practical, non-verbal support that exists in families and that frequently enabled them to carry their point against less unified opposition" (182)

(Kohfeldt) **Lady Gregory** handled lots of everyday crises at **Yeats, Synge** and her Abbey; **Yeats' Dad** said, "Is she not a born leader? I am certain that she must love these people that gather on the benches of the Abbey Theatre"--Letters to His Son (184)

(Kohfeldt) "**Lady Gregory** stood at the door of the Green Rm. as calm and collected as Queen Vic. about to open a charity bazaar...She beckoned us over and handed each of us a piece of the huge barmbrack which she had baked at Coole and brought up to Dublin for [**Yeats, Synge** and her] Abbey cast"--Walker Starkie, Scholars & Gypsies (194)

(Hazard Adams) **Lady Gregory** was the only 1 of the major playwrights in her, **Yeats** and **Synge's Abbey** who actually learned Irish

(Coxhead) **Lady Gregory** didn't really know Dublin until her work with her, **Yeats** and **Synge's Abbey**

(Coxhead) **Yeats** said **Synge** never complimented either of them, but he did say good things about **Lady Gregory**

(Coxhead) **Yeats, Lady Gregory** and **Hyde** would have done better sticking to what each did best on his or her own

(Coxhead) **Lady Gregory** helped others in her, **Yeats** and **Synge's Abbey** more because she was the principal transl. as **Hyde** spent more time with the Gaelic League and she was more in touch with Irish people's lives

(Coxhead) At her, **Yeats** and **Synge's Abbey**, **Lady Gregory** was directly involved in rehearsals; knew exactly what she wanted; little individual interp.; usually held late because amateurs in small parts came after work

(Coxhead) **Lady Gregory's** son Rob't was good stage designer for **Yeats**; ahead of their time; in gen'l., their and **Synge's** Abbey was never known for its sets, except his

(Coxhead) In Dublin, **Lady Gregory** stayed in rented rms. in a private hotel in Nassau St.; gave receptions for the actors, etc. in her, **Yeats, Martyn, Moore** and **Synge's** Thea.

(Coxhead) The flat **Lady Gregory** rented in Lond. after Gregory's d. became a meeting place for his friends, and then the new kids, **Yeats, Moore** and **Synge**; "her eyes were always full of ques...In her drawing room were to be met men of assured reputation in lit. and politics and there was always the best reading of the times upon her tables"--**Moore, Ave**, (31)

(Coxhead) "Why an Irish Renaissance?...My own suspicion is that any large-scale creative movement is a matter of luck. The people with talents, and with the sort of talents that can influence each other, happen to coincide in time and space" (39)

(Coxhead) "What **Yeats** needed was the courage of his convictions, to persevere on his own course and let plot and character go hang; but what [his, **Lady Gregory** and **Synge's**] Abbey needed in those anxious early years was the play that would fill the house. Accordingly he called in his closest friend [AE], who had the common touch" (100).

(Coxhead) "**Lady Gregory** could collaborate with **Hyde**, because he already possessed the 2 basic attributes of the dramatist, an interest in people and a gift for writing easy, natural, dialogue, at any rate in Irish. But **Yeats** she could only patch, because his talent was essentially solitary and indrawn. As an organizing team they were superb, but as a creative team they were temperamentally at cross-purposes" (101)

(Coxhead) "**Yeats** in Dramatis Personae has left a charming description of **Hyde** scribbling away at his desk all morning, with a facility the other 2 envied, and then being drawn away by **Lady Gregory** for an afternoon's fishing on the lake" (108)

(Coxhead) **Synge** stayed with **Lady Gregory** at Coole 5 times; "For **Synge**, the disadvantage of Coole could probably be summarised as too many trees and too much **Yeats**" (112)

(Coxhead) **Synge** was "not an intimate" of **Lady Gregory** as **Yeats** and **Hyde** were; "he had little in the way of demands to make on her. He had no need of mothering, being already over-supplied with maternal solicitude; he had no need of encouragement, being driven by his own daemon; he had no need of plots...[But they were friends and co-dir.], possibly colored on his side by a certain affectionate amusement, for to one of his immense sophistication, she must always have seemed a trifle naive" (112)

(Coxhead) At her, **Yeats** and **Synge's** Abbey, **Lady Gregory** would watch the actors' school and say to a young 1, "I think I have a little part for you" (164); they were always welcome in her or **Yeats'** ofc.

(Coxhead) At her, **Yeats** and **Synge's** Abbey, **Lady Gregory** admonished an actress, "My dear, the audience may yawn if it likes, but never, never you!" (165); she collected props in Galway and Coole

(Kuch) **Yeats** told **Lady Gregory** that his Michael Robartes character was based on AE

(Kuch) AE "sided with 1 and then the other several times throughout his life" in **Yeats, Lady Gregory** and **Martyn's** Thea.; tried to reconcile them

(Kuch) The Thea.'s fights pitted the Nationalists (Maude G. and Arth. Griffith) vs. AE and the working class members vs. **Yeats, Lady Gregory, Synge** and bros., Frank and Willy Fay, working towards a Nat'l. Thea.; the Thea. Society was too loose

(Kuch) "During his lifetime **Yeats** formed only a few friendships in which he rec'd. as much as he gave. His work with **Lady Gregory** in [their and **Synge's**] Abbey Thea. is his most celebrated assoc., tho over a decade before it began he had estab. an equally important friendship with [AE]" (xi)

(Kuch) "As a friend, AE was for several years as close to **Yeats** as **Lady Gregory**, and much closer than **Synge**, but he is not even mentioned in any of the great retrospective meditations ["Coole Park '29," "Coole Park & Ballylee '31," etc.]...By removing himself from an influence which he felt would be injurious to him as a writer, [AE] also removed himself from the mainstream of the Irish Lit. Renaissance" (27)

(Kuch) **AE** got along better with the working class members of the **Yeats, Lady Gregory and Martyn's** Thea. than **Yeats and Lady Gregory** did; "to encourage them and set them at their ease, [AE] would unfailingly press everyone from leading lady to thea.-hand to come to his Sun. eve. at Rathgar Terr., where they would be plied with weak tea, armfuls of books, seemingly endless conversation, home-made scones, and a mixture of gentle criticism and woolly enthusiasm" (175); **Yeats** was the outsider from Coole and Lond.

(Kuch) **AE** got along better with people in **Yeats, Lady Gregory and Martyn's** Thea. because he did not have as clear an idea of thea. as **Yeats** did; "demanding little, he offended few...[**Yeats** had complex and idiosyncratic ideas, and a] compulsive search for perfection...[not always] balanced with praise" (177)

(Kuch) Lots of fights in **Yeats, Lady Gregory and Martyn's** Thea. were because **AE** wanted a small amateur group to encourage local writers, but **Yeats** wanted to "command" (210) a prof. thea.

(Ulick O'Connor) "We're all 1 temperament and different from anyone living anywhere else"--theme of Celtic Dawn

(Ulick O'Connor) "It was perhaps the last in a series of renaissances which flourished in different countries since the Italian 1 in the 14th cent."

(Ulick O'Connor) Quinn commissioned **Yeats'** Dad to do a por. of **Hyde** at **Lady Gregory's** Coole

(Ulick O'Connor) **Yeats'** visits to collect stories and **Hyde's** lessons gave **Lady Gregory** encouragement to try transl.

(Ulick O'Connor) **Lady Gregory** "mothered" **Hyde** as she did **Yeats**

(Ulick O'Connor) "**Yeats, Hyde** and I used to sit up every night until 1 or 2 in the morn., talking...The eve. to the reading of scenarios for plays...in Eng. by **Lady Gregory** and in Irish by **Hyde**. [They] read out to us...**Yeats and Lady Gregory** made a scenario of a play and **Hyde** spent 3 afternoons 'putting the Irish on it'"--Quinn (210-11)

(Ulick O'Connor) **Moore** went "on the rampage against [**Yeats, Lady Gregory and Synge's**] thea. movement" (360)

(Ulick O'Connor) In Dublin, **Yeats'** on Tues.; **AE**, Sun.; **Moore**, Sat.; **AE, Yeats, Hyde** and Gogarty went to **Moore's** Sat. nights; "Dublin's lit. evenings became celebrated outside Ireland" (372)

(Dunleavy) **Hyde** "pioneered a manner of speech...to become the vernacular...of the Anglo-Irish lit. movement, the model for **Lady Gregory's** 'Kiltartanese,' **Synge's** plays and...the std. speech of the early [their and **Yeats'**] Abbey Thea." (107)

(Daly) Not easy to transl. Irish to Eng; "no 2 Aryan lang. [are] more opposed to each other in speech and idiom" (107)

(Greene) "**Yeats** looks after the stars and I do the rest" (283), **Synge** about their and **Lady Gregory's** Abbey

(Greene) "Shaw once pointed out that the great cultural movements of Eur. had passed Ireland by, but now the greatest cultural movement in Irish hist. was about to pass by the gates of Trinity Coll., and her only action was to disapprove of it to the extent that she was aware of it" (17)

(Summerfield) "As Ireland entered the Edwardian age, Dublin became the focus of a cult. and econ. revival...drawing on the Celtic past" (104)

(Summerfield) "While **AE** needed both friendship and opposition from mature writers like **Yeats, Moore** and later Jas. Stephens, he also gathered round him a circle of young men and women who were just discovering the pleasure of putting words together" (107)

(Summerfield) "AE's letters to **Yeats'** protectress, **Lady Gregory**, reflect his distress at everything that seemed to distract **Yeats** from working at the poetry he had been b. to write" (114)

(Summerfield) "A lit. movement consists of 5 or 6 people who live in the same town and hate each other cordially" (193)

(Gwynn) Never had to call on the 1st guarantors for **Yeats**, **Lady Gregory** and his Thea. because **Martyn** paid for 1st season

(Gwynn) The thea. with **Yeats** and **Lady Gregory** was the "most significant action" of **Martyn's** life (13)

(Rodgers) "As young poet I wore an enormous bow-tie--it was of shimmering gold and green--and I was very proud of it. The reason I wore that bow-tie was because in Dublin all the poets wore a bow-tie. **Yeats**, appearing frequently at [his, **Lady Gregory** and **Synge's**] Abbey Theatre, had a magnificent black tie, which we would copy in other colors. But when I came to Lond. for the 1st time I found that poets no longer wore any specific sign or symbol of their art"--Austin Clarke (5-6)

(Rodgers) "We had 1 of our little parties after a matinee, and we came into the Green Rm. **Synge** was there, **Lady Gregory** and **Yeats**. **Lady Gregory** was in 1 corner of the room, surrounded by her admirers, and **Yeats** was standing in the center of the room holding forth very magnificently, surrounded by his worshippers, and then there was this quiet figure, sitting behind the hat-rack in the corner, and I remember distinctly seeing beads of perspiration on his forehead. Nobody taking any notice of him, everybody around **Yeats** and **Lady Gregory**--and...I could see on [**Synge's**] face he had one great desire and that was to escape from the room as quickly and unobtrusively as possible"--Fred O'Donovan (109-10)

(Rodgers) "Dublin in those days had its lit. at-homes. There was [**Yeats'**] on Mon. night, very select, [**Moore's**] on Sat. night, select, and most popular, **AE's** on Sun. night" (187)

(Rodgers) "The only listeners in Dublin are tired talkers"--Jas. O'Reilly (197)

(Hone) "It has been said that the mature [**Moore**] owed everything to Ireland, and if in saying Ireland we include the personal influence of **Yeats** and **AE** there is much truth in the claim, for before long he began to feel more interested in the rhythm of his writing and the shape of his stories which was quite new to him"--Desmond Shawe-Taylor (468)

(Hone) "The spirit of Dublin is commonly more melodious and more flowing than the spirit of Lond., and in **Yeats** [**Moore**] was brought in close contact with a poet whose prose was as musical as his verse, a mind steeped in the trad. stories of Ireland which he loved to recite over the fire. The legends, the wayward talk, the fabulous gossip of Dublin were as stimulating to **Moore** as the Nouvelle Athenes. They gave a fresh direction to his talent. He listened, he warmed his spirit before the glow of **AE**, and presently he began to discover in himself not only a gift for anecdote but a personality as alive to its own absurdities as to the absurdities of others. This is the double springhead from which all his future work was to flow: on the 1 hand his love a of a rhythmical, anecdotal story-telling, quite unlike the plot-construction of the typical Eng. novelist...; on the other hand that progressive realisation and revelation of his extraordinary self which gave us first Memoirs of My Dead Life, then the Irish trilogy"--Shawe-Taylor (468)

## MAJOR EVENTS

**1897** (Ulick O'Connor) Jun., **Lady Gregory** asks **Yeats** to bring **AE** (Kohfeldt) **Yeats** describes him in a letter to **Lady Gregory** before bringing him

(Kohfeldt) End of Jul., **Yeats** comes back with **AE**; she is not impressed, finds he isn't as scary, doesn't like him; "his chief virtue is that he draws **Yeats**" --**Lady Gregory, 70 Years** (115); "sitting up late at night in the lib., **Yeats** made them laugh until they cried with stories of his Lond. friends" (116); **Yeats, AE** and Rob't. saw visions, but she remained aloof (Ulick O'Connor) **AE** shows up at Gort station with **Yeats**; both sit up talking poetry, Shelley, with **Lady Gregory** (Kuch) **Lady Gregory** takes "them to a nearby cromlech, where [**AE**] saw a purple Druid" (120); does sketches, which they show to locals after he leaves and they agree they saw that too; Wm. Sharp comes after **AE** leaves (Summerfield) "a few weeks after his marriage"; **AE** "announced 1 eve., 'this life bores me, I am waiting for a higher 1 [--**Lady Gregory, 70 Years**],...On subsequent visits he met many eminent people and at mealtimes talked in a characteristic way of his past lives, his visions and the ether in which the memory of all things was preserved" (95)

(Kohfeldt) End of summer, **Martyn** invites **Yeats** and **Lady Gregory** to a Celtic party with **Hyde**, Wm. Sharp, the weird Scot, and Moritz Bonn, an "odious Germ." according to her; she is the only woman there

(Kuch) Fall, **Lady Gregory** invites Plunkett to Coole to explain the IAOS to Coole; **Yeats** meets him; invites **Yeats** to address 3rd annual IAOS conference; hears he's looking for someone for Irish Agric. Org. Society to travel thru w. of Ireland organizing farmers; suggests **AE** for the job

(Kuch) Nov., **Yeats** visits **AE** in Dublin on way back to Lond.; **AE** writes to **Lady Gregory** that **Yeats** had developed an enthusiasm for evoking 'bad spirits' --**Lady Gregory, 70 Years**, (121); **AE** ridicules **Yeats'** occult-isms to distance himself from the Castle of Heroes; "the remainder of their collab. on rites for 'The Castle of Heroes' was done in a desultory fashion whenever the 2 men were at Coole" (122); **AE** always worried he'd get sucked in by **Yeats**; kept other interests; more universal than nationalistic; "**Yeats'** passion for the thea. was intense...[**AE**] was more approachable and more hospitable than **Yeats**" (174-5); thought the thea. took away from **Yeats'** work; **AE** "was more interested in achieving ultimate reconciliation than in defining local differences" (25) (Ellman) **Yeats** back in Lond., talks a lot about folk tales

(Kuch) Dec., **AE** starts IAOS job; great at mesmerizing crowds; wrote little poetry during the job (Summerfield) leaves Pim's; his "greatest strength as an organizer lay in his power to make the poor and uneducated share his dream of a community where each man by working for himself would work for all" (101); in him, "Plunkett discovered a prophet" (99); even with job in Dublin, traveled country to meet farmers; Maurice Moore helped him start some banks for IAOS (Gwynn) **Martyn** donated to IAOS

(Kuch) Xmas, **AE** lonely; writes to **Synge?** that he is too melancholy to write; angry at **Yeats** for making him take IAOS job; **Yeats** encourages him to stay

**1898** (Summerfield) Chief Sec'y. for Ireland, Gerald Balfour, establishes local self-gov't. (Ulick O'Connor) Local Gov't. Act, 1st step to Home Rule

(Greene) **Yeats** writes to **Synge** on Aran, inviting him to **Lady Gregory's** Coole

(Kuch) Apr., **AE** feeling useless; writes depressing letter to **Yeats** in Paris who "alerted **Lady Gregory**, who promptly contacted Plunkett, who arranged for [**AE**] to spend a few days in the vicinity of Coole. Then Plunkett himself came down to Coole and he and [**AE**] set off for a tour of Galway" (158); likes **AE** a lot; confided to **Lady Gregory**, "**AE**--the highest ideals and more practical than any of us"--**Lady Gregory, 70 Years** (158); **AE** did well in the job; developed own plan for the area; became big agric. adviser in UK and US; "yet he did not become the Irish poet that **Yeats** hoped he would" (159); wrote little poetry while working for the IAOS (Summerfield) "in recommending a new departure, **Yeats** foresaw that his narrowly Theosophistic view of Ireland would be enlarged by a 1st-hand acquaintance with her farmers and country towns and a detailed knowledge of the hard lives of her peasants" (86)

(Kohfeldt) Summer, **Lady Gregory** tells **Yeats** to carve his initials on the tree; "her fan, on which she would cont. to accumulate signatures thru the 20s, was not appropriate to commemorate the jct. of personal with living place now occurring at Coole (Coxhead) 2nd fan was ivory and white brocade; has **Moore**, **Martyn**, **Synge**, and O'Casey on it

(Greene) Jun. 27 (Kohfeldt, Aug.?), **Synge** to Coole with **Yeats** and **Lady Gregory** after his 1st Aran trip; **Lady Gregory** picks him up in Gort (Greene) has **AE's Earth Breath** and his Aran Isl. ms. with him (Ulick O'Connor) tells **Lady Gregory** he had "never had a conversation with anyone who shared his view until he was 23" (219) (Skelton) visits **Martyn** at Tullira with **Yeats** (Kohfeldt) **Yeats** arrives with **Synge**; "like [**Lady Gregory**], he harbored, as yet unknown even to himself, a fantastic vitality waiting for an outlet" (126)

(Greene) Jul., **Synge** to Wicklow and Dublin for Wolfe Tone Centennial (Ellman) org. by **Yeats**; he and Maude G. have impossible plan to turn Centennial cmte. into the 1st Irish parliament (Jeffares) **Yeats** has meeting of cmte. in his Woburn apt., Rolleston resigns and asks **Yeats** to send back all his letters in case the police raid it (Coxhead) **Martyn** takes part

(Coxhead) Fall? Summer?, **Hyde** collecting folklore, stops in at **Martyn's** Tullira with broken bike; meets **Lady Gregory** and **Martyn** at lunch (Daly) she already knew his books

(Kuch) Sep., **Lady Gregory** takes **AE** and **Yeats** to house in Balinamantane where Mary Sheridan had seen things; **Lady Gregory** and **Yeats** press **AE** to describe his visions; "as he had a strong aversion to being asked about his visions, he maintained a moody silence" (122)

(Kohfeldt) Xmas, **Hyde** at play at Coole with **Lady Gregory** via **Martyn**

**1899** (Hone) Boer War

(Ulick O'Connor) Arth. Griffith starts United Irishman

(Daly) Summer, **Moore** spends whole time at Coole with **Lady Gregory** (Coxhead) "1st and last time" at Coole (Kuch) **Yeats** has "extended stay" (180) at Coole; **Moore** stays with **Martyn**

(Kuch) Fall, **AE's** 2nd visit to Coole; **Yeats** had completed some rituals, worked on them together; **AE** took some back to Dublin to work on (Summerfield) "**Lady Gregory** approved of **AE's** new career, and when he first visited Coole after becoming an organizer she thought he seemed happier than before. He, however, disagreed and expressed his regret at having returned into life, which he had renounced as a member of the [Theosophists'] Household" (99-100)

(Kuch) **AE** meets **Moore**; **AE** doesn't like **Moore** before they meet, but then is flattered by him; **Moore** "recalling his 1st encounter with **AE**, wrote: 'He was more winning than I had imagined, for, building out of what **Yeats** had told me in Lond., I had imagined a sterner, rougher, ruder man'"--Ave, (113); **AE** afraid "**Yeats** would be led astray by a Lond. dilettante" (180)

**1900** (Ellman) "The notion of selfhood had changed drastically during the 19th cent." (73); pseudonyms very popular, showing 2 sides of a personality; Wm. Sharp wrote as "Fiona Macleod"

(Ulick O'Connor) Wilde d. in Paris

(Summerfield) Plunkett starts Dept. of Agric. & Tech. Instruc.

(Dunleavy) Treasury of Irish Poets, ed. by Brooke and Rolleston, pub.

(Hone) **Moore** angry at Boer War, bro. fighting in it (Kuch) wants **Yeats** to go to the US for anti-Boer War lecture tour; **AE** objects; **Yeats** had already told **Lady Gregory** he wasn't sure he wanted to go; she says to stay home and write; **Yeats** irritated by **AE's** "patronising" (187) letter telling him not to go (Ulick O'Connor) **Martyn** joins Transvaal Cmte. with **Yeats** and Maude G. to protest the Boer War (Gwynn) **Martyn** very anti-Boer War

(Donnelly) Jun. 16, Bloomsday

(Kohfeldt) Jul., **Lady Gregory** at Coole with **Yeats, AE** and **Synge** (Coxhead) **Synge's** longest stay, 2 weeks; Quinn visits

(Kohfeldt) Jul. 26, "Tho they [**AE** and **Synge**] have come to their task from the opposite sides of the heavens, they are both stirring the same pot--something of a witches' cauldron, I think"--**Yeats, Letters**, (174)

**1905** (Hone) Wyndham's Land Act favors landlords in sale of property

(Mellow) H P Roche in Paris, buying art for Quinn

(Bell I) Dec., Balfour gov't. resigns; Liberals in famous upset

**1906** (Skidelsky I) Jan., Liberal landslide; new Labor Party succeeds in elections

## CREATIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS

**1897** (Daly) **Martyn** approaches **Moore** after Celtic party at Tullira because he knows he, **Yeats** and **Lady Gregory** need his expertise

(Ulick O'Connor) **Martyn's** Heather Field pub. privately with **Moore** intro. (Kohfeldt) **Moore** likes; Maeve in same vol., dedicated to **Moore, Yeats** and Symons

(Ulick O'Connor) Summer, **Yeats** and **Lady Gregory** go with **Martyn** to Coole to draft prospectus (Kohfeldt) her at typewriter in drawing rm. window, **Yeats** walking up and down, composing the prospectus for the next 3 years; signed by all 3; she pledges money and types; they put up funds for their plays

(Kohfeldt) Jul., **Lady Gregory** drives **Yeats** to cottages to collect stories; locals think he is a Prot. missionary; she makes him work morn. and eves. (Coxhead) "she goes into the cottage listens to the story, takes it down, while you wait outside, sitting on a bit of wall, **Yeats**, like an old jackdaw, and then filching her ms. to put style upon it, just as you want to put style on me"--**Moore, Ave** (45)

**1898** (Kuch) **Yeats** tells **AE** to find new subjects in Irish folklore; **AE** sends poem to him for advice; **Yeats** gives detailed changes; **AE** makes some of them; **Yeats** tries to get him to be more Irish, less Celtic; "since pub. of **Hyde's** Love Songs of Connacht, his own journey to the Aran Isl, in '96 in search of material for The Speckled Bird, and his assoc. with **Lady Gregory** and **Synge**, **Yeats** had begun increasingly to use Eng. of the Irish-speaking districts as a corrective to the hushed tones of the Celtic Twilight" (140)

(Ulick O'Connor) **Lady Gregory** gets law changed to rent rms. for plays (Kohfeldt) **Yeats** and **Martyn** go to Dublin to find theatre; all licensed halls are too big, too expensive, or booked; illegal to perform in an unlicensed thea.; rent Antient Concert Rooms for May 8, '99

(Summerfield) **AE** does drawings for **Yeats** and **Lady Gregory's** Countess Cathleen; his parody of it pub. in Irish Homestead

(Kohfeldt) Summer, **Yeats, Lady Gregory, Martyn** and **AE** collecting money to put on plays scheduled for the next spring

**1899** (Coxhead) **Hyde's** Gaelic League asks **Yeats** to do Eng. transl. of stories; says no, but **Lady Gregory** does it

(Summerfield) **Martyn** guarantor for **Yeats, Lady Gregory** and his Thea.

(Gwynn) **Martyn's** "cult of Ibsen brought [**Yeats, Lady Gregory** and his] Irish thea. to life" (116); Ibsen freak; writes pro-Ibsen essay

(Ulick O'Connor) Before May 8, **Martyn** and **Yeats** go to Lond. to ask for **Moore's** help with actors; steps in and helps (Gwynn) causes "embarrassment when [**Martyn** brought **Moore** in] as an ardent recruit" (239) (Daly) **Yeats** gets **Moore** in by promising Irish plays would be done (Hone) "visits to **Martyn's** Gothic castle in Galway, with occasional descents upon Dublin for rehearsals, were all that would be required of him as one of the dir. of [**Yeats, Lady Gregory** and **Martyn's**] Irish Lit. Thea." (220)

(Kohfeldt) Before May 8, **Moore** watches Lond. rehearsal of **Martyn's** Heather Field; hates it; takes over direction; gets new actors; doesn't want it done in Eng.; Countess going okay (Gwynn) **AE** writes suggesting color photos as backdrop for it (Kuch) **AE**, in Ireland, doesn't help much with 1st yr. because rehearsals are in Lond.; the rest of them are "alternately advised and embarrassed by...**Moore**" (178) (Ulick O'Connor) **Moore** didn't want to come back to Dublin; didn't like **Yeats'** choice of Farr for stage director, but stepped in and helped

(Hone) Before May 8, anon. Cath. ecclesiastic writes nasty newsp. article about upcoming Countess; **Yeats** and **Moore** worried that **Martyn** will resign from the thea.; **Moore** writes article, "[**Martyn**] and His Soul," but can't get it pub., disappointed; **Yeats** says **Moore** said, "It was the best opportunity I ever had. What a sensation it would have made. Nobody has ever written in that way about his most intimate friend. What a chance. It would have been heard of everywhere" (217) (Kohfeldt) **Lady Gregory** gets **Martyn** to agree not to make a public statement about the play being heretical; **Yeats** gives it to a Jesuit who says it's ok and **Martyn** is happy (Ulick O'Connor) **Yeats** calms him (Jeffares) **Martyn** wants to resign from the thea. over **Moore** and Countess; **Yeats** talks him into staying

(Kohfeldt) May 8, Countess by **Yeats** and **Lady Gregory** premiered in Antient Concert Rooms, big hit; "the most public expression of the new nat'l. sense of cult. worth" (135) (Ulick O'Connor) Joyce in audience; Arth. Griffith brings dockworkers and "instructed them to applaud everything that the church would not like" (265); Plunkett gives banquet at Shelbourne to honor them (Kuch, opening night); **Moore** and **Hyde** speak; **Yeats** speaks and naps; **Martyn** pouts; **AE** comes late (Hone) **Moore's** 1st public speech ever? (Kuch) **AE** writes good rev. for Daily Express but not enthusiastic; goes to hear the speeches, but not to the dinner; writes parody of Countess for the Homestead (Ellman) **Yeats** has chance to try his plays on real actors and audiences and learns that his old style doesn't work well

(Ulick O'Connor) May 9?, **Martyn's** Heather premiered in Antient Concert Rooms, 2nd night of **Yeats, Lady Gregory** and his Thea.; **Moore** sends telegram saying that the "scepter of intelligence" has passed to Dublin (230) (Gwynn) good rev.; gets US premiere

(Kohfeldt) After May, **Yeats, Lady Gregory** and **Martyn** book the Gaiety for the next yr.; plan to do **Martyn's** Maeve and Tale of a Town and 1 by a friend of **Yeats**; **Yeats** and **Moore** decide to rewrite Tale at Tullira; **Lady Gregory** invites them to Coole so **Martyn** won't have to watch

(Greene) **Synge** back to Dublin in time to see some perf. by Thea. (Skelton) sees **Yeats** and **Lady Gregory's** Countess and **Martyn's** Heather in Lond.

(Daly) **Hyde** tells League paper to quit "swiping" at **Yeats, Lady Gregory** and **Martyn's** Thea.; had to act as the "arbitrator" between the Irish Lit. Renaissance and the Gaelic Revival; belongs to both; fierce rivalry between them (Dunleavy) tells journalists of Gaelic League not to attack them as other Gaelic newsp. did

(Kuch) Summer and fall, **Yeats** revises The Shadowy Waters at **Lady Gregory's** Coole; **Moore** doesn't like his changes, **Yeats** takes some of his advice; when **AE** hears the changes he "immediately suspected **Moore**" (182); has "sentimental value" (180) for **AE** because he and **Yeats** had discussed it in the 80s

(Kohfeldt) Thru fall, **Yeats** working on Tale with **Moore** at Coole, with **Lady Gregory** as referee (Kuch) **AE** hates **Moore's** changes in **Yeats'** work; "**Moore** observed from working with **Yeats**, '**Yeats** is no longer capable of understanding anything but the lit. valuelessness of [**Martyn's**] play. The man behind the play is ignored"--in Ave (177) (Jeffares) she hates them collab.

(Kuch) Sep.-Nov., "I swore at **Moore** when I heard it. I suppose he is the fiend who suggested alterations [in Shadowy]; I would like to strangle him...Tell **Moore**...his time would be better spent in putting some art into his own stories"--**AE** to **Yeats** (182); **Yeats** defends the changes; **AE** didn't like the symbolism in the final version; later blamed the faults on **Yeats'** love for Maude G.

(Kuch) End of year, Daily Express pub. article by Eglinton against **Yeats**, **Lady Gregory** and **Martyn's** Thea.; **AE** writes to **Yeats** in Lond. to get him to reply; all 3 write dueling articles; **AE** "was delighted to see his friends locked in combat" (164); "the controversy enabled [AE] to formulate a theory of nat'l. lit. before the lit. movement gathered momentum with the contrib. made by **Synge** and **Lady Gregory**...The climax of **Yeats'** pan-Celtic propaganda" (169), when he abandoned Celtic for Irish; also influenced by **Synge** and his thea. work

1900 (Daly) 2nd season of **Yeats**, **Lady Gregory**, **Martyn** and **Moore's** Thea. at Gaiety  
(Kuch) **AE** and **Yeats** start fighting

(Gwynn) **Moore** addresses supporters of **Yeats**, **Lady Gregory** and **Martyn's** Thea. (Hone)  
**Moore** reads Ideals in Ireland paper at lunch for Thea.; promises to make nephews learn Irish

(Ulick O'Connor) **Moore** and **Yeats** decide to rewrite **Martyn's** Tale (Kohfeldt) **Lady Gregory** invites them to Coole; call it Bending of the Bough; **Martyn** angry

(Kohfeldt) Jan., rehearsals in Lond. of Bending, **Yeats** and **Moore's** version of **Martyn's** Tale; he disowns it

(Hone) Feb. 19, **Martyn's** Tale prod. as **Yeats** and **Moore's** Bending, Gaiety Thea., by thea.; after success of Heather they had rented expensive thea., but Tale isn't good; "**Moore** went to **Lady Gregory's** house nearby and confessed that he was part author of [Heather] but had kept silent in the gen'l. interest. Not a line of the play was actually written by **Moore**, but he had shown **Martyn** the way throughout" (220); **Martyn** told **Moore** to "do what he wished with the play"; all felt sorry for **Martyn**; he was more angry at **Lady Gregory** and **Yeats** than **Moore**; big hit; Eng. actors don't understand it (Kohfeldt) **Yeats**, **Moore** and **Martyn** all back to Dublin from Lond. for perf.; gets good rev., but **Lady Gregory** invites all the reporters to her hotel room for tea to ask why they weren't better

(Jeffares) Summer, **Yeats** collab. with **Moore** on Diarmuid & Grainne at Coole; "there was a good deal of argument before they agreed that **Moore** should handle construction, **Yeats** dialogue" (118); **Lady Gregory** hated them working together; **Yeats** blamed 1 of his play's weaknesses on it; fight over transl. into Irish or Fr. and back to Eng. (Ellman) "Tho **Yeats** hated **Moore's** style, he respected his skill in construction, and **Moore** must have constantly forced the sacrifice of some bewitching prose rhythm for the sake of the plot" (148) (Kuch)  
**AE** "wrote to **Lady Gregory** advising her to make him pay for his meals with a fixed quantity of verse: 'Treat him as the Balearic singers did their children. No work, no breakfast'"--Summerfield (179-80) (Coxhead) she decides **Yeats** better collab. with her; she writes "bits of dialogue" (63); **Yeats** would dictate and she would suggest

(Kuch) Jun., **Yeats** and **AE** "quarrelling openly...[**AE** felt **Yeats**, **Lady Gregory** and **Martyn's** Thea.] was robbing **Yeats** of valuable time for poetry" (179); not happy with the effect on **Yeats'** lyrical poetry; worried that the thea. friends "would rob [**Yeats**] of his soul" (180); **Yeats** sketching with **AE** at Coole (Ulick O'Connor) **AE** painting

(Dunleavy) Aug. 26, **Hyde** and **Lucy** come to **Lady Gregory's** Coole; **Yeats** there; talks **Hyde** into writing The Twisting of the Rope (Daly) **Lucy** didn't like **Yeats**; liked **Lady Gregory**

(Dunleavy) Aug. 27, at **Lady Gregory's** Coole, **Yeats** has scenario for Twisting sketched out; **Hyde** takes **Yeats'** notes, locks himself in a room for 2 days (no shooting, talking, etc.)

(Dunleavy) Aug. 29, late afternoon, **Hyde** finishes mss. of Twisting; tired; "dressed and joined the others [including **Yeats**] for dinner. A bottle of champagne provided by **Lady Gregory** to celebrate the event helped restore him in both body and spirit" (219)

(Dunleavy) Aug. 30, "transl. into Eng., **Hyde** begins dictating his play [Twisting] to **Lady Gregory**, who had offered to make a clean copy of it on [her] typewriter. That eve. **Martyn** came to dinner and **Hyde** read him the transl. of his play; **Martyn** was pleased with it" (219)

(Dunleavy) "Aug. 31, **Lady Gregory** having finished her typing [of Twisting], **Hyde** returned to his rm. and wrote part of another play" (219); "**Yeats** set me writing a package in The Twisting..."--**Hyde**

(Kuch) After summer, **AE's** fight over politics with **Moore** ends by **Moore** flattering him; tells him his poems are as good as **Yeats** and offers to write intro. for **AE's** new book; then they become good friends

(Coxhead) (Kohfeldt, Fall), Trinity puts down folklore, **Hyde's** Gaelic League gets angry, asks **Yeats** to do Eng. transl. of stories; he says no; **Lady Gregory** volunteers; **Hyde** hesitant until she gives him a writing sample; "her aim is popularization, not scholarship" (58); **Yeats** writes pref.; "we work to add dignity to Ireland," she says; Standish O'Grady did a similar, but boring, book (Kohfeldt) for an Eng. magazine; works in Brit. Museum, "eating alone at the Austrian Restaurant nearby" (139)

(Jeffares) Dec., **Yeats** and **Moore's** Diarmuid, written at **Lady Gregory's** Coole, is finished

**1901** (Jeffares) **Moore** alters **Yeats** character, "Ulick Dean" in Innes to be more like **AE**

(Kuch), **Yeats, Lady Gregory** and **AE** attend the Fays' staging of 1st play in Irish prod. in Dublin; Irish Nat'l. Drama Soc.; congratulate them

(Kuch) Ideals in Ireland pub., ed. by **Lady Gregory**, with essays by **Yeats, Moore** and **AE**; **Moore** wants a bi-lingual country; **Yeats** wants trad. of pagan and peasant Irish preserved; **AE** challenges Ireland to "commune with their Nat'l. Being" (192) (Coxhead) picks articles by her friends; discuss Irish actors; also includes **Hyde**

(Kuch) **AE** begins writing his own Deirdre, his only major play, as protest to what **Yeats** and **Moore** had done to the legend; well-rec'd., but he wasn't interested

(Ulick O'Connor) **Martyn** begins to "distance himself" (293) from **Yeats** and **Lady Gregory's** thea. because they won't follow Ibsen (Coxhead) withdraws money

(Greene) **Yeats** begins Samhain, house organ of the **Lady Gregory, Martyn** and his Thea. (Hone) he writes that they couldn't have done it all without **Moore's** knowledge of thea. (Gwynn) includes **Martyn's** "Plea for a Nat'l. Thea."

(Greene) **Lady Gregory** writes to **Synge** that she's reading the 1st 3 parts of his Aran Isl. ms. aloud to **Yeats** and they love it (Skelton) suggests he leave out names and places about Aran to make it more dreamy; he doesn't

(Greene) **Synge** writes rev. of **Lady Gregory's** Cuchulain in Speaker; credits language to **Hyde's** Love Songs

(Greene) **Yeats** and **Lady Gregory** say **Synge's** peasants are best

(Ulick O'Connor) Joyce writes pamphlet denouncing **Yeats, Lady Gregory, Martyn** and **Moore's** Thea.

(Kohfeldt) Summer, **Yeats** and **Moore** writing Diarmuid; **Lady Gregory** gives advice and wants a play in Irish to accompany it, so writes a scenario for Twisting which **Hyde** puts into Irish (Ulick O'Connor) **Lady Gregory** and **Hyde** writing Twisting (Coxhead) at Coole as Irish play to go with **Yeats** and **Moore's** Diarmuid; she gives him scenario, plot and character, he does dialogue

(Kohfeldt) Summer?, **Synge** stops at **Lady Gregory's** Coole after his 5th and last visit to Aran; brings mss. of Riders to the Sea and In the Shadow of the Glen; "like [her] he had found in his experience of the more primitive Irish cult. a world view that harmonized with his own, broadened it, and gave it vitality" (158); **AE** leaves family to come to Coole for conversation; **Hyde** comes for hunting (Ulick O'Connor) she loves the plays; arranges readings in Lond. (Greene) he thought it "his first serious piece of work" (79)

(Coxhead) Summer, Eng. companies brought in to do new Irish plays; "I may picture [**Lady Gregory's**] Coole humming with excited conferences under the catalpa tree under the lawn,...**Martyn** walking constantly over from Tullira and staying to dine,...**Moore** finally staying (for the 1st and last time, for she still could not endure him) in the house" (62)

(Kuch) After summer, **Moore** and **Yeats** read Diarmuid to **AE**; he thinks it's too modern and there's too much sex

(Daly) After summer, **Hyde** and **Lady Gregory's** Twisting pub. in Samhain, house organ of **Yeats**, **Martyn** and her **Thea**.

(Kohfeldt) Oct., beginning of 3rd season of **Thea**, with **Yeats** and **Moore's** Diarmuid and **Lady Gregory** and **Hyde's** Twisting, in Irish; **Yeats**, **Lady Gregory** and **Martyn** had set 3-year trial period for the **thea**.; get **Fay** bros., to prod. Cath. ni Houlihan; **AE** gives them **Deirdre**, under **Maude G.'s** Dtrs. of **Erin** org.; don't go to **Lond.** for actors anymore (Kuch) **Yeats** and **Moore** split up; end of that **thea**. (**Jeffares**) their Diarmuid staged for 1 week (**Ulick O'Connor**) with Eng. actors and **Elgar** horn call; prod. with Twisting; **Moore** directing, **Hyde's** Gaelic League actors in Irish; **Fay** ends up directing; **Hyde** plays lead, at the **Gaiety**; **Synge** in audience, begins writing his 1st play

(Kuch) Dec., group of actors, led by **Fays**, critical of **Yeats**, **Lady Gregory** and **Martyn's** **Thea**. approach **AE** about letting them do his Deirdre

1902 (Coxhead) Next 10 yrs. are most productive for **Lady Gregory** and her, **Yeats** and **Martyn's** **Thea**.; "I hope I have shown that her life up till now had been intellectually active, and scotched the myth of the simple country lady waiting in rural domesticity at **Coole** for **Yeats** to wave his magic wand" (70)

(**Ulick O'Connor**) **Lady Gregory's** Cuchulain pub., gives **Yeats** and **Synge** plots (Coxhead) **Synge** gets his dialect from it; told her how much he liked it (Skelton) "It is hard to determine why it was that '02 proved to be so extraordinarily creative a year for **Synge**. He had been impressed by the perf. in Gaelic of [**Hyde's** and her]...Twisting...and had thought it more important than **Yeats'** and **Moore's** Diarmuid...He thought that it pointed to a new direction for Irish drama. He had also had the opportunity of more discussion with **Lady Gregory** at **Coole**, and it is probable that to her condemnation of When the Moon Has Set she had added the rider that he might consider writing peasant drama. Whatever the reason, it was now that he began the work that was to estab. him not merely as a member, but as a leader of the Irish renaissance" (70)

(**Hone**) **Eglinton** suggests **Moore** write **Turgenev**-style stories of Ireland; The Untilled Field pub. in Irish; "pure Irish, showing a real understanding of the nat'l. character and a feeling for the nat'l. idiom quite free from the occasional artificiality of **Lady Gregory's** Kiltartan"--**Shawe-Taylor**, "The Achievement of ...**Moore**" (468) (Kuch) by **Hyde's** Gaelic League, tho he wrote them in Eng.; some pub. in New Irish Rev.

(**Jeffares**) **Yeats**, **Lady Gregory** and **Martyn's** Theatre "turbulent" (136); **Fays** accused of not being nationalistic enough; **AE** "virtually the leader of the 3rd group--largely working class members who wanted an amateur **thea**." (136); suggests voting on plays and casting; **Yeats** brings in **Ms. H.** (Kuch) **Yeats** asked to be 1st pres.; had asked **AE** 1st (**Ulick O'Connor**) **Hyde** named **V P (Gwynn)** **Martyn** doesn't like what **Fays** are doing

(Kuch) Fight in **Yeats**, **Lady Gregory** and **Martyn's** **Thea**. over her The 25; the **Nationalists**, led by **Maude G.**, says it makes emigration look too good; they pick an anti-Brit. **Padraic Colum** play instead; **Fay** wants changes; everyone gets mad; **AE** calls meetings to write new rules for decisions; suggests voting rights for all members (similar to the agric. co-ops.); executive cmte. still gets the final pick; at 1st he thinks **Yeats**, in **Lond.**, doesn't like the rules, but he does; **Yeats** talks them back into 25 with his own 1-act, The Hr. Glass

(Kuch) Jan., **Fays' co.** looking for Irish plays, partially present **AE's** Deirdre; **Maude G.**, impressed, sponsors it thru **Dtrs. of Erin**; too short, ask **Yeats** to let them premier Cathleen ni Houlihan, written by him and **Lady Gregory**; hesitates; **Maude G.** offers to play title role; says ok (Greene) "the result of the **Fays'** success with [Deirdre] was that **Yeats**, **Maude G.** and [**Hyde**] formed the Irish Nat'l. **Thea. Soc.**" (128)

(Kuch) Jan. 20, "[**AE's**] Deirdre rather embarrasses me. I do not believe in it at all"--**Yeats** to **Lady Gregory**, Letters (195)

(Kuch) Before Apr., **AE** talks to **Moore** and **Yeats** about doing a play about his weird friend, **Philip Francis Little**, from art school, who wanted to live in an overturned truck and evangelized, whose relatives paid him to stay away

(Jeffares) Before Apr. 2, rehearsals for (Ulick O'Connor) Fays' staging of **Yeats** and **Lady Gregory's** ni Houlihan with Maude G. in Dublin; **Moore** kibitzes; **AE** appears as druid (Kohfeldt) **Yeats, Lady Gregory, Moore, AE, Jack Yeats,** and the Fay bros. all watching her rehearse and telling her what to do; so she goes to Wicklow Hills to practice alone

(Kuch) Apr., at Ely Pl., **Moore** and **Yeats** agree to collab. on play about **AE's** weird friend, draft scenario and put it aside until summer; **Moore** tells Fays he'll sue if they prod. it and they tell him that would be great publicity; **AE** tells **Moore** some of what is going on with **Yeats** and **Lady Gregory**, so he backs down a bit; calms **Moore** down

(Jeffares) Apr. 2, Fays' staging of **Yeats** and **Lady Gregory's** ni Houlihan with Maude G. a success; rev. ambivalent, feel it is too rabble rousing and Maude G. is playing herself (Kuch) presented with **AE's** Deirdre with Fays' avant-garde staging, behind gauze; both hits; scenery and costumes for Deirdre designed by Fay and **AE**; **Yeats** thinks it's too realistic; **Moore** thinks the acting is silly; **Yeats** tells **Lady Gregory** he hates the play, but no 1 else does; admitted later that it was "very difficult to disentangle his feelings about [**AE**] from his lit. judgment of his work" (197); by final perf. tells **Lady Gregory** he likes it; writes article praising the acting; feels it was better poetry than drama; actors like it (Kohfeldt) **Moore** kibitzes

(Kohfeldt) Aug., **Yeats, Lady Gregory, Martyn,** and **Hyde** at Raftery grave for feis; meet Jack Yeats and Quinn, US lawyer on first trip to Ireland (Coxhead) The Marriage, written by **Lady Gregory** and **Hyde**, prod. at Galway feis; he plays lead at last minute (Daly) with **Hyde** as Raftery; **Hyde** reads Nativity play to them (Kuch) **Yeats** sees **Moore** at feis and tells him they can't collab. because **Moore** was not a member of the Thea., altho that might not have been the real reason

(Kuch) After Aug., **Moore** goes back to Dublin from Galway feis and cables **Yeats**, "I have written a novel on that scenario we composed together. Will get an injunction if you use it"--**Yeats, Autobiog.**, (206); **Yeats** talks to **AE** who says **Moore's** bluffing, there is no novel, but he is working on a play; **Yeats, Lady Gregory** and **Hyde** at Coole write Where There Is Nothing, about the tinkers, in 2 weeks; consult Quinn about the legalities; contact **AE** who says **Moore** can't sue; **Yeats** has it pub. in the United Irishman; knowing **Moore** won't sue a nationalist paper; when **AE** tells **Moore** some of what is going on, he backs down a bit (Jeffares) **Yeats** writes Nothing, with **Hyde** and **Lady Gregory** helping, fast to protect plot from **Moore** (Kohfeldt) **Yeats** has the idea and the outline, **Lady Gregory** and **Hyde**, the dialogue; "as if the play were a jigsaw puzzle laid out on the table" (142) (Hone) Quinn convinces **Yeats** and **Moore** to be friends again

(Kuch) Oct. 18, "many thanks for note about **Moore**. Of course I will pub. play. Tell **Moore** to write his story and be hanged"--**Yeats** to **AE** (208); **Moore** tells the Fays he'll take out an injunction if they prod. it; they say, Good, we won't have to advertise; **AE** calms **Moore** down a bit; **Yeats** said later that if he had let **Moore** write the novel it might have been masterpiece (Jeffares) **Yeats** and **Moore's** "relationship had been exacerbated by another attempt at collab., their theme this time founded on events in the life of an eccentric anarchic visionary, an acquaintance of [**AE**]" (121)

(Kohfeldt) Dec., revival of **Yeats** and **Lady Gregory's** ni Houlihan by their and **Martyn's** Thea.

1903 (Greene) **Synge** to Lond., looking for pub. with **Yeats** and **Lady Gregory**; some interest

(Kohfeldt) Fay bros. become Irish Nat'l. Thea. Soc. with **Yeats** as pres. (wanted **AE**), **AE** and **Hyde** as VPs, Maude G. as head of Dtrs. of Erin; **Lady Gregory** gives support but has no official spot (Gwynn) **Yeats** tries to keep **Martyn** involved with their thea.; **Martyn** negotiates to buy Abbey Str. building

(Coxhead) **Lady Gregory** takes incident from the gov't. workhouse, outlines it to **Yeats**; he is working on something else, so gives it to **Hyde**; he follows it exactly and writes a play in Irish, transl. it back to Eng. by her as The Poorhouse, **Hyde's** last play; she doesn't like it

(Kohfeldt) Feb., **Lady Gregory** reads **Synge's** Riders to a Lond. lit. group; finds out "Big Wind" hurricane hit Coole at the same time Maude G. marries MacBride to spite her lover, Lucien Millevoye; **Lady Gregory** congratulates her; **Yeats** wanders Dublin and then goes straight out to Coole and is struck by the devastation; **Lady Gregory** stays in Lond. (Ellman) **Yeats** is handed Maude G.'s note announcing her marriage as he starts to give a lecture

(Kuch) Before Mar., **AE** watches rehearsals for **Yeats' Hr. Glass** at his, **Lady Gregory and Martyn's** Thea., and sends suggestions to **Yeats** in Lond.; he takes some of them

(Kuch) Mar., **Yeats' Hr. Glass** and **Lady Gregory's 25** prod. at their and **Martyn's** Thea. (Kohfeldt) uses Rob't.'s scenery; **Lady Gregory** stays in Lond. until after the Dublin premiere; her 1st acknowledged play

(Kuch) May, **Yeats' Hr. Glass** and **Lady Gregory's 25** prod. by their and **Martyn's** thea. co. in Lond.; **Yeats** and **AE** getting along better now (Kohfeldt) Irish actors put on **Yeats, Lady Gregory** and other plays in Lond.; return in triumph to Dublin

(Kuch) Jun., **AE** finally gives into **Yeats** wishes and suggests reading cmte. for his, **Lady Gregory and Martyn's** Thea. selections; **Yeats**, **Fays** and **Colum** elected; split on play by **Jas. Cousins**, playwright and actor, who intro. the **Fays** to **AE**; **Yeats** hates him and blocks his plays; shows that **AE's** democratic rules for choosing plays isn't working; **Yeats** and **AE** fight about in letters; **Cousins** resigns; **AE** isn't close to him but thinks he's a valuable link with young Nationalists; **Cousins** likes **AE's** poetry and eventually joins the Theosophists; **AE** is jealous that **Yeats** is promoting **Synge** and blocking **Cousins**; **AE** doesn't know **Synge** well, but knows about his article the year before in L'Europeen that had slighted him

(Ulick O'Connor) Before Oct., **Lady Gregory** holds reading of **Synge's Shadow** at Nassau Hotel (Kuch) **Yeats** is championing it (Rodgers) "I was sitting on a bench beside [**Yeats** and he] said to me in that impressive way--intoning his words--that he had just discovered a man who had all the talent of Aeschylus and Sophocles combined... He is a man of the name of **Synge**." "Hang it all," I said, "I just tore up his letters the other day--I wish I had known before that." And **Yeats** laughed...I think he had just written The Wicklow Glen [sic], but it was **Yeats** who really discovered a latent talent in **Synge**, and encouraged him to go on writing"--Dr. Rchd. Best (104-5)

(Kuch) Oct., **Synge's Shadow** performed with ni Houlihan by **Lady Gregory** and **Yeats**; **Maude G.** resigns over it; goes with group doing **Cousins'** plays; **AE** stays silent, doesn't agree with **Yeats** (Ulick O'Connor) says it shows Irish in bad light (Kohfeldt) pub. in Saimham, house organ for **Yeats, Lady Gregory** and **Martyn's** Thea.; mixed rev.

(Kohfeldt) Oct., The King's Threshold prod. at **Yeats, Lady Gregory** and **Martyn's** Thea.; **Ms. H.** pays for staging and designs the costumes, which **Yeats** hates; serves as his sec'y. in Lond. when **Lady Gregory** isn't there

1904 (Jeffares) **AE** writes parody of **Yeats** and **Lady Gregory's ni Houlihan** as attack on **Yeats** and **Synge**

(Greene) Feb., **Synge's Riders** and **AE's Deirdre** prod. by **Yeats, Lady Gregory** and his Thea.; **Synge** gets **Aran Friends** to send clothes, etc., for costumes (Kuch) prod. by **Fays** (Ulick O'Connor) Dublin and Lond.; audiences love it; critics don't; **Moore** "dismissed [it] with a sneer" (338)

(Kohfeldt) c. Feb., **Ms. H.** tells **Yeats** she'll buy his, **Lady Gregory** and **Martyn's** Thea. a building in Dublin; **Lady Gregory** resents it; "Miss H. made the building, not the thea."--**Lady Gregory**, Journ. I (168); **Lady Gregory** holds the license as an Irish citizen; **Ms. H.** buys, remodels the **Mechanics Inst.** and morgue on Lower Abbey Str. as thea.; commissions pictures of the actors from **Yeats' Dad**; **Ms. H.** and **Yeats** give evidence to get the license

(Kuch) Before Apr., while **Yeats** is in US, Louisiana Purch. Exp. of St. Louis asks his, **Lady Gregory** and **Martyn's** Thea. for **Deirdre**; **Yeats** writes to ask because he wants to tour it in US; **AE** says yes; **AE** says he won't go back on his word, but asks St. Louis group to put "performed by permission of the Irish Nat'l. Thea. Soc." in the ads; **Yeats** says it will cost the Thea. future money and **AE** doesn't give permission on his own; **AE** "furious" (221); says that if a US tour is the only way to make money, forget the whole thea. because it won't do them any good in Irish; **Yeats** won't give in; some members get **AE** to change the rules to give less power to the pres. and VP and more to the actors; **AE** gloats that "his" protege, **Colum**, is popular

(Coxhead) Back from US, **Yeats** looks at **Lady Gregory's Kincora** (Greene, **Synge** helping); tells her to forget it; always bothered her

(Jeffares) Back from US, **Yeats** fights with **AE** about actors having more say in his, **Lady Gregory, Martyn** and his Thea., and about **AE** giving **Deirdre** rights to splinter group; **Yeats** feels he is too uncritical with amateurs; wants to give actress a contract against **AE**'s advice

(Kuch) Apr. 23, **AE** resigns; "Mr. **Yeats** has more power to aid [his, **Lady Gregory** and **Martyn's** Thea.] Soc. than I do"--**AE** to Soc.'s sec'y., Geo. Rob'ts. (222), in good letter of resignation, "tendered in the spirit of injured nobility" (221)

(Kuch) After Apr. 23, **Yeats** calm about **AE**'s resignation from his, **Lady Gregory** and **Martyn's** Thea., **Yeats** writes good letter to him, incl. eloquent descrip. of their 2 different attitudes (Jeffares) "I am nothing but an artist and my life is in writing words and they get the most of my loves and hates, and so too I am reckless in mere speech that is not written. You are the other side of the penny, for you are admirably careful in speech, having set life before art, too much before it as I think for I who is, in spite of himself perhaps, an artist"--(141)

(Kuch) After Apr., the Irish Section of the Louisiana Purch. Exp. is a failure; **Yeats** knows **AE**'s org. skills can turn his, **Lady Gregory** and **Martyn's** Thea. in to the prof. Abbey, financed by Ms. H. (Kohfeldt) Ms. H. in for the theatre (Jeffares) she and **Lady Gregory** "deeply disliked each other... A Quaker and a feminist, she described herself as a mid.-aged mid. class dissenting spinster" (141); hinted to Jack **Yeats** that she wanted to marry **Yeats**

(Jeffares) After Apr., **AE** reorg. Theatre into a ltd. co. with **Yeats, Lady Gregory** and **Synge** as dir. (Greene) from the reorg. **Synge** was only dir. living in Dublin, so had more active role in the mgmnt.; "whatever part **Synge** took in the discussions about the thea. is not known, but perhaps it was no mere coincidence that **Yeats** invited him to attend them. From this point on his friendship with both **Lady Gregory** and **Yeats** was the most important in his life, and he must have divined that whatever his future was a writer would be, it was bound up with theirs" (90)

(Kohfeldt) Summer?, **Yeats, Lady Gregory** and **Quinn** go out to dinner and then to rehearsal of Pot of Broth, by him and **Lady Gregory**, and Kincora prod.; **Yeats** is driving actors in their and **Synge's** thea. nuts; **Lady Gregory** "was the very opposite to...**Yeats** in sitting quietly and giving direction in quiet, almost apologetic tones"--Jos. Holloway, Abbey architect, Abbey Thea., (175); all go to her hotel rm. to talk afterwards; then **Quinn** to Lond. and her to Coole

(Ulick O'Connor) Dec. 27, Abbey opens with ni Houlihan by **Yeats** and **Lady Gregory** and On Baile's Strand, with Spreading the News and Synge's Shadow alternating (Kohfeldt) **Lady Gregory** sick at Coole for opening; doesn't see them until later that week; **Yeats** and Ms. H take the bows, even tho she's still the outsider and didn't want anything to do with the Irish

**1905** (Courtney) **Yeats, Lady Gregory** and **Synge's** Nat'l. Players? put on **Martyn's** Tale in Molesworth Hall

(Kuch) **AE** tries to get **Moore** hon. membership in **Yeats, Lady Gregory** and **Synge's** Abbey

(Greene) **Synge's** Well of the Sts. prod. at **Yeats, Lady Gregory** and his Abbey and pub.; critics hate it (Skelton) **Moore** defends it in letter to Times; hated it in rehearsal

(Kohfeldt) Mar., **Lady Gregory's** Kincora prod. at her, **Yeats** and **Synge's** Abbey; Rob't designs the scenery; she has tea party reception on stage afterwards

(Kuch) Summer, "it was evident that [**Yeats, Lady Gregory** and **Synge's**] Soc. would either have to disband or turn prof." (224); problem was how to "keep the social intent" and get rid of **AE**'s democratic rules and changes which put actors in charge; **Yeats** knows only **AE** can do it, but **AE** wants to resign; "the move to the Abbey having clearly signalled the end of his dreams of an amateur thea." (224); **Fay** and **AE** work out a scheme which **Yeats** likes

(Kuch) Aug.-Sep., **Yeats** gets reading cmte. limited to him, **Lady Gregory, Synge** and **Colum**, doesn't want **Colum** as dir., gets **AE** to reorg. bus. cmte.; biggest fight will be absolute power with dir.

(Kuch) Aug. 3, **AE**'s scheme for the Abbey "would be far more likely to pass than if I had a hand in it"--**Yeats** to **AE** (225); **Yeats, Lady Gregory** and **Synge** have already decided that they want to be dir. of a ltd. co.

(Kuch) Fall and winter, lots of letters among **Yeats, Lady Gregory, Synge** and **AE** about Abbey

(Kohfeldt) Sep., Ms. H. offers salary guarantee; **Yeats, Lady Gregory** and **Synge** want to reorg. because co. has too much control over the choice of plays; "the letters exchanged by the 3 at the time show how completely **Yeats'** previous control had been based on personal dominance and his joint action with [**Lady Gregory**] and **Synge**--and how the 3 worked together to obtain formal control" (180) (Greene) **Synge** made director of Irish Nat'l. Theatre Society (Summerfield) **AE** writing new constitution so actors will be pd. as employees (Kuch) **Yeats** approves **AE** and Fay's scheme

(Jeffares) Sep. 19, "Yes, of course, I have no tact, and bully people. That is why I am leaving the whole matter [in his, **Lady Gregory** and **Synge's** Thea.] to you. I can only threaten the body, but you can put the soul in uncomfortable places"--**Yeats** to **AE**, Letters (148)

(Kuch) Sep. 29, "We must leave as much as possible with **AE** who now advocates everything we insisted upon in our correspondence with him"--**Yeats** to **Lady Gregory** re: changes in their and **Synge's** Abbey (226)

(Kuch) Nov., everything **Yeats, Lady Gregory, Synge** and **AE** advocate passes in their Abbey (Greene) "**Yeats** forced [the Thea.]'s reorg...by that time Maude G. and [**Hyde**] had been replaced by **Synge** and **Lady Gregory** as co-dir. with **Yeats**" (128)

(Kohfeldt) Dec., **Lady Gregory's** Cockade prod. at her, **Yeats** and **Synge's** Abbey

(Kohfeldt) Dec. 31, "This is the sort of case in which *the 3 of us* should be of one mind before a definite line of action is taken up"; **Synge** to **Yeats**, in Thea. Business, (180); **Yeats** convinces him to come to important Abbey meeting at Coole with **Lady Gregory**

**1906** (Kohfeldt) Actors in **Yeats, Lady Gregory** and **Synge's** thea. bring all complaints to **AE**

(Greene) Ms. H. sees **Yeats, Lady Gregory** and **Synge's** thea. co. in Glasgow and feels they're a mess; offers more money for them to shape up

(Greene) **Synge** and **Lady Gregory** oppose **Yeats** and Ms. H. demoting Fay to direct peasant plays; **Yeats** wins; new prod. and work; Fay back

(Greene) **Synge** reads Playboy of the W. World to **Yeats** and **Lady Gregory**

(Jeffares) Maude G. hissed in **Yeats, Lady Gregory** and **Synge's** Abbey; withdraws from politics for the next 12 years

(Kohfeldt) **Synge** leads tour (Greene, of Ireland) of **Yeats, Lady Gregory** and his Abbey; Ms. H. is offended by actors' behavior

(Greene) **Synge's** Riders revived at **Yeats, Lady Gregory** and his Abbey

(Greene) **Yeats, Lady Gregory** and **Synge's** thea. decides to publish The Arrow newsp.

(Kohfeldt) Early in the yr., **Yeats, Lady Gregory, Synge** and Fay meet at Coole; use Ms. H's money to create ltd. liability co. with **Yeats, Lady Gregory** and **Synge** as unpaid dir. and Fays and actors as employees

(Kuch) Jan., **Yeats** wants to sue Mary Walker, Fay's sister, the only actor who won't sign the new contract in **Yeats, Lady Gregory** and **Synge's** Abbey; drops the idea, but **AE** is so upset over **Yeats'** attitude it "gave [**AE**] his long awaited excuse to resign" (226); writes long last letter; "I have felt for some years past that the old friendship between [us has] worn very thin"--**AE**, in Letters to Yeats (227); **Yeats** understands but won't change his mind; **AE** tries to make up, supported by **Yeats'** Dad and sisters; Dad asks **Lady Gregory** to intervene; she agrees with **Yeats**; "neither you nor Mr. [**AE**] need give me a list of [**Yeats'**] crimes. He is not so near being sainted that the 'devil's advocate' need thunder out the case against him"--**Lady Gregory** (228); **Lady Gregory** talks to Walker and calms her down (Jeffares) **Yeats** had kept some of **AE's** young poet "finds" out of print; **Yeats** says **AE** gathers "the weak" (152) around him

(Kohfeldt) Jan. 6, "I have written old **Yeats** a long letter this morn., explaining our position for he talks so much and so many of our enemies bring their complaints to him in order that they may come round, that he might be kept well posted"--**Lady Gregory** to **Synge**, in Thea. Business, (181)

(Kohfeldt) Feb., **Lady Gregory's Hyacinth** prod. at her, **Yeats** and **Synge's Abbey** (Greene) only new play between Jan. and Oct.; audience decreases

## EXIT

(Kohfeldt) May, **Yeats, Lady Gregory** and **Synge's Abbey** has gen'l. meeting to ratify the new constitution; **Yeats** and **Lady Gregory** get what they want; group of actors secede to form Thea. of Ireland with **Martyn** as pres., Colum, Cousins and Walker; **Lady Gregory** refers to it as "the enemy"; **AE** gives them Deirdre, ending his assoc. with **Yeats'** thea.; "the quarrels...affected [**AE**] deeply. He was weary of **Yeats'** imperiousness and truculence...He decided to distance himself...He cont. to be polite on the 1 or 2 occasions that they met and to talk with studied casualness about day to day events, but he formed a stubborn resolve to withdraw all his support" (229)

(Jeffares) "**AE** gave the new company his blessing and his Deirdre" (152); friends think all the turmoil was because **Yeats** had changed in US

(Coxhead) "If **Martyn** had not seceded from the Abbey group, he might most valuably have linked the 2...Poor frustrated...**Martyn**, who made so little mark with his own talents, but helped others to make so great a mark with theirs" (86-7); "...By breaking away...[**Martyn**] did himself a disservice and his talent dissipated itself" (261)

(Greene) In the big secession fight, **Synge** was smart enough to use his silence

## The Bloomsbury Group, 1907-1915

**Virginia's** Fitzroy Square

**Virginia** and **Leonard's** Hogarth Press

**Virginia** and **Vanessa's** Asham House

**Virginia** and **Leonard's** Monk's House

**Vanessa's** Charleston

**Vanessa** and **Clive's** Gordon Square

**Vanessa** and **Clive's** Fri. Club

**Vanessa** and **Clive's** sons, Quentin and Julian

**Vanessa, Grant** and **Fry's** Omega Workshops

**Fry's** Allied Artists' Assoc.

**Keynes's** London Artists' Assoc.

### ENTRY

(Bell I) Mar. 23-25, **Virginia** and Adrian move to Fitzroy Sq.; Adrian becomes **Virginia's** main companion; **Vanessa** and **Clive** in Gordon Sq.; **Vanessa** "enthusiastically slammed the door against old friends and relations" (121)

### OTHER RELATIONSHIPS

(Bell I) "Thurs. Jul. 1 On my way home I went to Gordon Sq. where I found the Goat and walked home with her. We dined alone together and after dinner waited a long time before anybody appeared. Saxon as usual came in first but was quickly followed by Norton and then by Jas. and [Strachey]. We were very silent at first, **Virginia** and **Strachey** and I doing all the talking. Saxon being in his usual state of torpor and Norton and Jas. occasionally exchanging a whisper. Later on **Vanessa** and **Clive** came in bringing with them [Grant]. After this the conversation became more lively. **Vanessa** sat with **Strachey** on the sofa and from half heard snatches I gather they were talking about his and Jas.'s obscene loves. Whatever it was they were discussing they were brought to an abrupt stop by a sudden silence, this pleased them very much, esp. **Vanessa**, and I kindly added to their job by asking why they stopped...[Miss Cole] went and sat in the long wicker chair with **Virginia** and **Clive** on the floor beside her. **Virginia** began in her usual tone of frank admiration to compliment her on her appearance. 'Of course, you Miss Cole are always dressed so exquisitely. You look so original, so like a sea shell. There is something so refined about you coming in among our muddy boots and pipe smoke, dressed in your exquisite creations.' **Clive** chimed in with more heavy compliments and then began asking her why she disliked him so much, saying how any other young lady would have been much pleased with all the nice things he had been saying but that she treated him so sharply. At this **Virginia** interrupted with 'I think Miss Cole has a very strong character' and so on and so on. Altogether Miss Cole was as unhappy and uncomfortable as she could be; it was impossible not to help laughing at the extravagance of **Virginia** and **Clive** and all conversation was stopped by their noisy choruses, so the poor woman was the centre of all our gaze, and did not know what to do with herself. At last, a merciful diversion was made and **Virginia** took my seat and I hers and with, I may say, some skill I managed to keep **Clive** under control...Jas. and **Strachey** left and we played an absurd game which **Vanessa** and **Clive** had learnt at the Freshfields....[**Vanessa**] is always trying to bring out some bawdy remark and is as pleased when she has done it as a spoilt child....Very soon **Virginia** with exquisite art made herself the centre of the argument making the vaguest statements with the intensest feeling and ready to snap up anybody who laughed. Her method is ingenious and at first is rather disconcerting for when someone has carefully examined her argument and certainly refuted it she at once agrees with him enthusiastically saying that he has put her point exactly...At last everybody went except Saxon...**Virginia** and I were however so sleepy that we managed by sheer indifference to oust him. We got to bed as the dawn was coming up about 5"--Adrian (146-7)

(Bell I) **Clive** was "an essential ingredient in the success of the **Virginia** and **Vanessa's** Thurs. eves." (51)

(Bell I) **Virginia** and Adrian invited different people than **Vanessa** and **Clive** did; their house was "not so close to Gordon Sq. that the Stephens became a mere annex of Gordon Sq.; not yet so far that the 2 households could not meet whenever they chose. It was ideally placed for the purpose of friends who got into the habit of visiting one of the houses and then strolling over the other. B'bury now had 2 centers, separated by a very convenient distance" (115); strolled from 1 to the other

(Bell I) **Virginia** "invited B'bury...and also other young men [**Strachey**, **Clive** and **Keynes**] who had been at Cambridge and at 46 Gordon Sq. in Thoby's time" (120)

(Bell I) "Sex...need no longer be sanctioned by marriage, but it must still be sanctioned by passion" (170)

(Rose) **Virginia** slowly realized why **Strachey**, **Grant** and **Keynes** weren't attracted to her

(Rose) "Sex made the difference between early B'bury and later B'bury" (44)

(Rose) **Virginia** was "not wholly satisfied by [**Vanessa** and **Clive**'s] Gordon Sq...something I think it was difficult for her Gordon Sq. friends to understand" (47)

(Rose) "B'bury was nothing if not inventive about domestic arrangements and rather prided itself on the many variations it played on the theme of sex" (79)

(Rose) "'B'bury' meant liberalism and the belief that through the application of reason all problems could be solved and the good made to prevail...It meant pacifism and a devotion to the arts" (198)

(Spalding, 1983) **Virginia** angry at **Vanessa** for betraying a confidence, **Leonard** talks her into not fighting

(Spalding, 1983) "The chief most usual phrases one heard were 'ex-quisitely civilized,' and 'How simply too extraordinary!', the first applying to some unusual human concatenation, the 2nd to some quite common incident of burgess life, such as a man going to a railway station to meet his wife after a long absence from home"

(Spalding, 1983) **Vanessa** and **Clive**'s "46 Gordon Sq. came to symbolize freedom and independence precisely because" life at 22 Hyde Pk. Gate for **Virginia** and **Vanessa** had been "hidebound and restricting. Gordon Sq. was deliberately kept free of clutter, both material and emotional" (45)

(Spalding, 1983) "The breakdown in formality happened almost overnight" (63)

(Spalding, 1983) "The inner circle which had begun to form...did not mix easily with old friends of [**Virginia** and **Vanessa**'s] Stephens family...[**Vanessa** and **Clive**] developed a social ruthlessness" (63) to get rid of guests from the Stephens

(Spalding, 1983) B'bury enjoyed "like many an avant-garde, a symbiotic relationship with the estab." (63)

(Spalding, 1983) **Vanessa** depended on **Clive**'s "ebullience to transform any social occasion, particular those at-homes at [their] Gordon Sq. and [**Virginia** and Adrian's] Fitzroy Sq....disastrous if no B'bury friends were present" (78)

(Spalding, 1983) "Both [**Strachey** and **Keynes**] had been bewitched" by **Grant** (117)

(Spalding, 1983) "B'bury's abstract period was short-lived" (123)

(Spalding, 1983) Garnett was "dedicated to a life of promiscuous heterosexuality" (135)

(Spalding, 1983) "The chief offender with regard to the 2 main criticisms--that B'bury overpraised themselves and wrecked the reputations of others--was [**Clive**]. His references to **Vanessa** and **Grant** in his exhibition rev. do make embarrassing reading; and on more than 1 occasion he slated the art of Wynd. Lewis with what seems like a personal vindictiveness. But [**Fry**] had written as extensively on Mark Gertler and John Nash as on **Vanessa**'s art and had done much to encourage younger artists, as did **Vanessa** and **Grant** thru their assoc. with [their and **Keynes**' Lond. Artists' Assoc.], the Lond. Group and the Euston Rd. School" (349)

(Spater) **Leonard** thought **Fry** had a "ruthless streak"--to **Vanessa** and **Clive's** son **Quentin**, Dec. 1, '66

(Spater) **Leonard** didn't want **Virginia** to go to **Clive** and **Ottoline Morrell's** parties

(Spater) "It never occurred to me that there were buggers even now in the Stephens' sitting room at [**Vanessa** and **Clive's**] Gordon Sq"--**Virginia** (41); that the atmosphere was because the men [**Strachey**, **Grant** and **Keynes**] weren't interested in the women

(Spater) **Leon's** humor similar to **Virginia** and **Vanessa's** Dad **Leslie Stephens**

(Spater) "There is always the temptation to think of these interesting people as a group, as they have been dealt with here, but there has rarely been a group of this size in which there were wider disparities in personality and points of view. The common bonds were frankness, the enjoyment of conversation, a respect for intelligence and reason, a belief in personal freedom, long assoc. and a certain amount of affection. Altho an outsider might find evidence of group solidarity, particularly on the art side, internally it was never a mutual admiration society...They freely criticized each other and joked about each other in...the way members of an outspoken family do" (127-8)

(Spater) **Clive** "came in for more than his fair share of abuse...a likeable character but rather shallow... 'a simple rather sunny nature, a bright serviceable little mind' [--**Leonard**] ...Everyone agreed he talked too loudly...**Virginia** alternately liked [him] and was exasperated with him" (130)

(Spater) "Malicious...a favorite word in the B'bury vocabulary...to mean mischievous or teasing, rather than malevolent...[an] accepted meaning at the time...teasing was a favorite B'bury sport" (146-7)

(Shone, 1976) **Vanessa**, **Duncan** and **Fry's** Omega's patrons and subscribers incl. **Shaw**, **Ottoline**, **H G Wells**, **Forster**, **Yeats**, **Rupert Brooke**, **Pound**, **Augustus John**

(Shone, 1976) **Grant's** Mom would do **Vanessa**, **Fry** and his designs in cross-stitch

(Shone, 1976) "Frequently a mantle of common philosophy or aesthetic agreement is thrown over this highly varied group of friends as an explanation for their intimacy, swamping individuality of temperament and expression...Accidents of geography, of family, married love and similarity of work are of equal importance" (14-15) with Principia Ethica in holding the group together

(Shone, 1976) "Rows, jealousies and sharp differences of opinion add a lively counterpoint to the generally smooth melody of friendship. Invariably such upsets were caused by the introduction of a new element--a new activity, or a new friend--which threatened the estab. pattern of life. An unspoken frame of reference guided each person's response to this novelty. It was pitted against assumptions and ideas about conduct which were adaptable but which could hardly be ignored. This applied more to the earlier days of B'bury; later on such conscious rigor was relaxed" (15)

(Shone, 1976) "The life style they embraced was a complex mixture of inheritance and personal preference. There was a touch of camping out, a happy domestic improvisation which comically clashed with sturdy middle-class comfort and fastidious culture. There was nothing precious about it, tho aesthetic enjoyment of 1's surroundings was often placed before other considerations. To some it seemed intolerably Bohemian and haphazard, to others, too ample and not Bohemian enough. Against such a background went hard work and constant occupation" (18)

(Shone, 1976) **Vanessa** and **Clive** would walk over to **Virginia's** at **Fitzroy Sq.** after dinner with their guests, to "Adrian's book-lined study on the ground floor looking out to the trees and garden" (29)

(Shone, 1976) **Vanessa** and **Grant** were not crazy about exhibiting, but because of **Fry**, more involved; "came to know a wider circle of painters...[**Vanessa** and **Grant**] were launched into the movement" (66)

(Edel) "They were a group of rational and liberal individuals with an arduous work ethic and an aristocratic ideal. Each labored in his separate vineyard. They had a passion for art; they liked the fullness of life; they knew how to relax when their day's work was done. They wrote. They painted. They decorated. They built furniture. They sat on nat'l. cmtes. They achieved a large fame. With success came a certain amount of power. One of them became a peer. Another was knighted. Others refused honors. They were damnably critical...People who knew them were irritated, and some found them rude and abrasive...To others they were the least boring people in the world, for they had intelligence and charm, tho no doubt a certain hi and gentry view of civilization" (11-2)

(Edel) Didn't include Ottoline; "she was in reality running a salon of her own: her lions were D H Lawrence, Aldous Huxley, Bert. Russell...Hers was a celebrity salon" (12)

(Edel) "The art of verbal murder runs deep in Eng." (45)

(Edel) "To avoid competition, Thurs. evenings were held alternately at [**Vanessa and Clive's** Gordon and **Virginia's** Fitzroy] Sq." (148)

(Edel) "'Brilliant and fantastic conversation' has a way of not getting itself recorded. When it is recorded by accident or design, it sounds strangely disconnected and fragmented. It needs cigarette smoke, gestures, color, a ballet of body postures, smiles natural and artificial, the nuances of verbal warmth or venom. Accounts of B'bury parties across the years (and we have more accounts of the later years than of the nascent period of [**Vanessa and Clive's** Gordon and **Virginia's** Fitzroy] Sq.) sound like intellectual parties anywhere. We must take it on trust that they were remarkable" (150)

(Skidelsky I) Sickert hosted painters

(Skidelsky I) "A commonplace opinion astonished them all, but provoked in them different reactions. It moved **Virginia** to silence, **Vanessa** to a sympathetic effort to give it meaning, **Strachey** to change the subject, and **Clive** to gen'l but explosive laughter"--Hilton Young, "In & Out"

(Skidelsky I) "The public image of B'bury was already forming just before the 1st World War, mainly in connection with [**Vanessa and Grant** and] a new attitude to the visual arts and design. It was sharpened by B'bury's gen'l. hostility to the 1st World War. It became fixed with [**Strachey's**] disparagement of the achievements of 'eminent Vic.' By the '20s the main line of criticism had become clear" (244)

(Skidelsky I) "B'bury provided a retreat for people, some of whom had been scarred early in life by their contact with the outside world. Within the circle of intimacy they developed opinions, styles of conversation, behavior, even dress, which shocked outsiders" (248)

(Skidelsky I) "It was a cult., not an acad. coterie...only 3 [**Keynes, Shove and Norton**] held acad. jobs. Perhaps, this was the last period in Eng. hist. when a group of such intellectual excellence could have assembled in Lond outside the univ. system. It was this assimilation of fine intellects to the tradition of the salon rather than the common room which made B'bury such a formidable cult. force. B'bury consisted of both creators and publicists. On balance, the achievement of the latter was greater than that of the former. By internat'l standards, the B'bury painters [**Vanessa and Grant**] ...were not in the front rank. Likewise, in lit. only [**Virginia**] is indisputably in the highest class. But in the way they set about redefining the relationship between cult. and society and in their advocacy of specific theories, the B'bury publicists were 1st class" (248)

(Skidelsky I) "Members of B'bury were generally exceptional children of exceptional parents...The cult. influence which B'bury eventually acquired was based on the clarity of vision of its publicists and the mutually supporting achievement of its members. But 2 further ingredients must be added: its relative financial independence and its power of patronage. B'berries were not rich. But they were never forced into dependence on institutions alien to their spirit...Equally important, B'bury over the years was able to find outlets and platforms for its work and theories in influential journ. and art galleries and thus, to some extent, become an arbiter of taste. Thru this position members were able to get their younger friends jobs, commissions and shows" (250)

(Skidelsky II) Letters imply **Leonard** never liked **Keynes** since he stole boys from **Strachey**

(Skidelsky II) "B'bury's ideal was that of the enchanted adolescent, from which point of view all the compromises involved in growing up looked like treachery" (13)

(Skidelsky II) "**Keynes'** relationship to the twin movements of modernism and collectivism is both extraordinarily important in understanding his work as a whole and extremely difficult to say anything sensible about. He was linked to modernism thru his membership of B'bury; and to collectivism thru his philosophy and econ. B'bury's aesthetic theory--in so far as it was expressed in the writing of [Fry and Clive] located beauty not in the subject matter or 'narrative' of a work of art, but in its formal structure, intuitively apprehended; the shift from flow of narrative to flow of thought is the distinguishing mark of [Virginia's] novels. A parallel shift toward formalization, or model-building, was taking place in econ. It is harder to relate this to a change in perception; nevertheless, the gen'l. effect of the move to abstraction in econ. was to place the mind of the economist rather than the narrator of the market at the source of econ. reasoning. Modernism in the arts and collectivism in politics and econ. thus came together in the assertion that the interp. of reality is a creative act" (407)

(Spalding, 1980) "The solo instruments were [Virginia and Grant]; they could be relied upon to prod. at the appropriate moment some piece of elaborate fantasy, contradicting the serious and persistent assertions of the other instruments. [Fry] would drive forward on 1 of his provocative lines; [Vanessa], the most silent of the company, would drop one of her 'mois,' while [Clive] fulfilling the role of bassoon, would keep up a gen'l. roar of animation. His speculative function in the performance was to egg on and provoke Virginia to one of her famous sallies"--Gerald Brennan, So. from Granada

(Holroyd I) Virginia and Adrian's "usual circle of friends, of which Thoby's Cambridge contemporaries [Strachey, Leonard, Clive and Keynes] formed the nucleus, was not broken up by [their move to Fitzroy], but enlarged" (397)

(Holroyd I) "If ever such an entity as B'bury existed...these sisters [Virginia and Vanessa] with their houses in Gordon and Fitzroy Sq. were the heart of it. But did such an entity exist?"--Clive (397)

(Holroyd I) "It was exclusive and clannish. It regarded outsiders as unconverted and was contemptuous of good form opinions. Remarks which did not show that grace had descended upon the utterer were met with killing silence...They criticized each other unsparingly but with affection"--Noel Annan, Leslie Stephen (405)

(Holroyd I) "Outsiders were apt to be particularly disconcerted at Virginia and Adrian's house in the s.w. corner of Fitzroy Sq.. The large drawing rm. on the ground floor was decorated in a quite different style from the interior of Gordon Sq. There were no cubist paintings...Guests would encounter a more Spartan and dismaying welcome here than at [Vanessa and Clive's]...None of them, for instance, would smile as they shook hands, a habit which proved extremely effective in unsettling strangers" (405-6)

(Holroyd I) "The infiltration of [Virginia and Vanessa's] feminine society into the circle also did something to lighten the intensity of austere scholasticism that has so resolutely typified [Strachey, Leon, Clive, Leon Keynes's] Cambridge dialectics" (408)

(Holroyd I) "It was on a superfine mixture of arrogance and diffidence, of ambitious talent and crippling shyness that the B'bury group was largely founded" (410)

(Holroyd I) "Of all the clever people round me here/I most delight in me--/Mine is the only voice I hear,/and mine the only face I see"--Roy Campbell, "Home Thoughts on B'bury" (414)

(Holroyd I) "The spirit of half-amused, diffident rivalry which existed between Virginia and Strachey was created as much by their similarities as by their differences in character, and below it ran a smoother undercurrent of real affection. 'Love apart, whom would you most like to see coming up the drive?' Strachey asked [Clive] 1 rainy afternoon in the depths of the country. [Clive] hesitated a moment and Strachey replied to his own ques.: 'Virginia, of course'" (431)

(Uricchio) "Recognized as 1 of the most fertile and important of this cent."

(Uricchio) "While all the world was sitting on gloomy Vic. furniture in dark parlors, the B'bury artists [Vanessa, Grant and Fry] decorated their houses in bright colors, with whimsical designs on the walls, chairs and floors"

(Tickner) "So 'B'bury,' as Raym. Wms. has described it, was in class terms a particular formation within the prof. and admin. fraction of the now dominant bourgeoisie; but it was a dissident grouping, both because it insisted on open intellectual inquiry and tolerance and because it was based in and expressed the paradox of women's exclusion from the formative educational experiences of the men. B'bury was not just inflected, but actually precipitated, by the inclusion of (informally educated but intelligent and articulate) women and the impact of feminism. In this and other respects, including its socialism, pacifism and anti-imperialism--another paradox--it played a reforming and hence modernizing role in the hist. of the class to which it seemed to be opposed" (70)

(Tickner) **Grant** "recalled that these 'Apostolic young men [**Strachey, Keynes and Leonard**] found to their amazement that they could be shocked by the boldness and skepticism of 2 young women [**Virginia and Vanessa**]." B'bury was held together not only by a delicate web of affective ties (ties of blood or marriage or passion, homosexual or heterosexual) but by a common commitment to candor, clarity, and verve, in life as in art" (72)

(Tickner) The "conversational community" (72)

(Crabtree) "It was not a salon in the Parisian sense; it was not a school with a master and disciples, and it was not a club or a coterie. It seems to have been a group of intellectuals who had become friends in Cambridge [**Strachey, Leonard, Clive and Keynes**] and then found a convenient meeting place in Lond., who enjoyed each other's co., who had a common interest in lit. and art, who were dedicated to free discussion and the pursuit of truth and who stimulated 1 another's lit., artistic and intellectual achievements to a remarkable degree" (2)

(Crabtree) "How horrified they might have been, tho it would have been alarm mingled with amusement. What if some of them were seated among us now? [**Virginia**] would have lapsed into some reverie as she gazed at the ceiling; [**Strachey**] might have paid some attn. until a seductive profile or his indigestion interrupted him; [**Grant**] fumbling in a pocket would eventually have extracted a grubby envelope and proceeded to draw the head in front of him. Their love and respect for [**Keynes**] would not have dammed the natural expression of their personalities. We here talking today would have been subjected to [**Leonard**]'s scrutiny and afterwards perhaps some withering but accurate remark. [**Vanessa**] quite simply would have gone to sleep. How much they preferred the sitting room to the lecture hall, the conversation to the lecture. When a few years ago [**Grant**] found himself in the preposterous position of having an eve. devoted to him at the Inst. of Contemp Arts, he decided on the line of mischievous anarchy to the point of denying he ever painted the pictures that there and then glowed 1 after the other from the screen above. It is this informality, this relaxation of respect which colors B'bury's attitude to the world, their particular angle of vision. It suffuses much of the writing and painting prod. and I feel can be traced in **Keynes**' thinking. In the pursuit of an idea or in the conduct of daily life, there was an ability to leap over irrelevancies, conventions and the tedious scaffolding which prohibits clear thinking. One detects a scaling down of tone, a lowering of the voice, for example: ...in the measured expository prose of **Fry**...and in the contemplative modesty of [**Vanessa**]'s paintings which draw so much of their strength from silence"--Shone (23-24)

(Crabtree) "In the climate of their youth, at the time B'bury came into being, it seemed a pressing necessity to reduce, to compress, to prick the balloons of bombast and rhetoric, to flush from art and thought and daily life the impurities of another age. Of course they were not alone in this...but I think we can see their solution as distinct and, because of their backgrounds, of particular significance"--Shone (24)

(Crabtree) "Something had to be done to close the gap between their conception of how they should live their lives and what society expected of them. Each had her or his individual way. It would be inaccurate to say they were all rebellious and contemptuous, but most of them made a point of showing their independence from and contempt of the rigidities of accepted Edwardian behavior--correct clothes, calling cards, the paraphernalia of social intercourse thru which natural human behavior was controlled"--Shone (25)

(Crabtree) "Altho none came from very wealthy families, poverty was never a real threat, tho it should be said that [Leonard] had no private income, and [Grant] in the early years had a barely adequate allowance from his father. Only [Keynes] eventually accumulated a fortune. In striking away from their backgrounds, inevitably something was retained but something difficult to pin down exactly. Those unsympathetic to B'bury invariably call it an arrogant and exclusive belief in their own superiority. Those more charitable might call it a natural pleasure in all that was finest in the liberal, intellectual cult. of the late Vic. society from which most of them sprang. I feel that neither view is correct, tho both contain a pinch of truth. I prefer to think of it as a certain inherited honesty and curiosity, a high-minded dedication to work and belief in the importance of communication"--Shone (28-9)

(Crabtree) "There was hard work, not just in the lib. or the studio but in public too. They were all at various times in their lives on cmtes., on boards, or the reps. of orgs. Even the painters...did much to improve exhibiting facilities, to help other artists and to variously offer their svcs. within the limitations of their work. They were as willing to undertake murals for the *Queen Mary* liner as to run up a decorated lavatory in a Fr. farmhouse; as willing to see that an undergrad. could rent a picture for their rms. in term time as to paint [Virginia] a dining table. The no. of public ventures to B'bury's credit is impressive. [Virginia and Leonard's] Hogarth Press, [Vanessa, Grant, Fry and Keynes] Lond. Artists' Assoc., and [Vanessa, Fry and Duncan's] Omega Workshops, are among the best known and most influential. Where they differed from their forebears is that no public consideration would persuade them to alter for an instant their personal vision or design"--Shone (29-30)

(Crabtree) "We cannot underestimate the importance to B'bury, of the Post-Impressionist revolution. It mobilised them; it publicised them; it brought [Fry] to the central position within the group of friends and it strengthened those ties with Fr. civilisation which had been growing conspicuous in the Edwardian decade. It made B'bury less insular, it altered their speech, it changed the appearance of those spacious rms. in [Vanessa and Clive's] Gordon and [Virginia and Adrian's] Fitzroy Sq. Startling murals appeared, No. Afr. pots and bright E. textile. Pictures by Vlaminck, Picasso, Gris and Marchand replaced the works of Watts and Augustus John"--Shone (33)

(Crabtree) "I'm sometimes inclined to think that B'bury is seen at its most characteristic among those of the group concerned with the visual arts and that some of the essays of [Fry] are as near as you'll get to the real thing. Others see its fullest embodiment in the work of [Virginia, Strachey] and Forster as critics and biographers. And again, there are those who find more common ground in its attitude to the 1st World War and the various shades of its pacifism, to public issues like censorship and patronage, its commitment to reason, rather than in its writing or painting"--Shone (34)

(Crabtree) "I would say that B'bury was not really more promiscuous or immoral than any other large group of friends, tho we do find in the early yrs. that the changing of partners was kept very much within the circle. Few seemed to have been left to sit out the dance. Later liaisons were in part responsible for the dissolution of B'bury and a good deal of friction in its ranks. But compared to current revelations...B'bury appears positively chaste. They were on the whole remarkably faithful and many a passion subsided into lifelong friendship"--Shone (35)

(Crabtree) "More important is it to see how necessary B'bury was when it existed, to see how its achievements and failures were in part a response to its own times"--Shone (36)

(Williams) "Indeed there is something in the way in which B'bury denied its existence as a formal group, while continuing to insist on its group qualities, which is the clue to the essential definition. The point was not to have any common--that is to say, gen'l.--theory or system, not only because this was not necessary--worse, it would probably be some imposed dogma--but primarily...because such theories and systems obstructed the true org. value of the group, which was the unobstructed free expression of the civilised individual" (61)

(Williams) "There have often been groups of people, writers and artists, who were not only friends, but were consciously united by a common doctrine, an object, or purpose artistic or social...Our group was quite different. Its basis was friendship, which in some cases deepened into love and marriage. The color of our minds and thought had been given to us by the climate of Cambridge and Moore's philosophy...But we had no common theory, system or principles which we wanted to convert the world to; we were not proselytizers, missionaries, crusaders or even propagandists. It is true that [Keynes] prod. the system or theory of Keynesian econ. which has had a great effect upon the theory and practice of econ., finance and politics; and that [Fry,] Vanessa, Grant and Clive played important parts, as painters or critics, in what came to be known as the Post-Impressionist Movement. But [Keynes'] crusade for Keynesian econ. against the orthodoxy of the Banks and acad. economists, and [Fry's] crusade for post-impressionism and 'significant form' against the Orthodoxy of acad. 'representational' painters and aestheticians were just as purely individual as Virginia's writing of The Waves--they had nothing to do with any group. For there was no more a communal connection between [Fry's] 'Critical & Speculative Essays on Art,' [Keynes'] The Gen'l. Theory of Employment, Interest & Money, and Virginia's Orlando than there was between Bentham's Theory of Legislation, Hazlitt's Principal Picture Galleries in Eng., and Byron's Don Juan"--Leonard, Beginning Again (60-1)

(Williams) "It is understandable that anyone should turn and ask, rhetorically, what connections there really are between [Clive] on art and Keynes on employment, or [Virginia] on fiction and [Leonard] on the League of Nations or [Strachey] on hist. and the Freudians on psychoanalysis. It is true that you cannot put all this work together and make of it a gen'l. human and social theory. But of course that is the point. The different positions which the B'bury Group assembled, and which they effectively disseminated as the contents of the mind of a modern, educated civilised individual, are all in effect *alternatives* to a gen'l. theory" (64-5)

(Malcolm, 1995) "Clive came from a rich family that had made its money from mines in Wales and had built a hideous and pretentious mansion in Wiltshire, decorated with fake-Gothic ornament and animal trophies. Numerous sardonic descriptions of the place have come down to us from Vanessa, who would visit there as a dutiful dtr.-in-law and write to Virginia of the 'combination of new art and deer's hoofs'" (63)

(Malcolm, 1995) "Vanessa is always the alarmingly invulnerable big sister, even tho Virginia is capable of condescending to her when she feels particularly provoked. 'What you miss [in Clive] is inspiration of any kind,' she complained to Violet..., adding, 'But then old Nessa is no genius.' Vanessa would have been the 1st to agree; extreme modesty about her intellectual, and even her artistic, attainments was one of her outstanding traits--and perhaps only added to her insufferable superiority in the eyes of her sister" (66)

(Malcolm, 1995) "Vanessa's household remained the principal residence of the B'bury court, and Virginia's was always secondary, an annex. In view of the fact that the Woolf marriage was a strong and lasting 1, and the [Vanessa and Clive] marriage fell apart after only a few yrs., it is curious that this was so. But it was so. There was always something a little forlorn and tentative about Virginia and Leonard's household. There were, of course, the bouts of mental illness...which could not but leave in the air of the house their residue of tension and fear. But there was also the fact that Vanessa was a born chatelaine and Virginia was not. Virginia couldn't buy a penwiper without enduring agonies of indecision. As a result, tho it is Virginia's lit. achievement that has given B'bury its place in cult. hist., it is Vanessa's house that became B'bury's shrine" (68)

(Malcolm, 1996) "To Clive it seemed that Leonard was too austere, too political, too critical of that which he considered frivolous or worldly. He missed all the jolly and decorative side of life; this made him censorious and puritanical and limited his appreciation of the arts. In short he was a 'kill-joy.' Clive never quite forgave Leonard for having been an Apostle while he, Clive, was not. Leonard thought Clive an intellectual lightweight whose views on politics and life in general were those of a timid, spoilt and selfish man; as a critic he was superficial, as a man fussy, snobbish and frequently ridiculous"--Vanessa and Clive's son Quentin, B'bury Recalled (15)

(Partridge) That B'bury "was jumping into bed the whole time...wasn't really true--a good deal less than people do nowadays. That they didn't mind criticizing each other made people think otherwise, but they were very devoted to each other, and friendship was a great ruling thing. I think that they were rather hedonistic in that they thought happiness was important. And talk. Talk was the thing that all B'bury people loved"

(Summerfield) "A lit. movement consists of 5 or 6 people who live in the same town and hate each other cordially" (193)

(Autobiog.) "Everybody brought somebody. As I said that character of the Sat. evenings was gradually changing, that is to say, the kind of people who came had changed...Who else came. There were so many...There was [Ottoline] looking like a marvelous female version of Disraeli and tall and strange shyly hesitatingly at the door...It was an endless variety and everybody came and no 1 made any difference. [Stein] sat peacefully in a chair and those who could did the same, and the rest stood. There were the friends who sat around the stove and talked and there were the endless strangers who came and went. My memory of it is very vivid...As I say, everybody brought people" (135)

(Smoller) *McAlmon* "observed that the Eng. dropped their stiff upper lips when they entered Paris and were relaxed, jovial and even reckless" (63)

## MAJOR EVENTS

**1907** (Spalding, 1983) **Strachey** visits Gordon Sq.; **Vanessa** and **Clive** receive him in bed

(Shone, 1976) Mar. 28, **Vanessa** and **Clive**, on honeymoon, with **Virginia** and Adrian visit **Grant** in Paris (Edel) **Virginia** stays in different hotel

(Mellow) Spring, Picasso painting Demoiselles d'Avignon; Leo stops supporting him

(Holroyd I) Jun., "The atmosphere within the 2 B'bury salons at **Vanessa** and **Virginia**'s houses was in several respects quite different, and reflected to some degree their differing personalities. [**Vanessa** and **Clive**] 'are a wild sprightly couple,' **Strachey** wrote to [**Grant**] soon after they had married and set up house together [Jun. 2...**Clive**'s] hospitality was warm and jovial, reminding his guests of the hunting and shooting milieu in which he had been brought up and contrasting oddly with the pictures of Picasso and Vlaminck...His exuberance and the extrovert heartiness which overlaid a morbid fear of illness and pain, lent muscle to the bleak and fastidious gatherings of his intellectual companions, and went some way to prevent the B'bury group from turning into another Clapham Sect" (405)

(Bell I) Aug. 26, **Virginia** in Rye near **Vanessa** and **Clive**; **Strachey** visiting

(Bell I) Nov., **Vanessa** and **Clive** "live...much like your ladies in a Fr. salon; they have all the wits and poets; and [**Vanessa**] sits among them like a Goddess"--**Virginia** to a friend (121)

**1908** (Skidelsky I) Asquith elected PM

(Shone, 1976) Sicilian Players at Shaftesbury Thea.; perform tragedies of peasant life

(Skidelsky, I) Rupert Brooke elected an Apostle

(Holroyd, II) Gertler goes to Slade School; meets Dora Carrington

(20th Cent. Por.) Ottoline begins affair with Augustus John

(Crabtree) "Henry Jas., for example, meeting **Vanessa** (whom he had known as a girl) a yr. after her marriage to [**Clive**], complained that she looked as if she'd 'rolled in a duck pond.' Loose clothes, pins falling from one's hair and elsewhere--[**Virginia**]'s drawers fell down at Covent Garden--inevitably lead to loose morals" (25)

(Bell I) Apr. 24, **Vanessa**, **Clive** and screaming Julian come to **Virginia** and Adrian at St. Ives; **Virginia** and **Clive** begin flirtation (Spalding, 1983) **Vanessa** hurt by their flirtation because it violated her trust; broke the B'bury rules; "she had an instinct to preserve things, people, relationships, and therefore did not allow her suffering to become destructive...She found she could bear it so long as it was kept within herself...motivated in part by selfishness but also by a formidable capacity to contain and thus control pain" (73) (Malcolm, 1995) Quentin "also sympathizes with **Virginia**'s feeling of being left out of her sister's life after **Vanessa**'s marriage. 'She was not in the least in love with **Clive**,' [he] writes. 'In so far as she was in love with anyone she was in love with **Vanessa**...It was because she loved **Vanessa** so much that she had to injure her, to enter and in entering to break that charmed circle within which **Vanessa** and **Clive** were so happy and by which she was so cruelly excluded, and to have **Vanessa** for herself again by detaching the husband who, after all, was not worthy of her" (64)

(Bell I) Summer, "became licentious in its spirit" (170) (Malcolm, 1995) "it was a spring eve. **Vanessa** and I were sitting in the drawing room...Suddenly the door opened and the long and sinister figure of Mr. [**Strachey**] stood on the threshold. He pointed his finger at a stain on **Vanessa's** white dress. 'Semen?' he said. Can one really say it? I thought and we burst out laughing. With that 1 word all barriers of reticence and reserve went down. A flood of the sacred fluid seemed to overwhelm us. Sex permeated our conversation. The word bugger was never far from our lips. We discussed copulation with the same excitement and openness that we had discussed the nature of good. It is strange to think how reticent, how reserved we had been and for how long"--**Virginia**, "Old B'bury" (62) (Spalding, 1983) "sexual inversion flourished like Germ. measles" (178)

(Skidelsky I) Jun., **Strachey** to Cambridge; leaves **Keynes** and **Grant** in Lond. (Spalding, 1983) **Grant** falls in love with **Keynes**; **Strachey** upset

(Bell I) 1st 1/2 of Aug., **Virginia** takes 2 trips to see **Clive** and **Vanessa** in Bath

(Shone, 1976) Sep. 3, **Virginia**, **Vanessa** and **Clive** in Italy

(Bell I) Sep. 24, **Virginia**, **Vanessa** and **Clive** to Paris, meet **Grant**

(Skidelsky I) Dec., **Keynes** takes rooms at 21 Fitzroy Sq. with **Grant** and "Strachey's hostility probably explains why B'bury was so tardy in accepting [**Keynes**] as a member, as well as his own reluctance to base his Lond. life on the group" (252)

**1909** (Holroyd I) House of Lords rejects Liberal reforms; PM Asquith dissolves Parliam.

(Spalding, 1980) Matisse paints The Dance

(Spalding, 1980) Ottoline visits Matisse and *Steins* in Paris (20th Cent. Por.) her affair with Augustus John over

(Skidelsky I) Fitzrovia was "the home of the artistic avant-garde" (252)

(Holroyd I) Rupert Brooke becomes pres. of Cambridge Fabian Society

(Holroyd I) "The people I see and like the most [besides **Grant**] are 2 women--**Virginia** and **Vanessa**"--**Strachey** (397)

(Malcolm, 1995) "You are much simpler than I am. How do you manage to see only 1 thing at a time? Without any of those reflections that distract me so much and make people call me bad names? I suppose you are, as **Strachey** once said, the most complete human being of us all; and your simplicity is really that you take in much more than I do, who intensify atoms"--**Virginia** to **Vanessa** (65)

(Shone, 1976) **Grant** to lots of concerts with **Strachey** that **Keynes** hates

(Spater) Feb. 1, "do you think **Virginia** would have me?...I'll take the next boat home!"--**Leonard** to **Strachey** (55)

(Spater) Feb. 19, "your letter has this minute come--with your proposal to **Virginia**...The day before yesterday I proposed to **Virginia**. As I did it, I saw that it would be d. if she accepted me, and I managed, of course, to get out of it before the end of the conversation. The worst of it was that as the conversation went on, it became more and more obvious to me that the whole thing was impossible. The lack of understanding was so terrific! And how can a virgin be expected to understand? You see she *is* her name...It was, as you may imagine, an amazing conversation. Her sense was absolute, and at times her supremacy was so great that I quavered. I think there's no doubt whatever that you ought to marry her. You would be great enough, and you'd have too the immense advantage of physical desire. I was in terror lest she should kiss me. If you came and proposed she'd accept. She really really would. As it is, she's almost certainly in love with me, tho she thinks she's not...[added the next day] I've had an eclaireissement with **Virginia**. She declared she was not in love with me, and I observed finally that I would not marry her. So things have simply reverted"--**Strachey** to **Leonard** (55)

(Bell I) Feb., after his proposal, **Vanessa** tells **Virginia** she'd love **Strachey** as a bro.-in-law, if he married Adrian

(Bell I) Mar. 2?, **Virginia** with **Vanessa** and **Clive** at Lizard

(Edel) Apr. 23, **Virginia** catches up with **Vanessa** and **Clive** in Italy after burying their Aunt

(Bell I) May 9, **Virginia** gets sick of **Vanessa** and **Clive** and goes home

(Bell I) Summer, Ottoline comes to Thurs. eve.

(Spater) Aug. 21, "your destiny is clearly marked out for you, but will you allow it to work? You must marry **Virginia**. She's sitting waiting for you, is there any objection? She's the only woman in the world with sufficient brains; it's a miracle that she should exist; but if you're not careful you'll lose the opportunity. At any moment she might go off with heaven knows who--**Grant**? Quite possible. She's young, wild, inquisitive, discontented, and longing to be in love. If I were you I should telegraph"--**Strachey** to **Leonard** (56)

(Bell I) Sep. 10-13, **Virginia** meets **Vanessa** and **Clive** in Salisbury; returns to Lond.; they go to Cleeve House

(Bell I) c. Sep. 16-Oct. 2, **Virginia** at Studland near **Vanessa** and **Clive**; Adrian comes

(Spalding, 1983) Dec. 31, "in **Clive**'s absence these friends were incapable of making an 'at-home' a success. 'At Fitzroy Sq. were Pernel, **Keynes**, **Grant**, [Tudor] Castle and Irene [Noel]. The evening was awkward in the extreme I thought...[Irene] and Castle talked the whole time to each other. The goat [**Virginia**] was silent with occasional attempts at an affectionate whispered conversation with me which had to be curbed. Your presence would have been a great help"--**Vanessa** to **Clive** (78); then the dog threw up

1910 (Kastor) Halley's Comet comes; Twain d.

(Holroyd I) King Edw. VII d.

(Tickner) Frank Rutter's Revolution in Art, pub.; a pamphlet in defense of Post-Impressionism, "dedicated on behalf of 'their painter-comrades' to 'rebels of either sex all the world over who in any way are fighting for freedom of any kind'" (71)

(Holroyd I) Harry Norton elected to Fellowship at Trinity

(Shone, 1976) Beginning of B'bury (Shone, 1993) Ottoline Morrell was "its unofficial hostess [10-'20];...Her parties... greatly extended B'bury's social life and its contact with artists and writers outside its own sphere" (Meisel) Ottoline and Bert. Russell begin affair

(Holroyd I) Molly MacCarthy calls them "B'berries" in a letter, meaning "highbrow" (410)

(Bell I) **Clive** to Paris; **Virginia** talks to **Vanessa** more

(Bell I) **Keynes** copulates with **Vanessa**, dancing bare to the waist, in living rm. of **Virginia** and Adrian's Fitzroy Sq.

(Holroyd I) Jan., Asquith and Liberals win elections

(Spalding, 1983) Jan., **Vanessa** and **Clive** re-meet **Fry** at Cambridge R R station (Bell I) had met 4 or 5 years before at dinner at Des. Mac's (Spalding, 1980) "the yr. '10 began as 1 of utter disaster [for **Fry**]...[Met. job ended; rejected by Oxford], and the need to certify his wife and have her permanently committed to an asylum became a brutal reality...Grief and despair gave birth to fresh energy which became allied with a new commitment to the present...Yet the chances of **Fry** being able to bring about [a renewal in art in Eng.] were extremely slight...[He] had no influence with any official body of artists; he had no part in the Fitzroy Group that met at Sickert's studio, 19 Fitzroy Str...[out of touch with Slade and younger ones]. But early one Mon. morn. in Jan...while waiting on Cambridge station for the arrival of the Lond. train, a chance meeting brought to an end his relative isolation" (123)

(Spalding, 1983) **Fry** invites **Vanessa** and **Clive** to house; his wife Helen visiting for last (unsuccessful) try at reality

(Holroyd I) After Jan., Asquith dissolves Parliam. and holds 2nd election

(Holroyd I) Feb., **Strachey** spends week in Gordon Sq. with **Vanessa** and **Clive**

(Bell I) Mar. 5-10, **Virginia**, **Vanessa** and **Clive** to Cornwall, unpremeditated; **Virginia** sick on return

(Bell I) Mar. 26-Apr. 16, **Virginia**, **Vanessa** and **Clive** to Studland for rest

(Bell I) Jun. 7, **Virginia** to Canterbury with **Vanessa**, **Clive** and Julian for 2 weeks; not feeling better; sent to Twickenham nursing home; **Clive** visits; **Vanessa** writes her scolding letters

(Bell I) Sep., **Virginia** back to Lond. to see **Vanessa** and **Clive's** new baby, Julian

(Shone, 1976) Sep., (Bell I) **Virginia** with **Vanessa** and **Clive** in Studland; **Virginia** fights with **Clive** about **Strachey** ignoring him; **Clive** wants to ban him from Gordon Sq.; **Vanessa** makes peace; Marj. Strachey visits

(Bell I) "'Human nature changed about Dec.' [--**Virginia**] ...became licentious in its conduct" (170)

1911 (Spalding, 1983) Coronation

(Summerfield) *AE's* "The Post Impressionists: Art & Barbarism" in Irish Times

(Spalding, 1980) Diaghilev brings Nijinsky to Covent Garden

(Spalding, 1980) Exhib. of Van Goghs and Gauguins at Stafford Gallery, "unheeded" (153)

(Skidelsky I) G E Moore returns to Cambridge

(Holroyd I) Rupert Brooke's Poems pub.

(Spalding, 1983) **Clive** more interested in **Vanessa** than **Virginia** (Bell I) "the break up of [their ] marriage, that is to say its transformation into a union of friendship, which was slowly accomplished during the years '11-'14, made for a relaxation of tension between the sisters and a slow dissolution (never quite complete) of **Virginia's** long troubled relationship with **Clive**" (169)

(Williams) "It was this feeling of greater intimacy and freedom, of the sweeping away of formalities and barriers, which I found so new and exhilarating in '11... here for the 1st time I found a much more intimate (and wider) circle in which complete freedom of thought and speech was now extended to **Vanessa** and **Virginia**, Pippa and Marj. [Strachey]"--**Leonard** (46-47)

(Bell I) Spring, **Fry** gets **Clive**, **Vanessa** and Norton from Cambridge all to go to Greece (Spalding, 1983) and Turkey; **Vanessa** sick

(Bell I) Apr. 22, **Virginia** comes to help out; **Fry** is in charge; **Virginia** thinks **Vanessa** doesn't care about **Clive**, likes **Fry** more; **Vanessa** falls in love and ignores **Clive** and **Virginia**

(Bell I) Apr. 29, **Virginia**, **Vanessa**, **Clive** and **Fry** back to Lond. via Orient Express

(Spalding, 1983) **Clive** complaining about **Fry** being at Gordon Sq. too much; **Vanessa** considers confiding in **Virginia**; "she agreed to keep the house emptier of visitors and thus ensure that they had more time together. In this way she diplomatically juggled her allegiances and kept her complicated loyalties intact" (101)

(Edel) May, **Leonard** back to Eng. for 1-yr. leave (Bell I) from Ceylon; found Cambridge friends **Strachey**, **Clive** and **Keynes** again; "he had left Cambridge and had returned to B'bury. B'bury welcomed him easily" (177); meets **Fry** and **Grant**; returns to "find the seed which he and **Strachey** had cultivated...growing tall and...strange" (179) (Tickner) "astonished...to find [things were very different than in the past when] to have 'discussed some subjects or to have called a (sexual) spade a spade' in the presence of [the Stracheys] or Miss Stephen would have been unimaginable in '04'"--**Leonard**

(Meyerowitz) Jul. 3, (Bell I) **Vanessa and Clive** have dinner with **Leonard; Virginia and Grant** visit (Malcolm, 1995) a "violent trembling misanthropic Jew [who] was as eccentric, as remarkable in his way as [Clive] and [Strachey] in theirs" (62)  
(Shone, 1976) Sep., **Virginia and Vanessa** to Millincand cottage, near **Fry**

(Spalding, 1980) Sep. 19-27, **Virginia, Vanessa, Clive, Frys and Strachey** rent houses at Studland (Tlckner) "a photograph of [Clive], Des. MacCarthy and Marj. Strachey on the beach at Studland in '11 (the subject of 1 of [Vanessa's] best known paintings) shows Marj. reading an issue of Votes for Women" (71)

(Spalding, 1983) Oct., **Clive, Fry and Grant** to Fr.; **Vanessa** visits and buys a Picasso (Autobiog.) "It was about this time that [Fry] first came to [Stein and Toklas's] house. He brought [Clive and Vanessa] and later there were many others. In these days [Clive] went along with the other 2. He was rather complainful that his wife and [Fry] took too much interest in works of art. He was quite funny about it. He was very amusing, later when he became a real art critic, he was less so....[Fry] was always charming, charming as a guest and charming as a host; later when we went to Lond. we spent a day with him in the country" (134) (Spalding, 1983) "'Fry, the aesthete, sensitively on the defensive, jaundicedly anti-Amer. and anti-millionaire' in the description of Aline B. Saarinen...[Stein] regarded the society of B'bury as 'the Young Men's Christian Society--with Christian left out,' but she was fond of **Fry**, whose interests were now centered on the Omega Workshops...[He had gone from being a critic to being] the champion and promoter of the post-impressionists...**Clive** said, 'I do not suppose there were 50 people in Eng. who had looked at pictures of Matisse and Picasso, but all true lovers of art knew instinctively that they hated them" (172-3); "**Fry's** pronounced enthusiasm for [Stein's] work was a natural outgrowth of his broad new interests. 'Why,' he wondered, were all Brit. novelists, 'engrossed in childish problems of photographic representation?'"

(Bell I) **Virginia** leaves Little Talland House for Asham; finds it with **Leonard**; shares lease with **Vanessa**; **Leonard** always at **Virginia's** Fitzroy and **Vanessa and Clive's** Gordon Sq. after that

(Bell I) Nov. 11-14, **Virginia, Vanessa, Grant** and Adrian to Asham

(Bell I) Nov. 20, **Virginia, Keynes, Grant**, and Adrian move into 38 Brunswick Sq. (Shone, 1976) and Gerald Shove; **Grant** on ground floor with **Keynes** (Edel) "we have spent a mo. discussing how to live"--**Virginia** to Ottoline (172)

(Bell I) Dec., "[**Leonard**] Woolf came to tea" --**Vanessa** to **Clive**

(Bell I) Dec. 4, **Leonard** invited to live on top floor at Brunswick Sq. with **Virginia, Keynes, Grant** and Adrian; "Meals are:/Breakfast 9 am/Lunch 1/Tea 4:30 pm/Dinner 8 pm. Trays will be placed in the hall punctually at these hrs. Inmates are required to carry up their own trays; and to put dirty plates on them and carry them down again as soon as the meal is finished" -- "Scheme of the House," prepared by **Virginia** for **Leonard**

(Bell I) Xmas, lunch at **Vanessa and Clive's** Gordon Sq. with **Virginia, Leonard, Keynes** and **Grant**

1912 (Meade) *Titanic* sinks

(Daly) 3rd Home Rule bill intro. into Parliam.

(Spalding, 1980) Diaghilev returns to Covent Garden with Nijinsky (Shone, 1976) Russ. Ballet

(Holroyd II) Ottoline advised by doctor to spend most of her time in country

(Bell I) **Vanessa** makes peace after Adrian shows **Clive's** nasty letters to **Virginia**

(Spalding, 1983) **Grant** visits **Vanessa** at Asham for weekend, stays 2 weeks (B'bury workshop flyer) **Vanessa** appreciates **Keynes'** co. during his visit to **Grant**

(Spalding, 1983) **Vanessa, Clive and Fry** to Sunderland exhibit at Cologne; **Vanessa** hates Germ.

(Bell I) **Leonard** spends a weekend at **Virginia** and **Vanessa's** Asham with **Virginia**

(Spalding, 1983) Jan. 13, "**Leonard** is the only person I have ever seen whom I can imagine as the right husband for you"--**Vanessa** to **Virginia** (103)

(Bell I) Feb. 3-5, housewarming at Asham with **Virginia, Vanessa, Clive, Leonard, Grant, Fry, Marj. Strachey** (Spalding, 1983) **Vanessa** invites **Leonard** to get to know him better

(Collins) Mid-Feb., **Virginia, Vanessa, Clive, Fry, Grant, Adrian** and **Leonard** at Asham for 2nd party

(Spalding, 1980) Mar., Italian Futurists' exhib. at Sackville Gallery

(Bell I) Mar 16, weekend at Asham with **Virginia, Vanessa, Leonard, Fry, Adrian,** and **Marj. Strachey**

(Bell I) Apr., **Virginia** mostly at her and **Vanessa's** Asham, guests inc. **Leonard** and Ka Cox

(Shone, 1976) May 1, **Vanessa, Clive** and **Fry** to Italy (Spalding, 1983) **Vanessa** gets measles; **Virginia** and **Leonard** have more time together

(Bell I) Lease on **Virginia** and **Adrian's** Fitzroy Sq. ends; **Virginia, Keynes** and **Grant** decide to share at 38 Brunswick Sq.; **Leonard** invited to come; **Virginia** has 2nd floor rm.; **Violet Dickinson** and **Geo. Duckworth** angry

(Bell I) **Vanessa** tells **Leonard** to leave **Virginia** alone at Twickenham

(Bell II) Mid-Jun. thru Jul., **Virginia** occupied intro. **Leonard** to friends and relations, weekends at her and **Vanessa's** Asham; his family didn't like her (Spater) parents, bros. and sisters not invited to wedding; **Virginia** to **Violet**, "I'm going to marry a penniless Jew" (2)

(Shone, 1976) Jul., Le Sacre du Printemps premieres in Lond.; no riots

(Bell I) Aug., **Virginia** to camp with Neo-Pagans, connected with **Strachey, Keynes** and **Rupert Brooke**

(Bell I) **Leonard** has to meet **Virginia** and **Vanessa's** **Stephen** relatives and **Violet Dickinson**; likes **Violet**, but not **Madge Vaughan** or her husband, **Will**

(Bell I) Aug., **Vanessa** and **Clive** host **Virginia** and **Leon's** wedding breakfast; **Fry** there; **Grant** in borrowed clothes (Bell II) "unless [she] had married **Strachey**, she could not have remained more completely in B'bury" (3) (Rose) her marriage to **Leonard** didn't have negatives it would have with **Strachey**; **Clive** tells her he has "special claim upon her" (1) despite her engagement

(Skidelsky I) New Year's, **Rupert Brooke** holds party in Dorset, his break with B'bury

**1913** (Dunleavy) Home Rule passes Commons; violent strikes in Dublin (Shone, 1993) Irish Volunteers formed

(Schwarz) **Marcel Duchamp** puts bicycle wheel on a stool

(Edel) "B'bury was becoming an influence in Eng. The centers of energy originally confined to the Sq. on either side of Tottenham Ct. Rd. radiated strength and knowledge, power and well-being on the eve of '14" (189)

(Holroyd II) **Bea.** and **Sydney Webb** found New Statesman

(Skidelsky I) **Ottoline** and **Phillip Morrell** buy Garsington

(Bell II) **Molly MacCarthy** starts Novel Club to get **Des. MacCarthy** to write one

(Spater) According to **Leonard's** diary, he and **Virginia** saw B'burys, except **Vanessa** and **Clive**, once per mo.; 125 mentions of others in his diary--43 of **Vanessa**, 28 of **Clive**, 20 of **Strachey**, 15 of **Fry**, 14 of **Grant**, and 5 of **Keynes**

(Bell II) **Leonard** not getting along with Adrian; **Virginia** sides with **Leonard**; **Vanessa** sides with Adrian; "neither sister could really think that anyone was quite good enough for the other" (9)

(Bell I) **Vanessa** visits **Virginia** and **Leonard** at Asham

(Bridgman) Feb., Armory Show opens in NYC; "its publicity connecting [*Stein*] with cubist painting" (362) (Baldwin) including "The 8," including Rob't. Henri (Hoffman) "1st exhib. of Modernist painting in the US" (Souhami) Dodge was "main publicist" (107); writes in *Arts & Decoration* describing *Stein's* language, comparing it to Picasso (Brinnin) *Stein* liked Dodge's "Speculation, or Post-Impressionism in Prose"; but didn't like that Dodge was pushing herself more than *Stein*; friendship cooled; "our critics abroad seemingly had never penetrated...Leo Stein's apt....If any did, they printed no record of their adventure"--Lee Simpson, set designer (183-4); satires of her work included with satires of the show; e e cummings at Harv., in "The New Lot," *Harv. Advocate*, "hesitant [about the new art, had hi praise for *Stein*; she] subordinates the meaning of words to the beauty of the words themselves. Her art is the logic of lit. sound painting carried to the extremes. While we must admit that it is logic, must we admit that it is art?" (184-5) (Kohfeldt) *Lady Gregory* goes

(Shone, 1976) Apr.-May, **Vanessa, Clive, Fry** and **Grant** in Italy; return via Paris

(Bell II) May 16-Jun. 2, **Virginia** and **Leonard** at Asham; Des. MacCarthy and **Strachey** stay 1 weekend and Janet Case another

(Bell II) Jun. 19-Jul. 7, **Strachey**, his bros., H T J Norton, Molly MacCarthy, and Forster visit **Virginia** and **Leonard** at Asham

(Bell II) Jul. 16-21, **Virginia** and **Leonard** at Asham; **Strachey** to stay; **Virginia** depressed and unwell

(Bell II) **Leonard** takes **Virginia** to dr. **Fry** recommends

(Spalding, 1983) Aug., **Vanessa, Clive, Keynes, Fry** and **Grant** with neo-Pagans at camp (Skidelsky I) **Keynes** gets to know **Vanessa** (Shone, 1976) at Brandon, Thetford, Norfolk

(Spalding, 1983) Sep., **Vanessa, Clive, Grant** and **Fry** (at Asham with **Virginia** and **Leonard** for weekend party)

1914 (Holroyd I) "The prestige of the Vic. had sunk to its lowest level" (13)

(Skidelsky II) Only 10% of Lond. prop. owner-occupied

(Bell II) The neo-Pagans d., "tho it was sick before"

(Autobiog.) John Lane visits *Stein* and *Toklas*, brings Wynd. Lewis' *Blast*

(Spalding, 1976) Nina Hamnett marries; husband later disappears without a trace

(Holroyd, II) Morrells take possession of Garsington (Bell II) Ottoline has lots of parties in Bedford Sq. (Skidelsky I) with Asquiths and Russ. ballet; "ballet was the art form that defined the age" (284)

(Spalding, 1983) **Vanessa** pursuing **Grant**; he's no threat; they stick together as the only painters in the group; not comfortable with **Fry**; kids more important; he's upset she doesn't love him anymore; **Fry** won't visit **Vanessa** when **Grant** is there; **Vanessa** breaks down and weeps to **Virginia** at the hopelessness of loving **Grant** (Spalding, 1980) "after a brief period of happiness [with her], which coincided with the excitement over Post-Impressionism, [**Fry's**] life again lost its center" (172)

(Spalding, 1983) Jan., *Stein* takes **Vanessa, Clive** and **Fry** to meet Picasso in his studio; all 3 meet Matisse and see Michael and Sara Stein collection

(Bell II) Mar. 7-18, Ka Cox, Janet Case and **Vanessa** take care of **Virginia** so **Leonard** can get 10 days' vacation with **Strachey**; argue about Ulster

(Spalding, 1983) Spring, **Keynes** rents Asham from **Vanessa** and **Virginia** (**Leonard**?)  
(Skidelsky I) **Vanessa** gets to know him better

(Skidelsky I) Jun. 28, Archduke Ferdinand assassinated in Sarajevo

(Bell II) Summer, talk of war (Skidelsky I) just before the war, "B'bury felt no premonition of disaster; only a joyful sense of awakening after the long Vic. night"

(Samuel Hopkins Adams) Jul., Austria declares war on Serbia (Goldstein) "the shock to complacency, the very awareness that the world, ostensibly so well ordered before '14, could blow up without rational cause, was evidenced in all directions: in the acceptance of new forms in the arts that had begun to develop in Eur. even before the war, in the questioning ....of rec'd attitudes toward labor and the structure of society, and in the new frankness with which...sex [was] discussed in public and between the sexes" (51)

(Bell II) Jul., **Leonard** worried that **Vanessa** wants **Virginia** back in Lond.

(Bell II) Aug. 4, war declared (Spater) "the '14 War...made people think as we do today "**Leonard** to Kingsley Martin, Jan. 20, '65 (29) (Skidelsky I) in the war, "basically, B'bury just wanted to be left alone" (296) (Shone, 1976) **Vanessa** and **Grant** at Asham with **Virginia** and **Leonard**; **Keynes** in Cambridge; **Strachey** working on "Cardinal Manning" at Marlborough; Eng. could travel anywhere; the only Eur. country without a draft

(Shone, 1976) Aug.-Sep., **Vanessa** to **Virginia** and **Leonard**'s Asham

(Edel) Fall, Des. MacCarthy in Red Cross Ambulance Service

(Shone, 1976) Fall, **Grant** leaves Brunswick Sq. and takes a rm. in **Vanessa** and **Clive**'s Gordon Sq.

(Shone, 1976) Sep., Adrian and Karin get engaged

(Bell II) Nov.-Dec., **Virginia** and **Leonard** spend weekend at **Strachey**'s cottage in Wiltshire

(Bell II) Xmas, **Virginia** and **Leonard** near **Strachey** in Marlborough (Holroyd II) big party at the Lackett

**1915** (Summerfield) Brit. increase alcohol tax

(Skidelsky I) Asquith forms coalition with Conservatives (Shone, 1976) Nat'l. Registration intro., the "Derby Scheme"

(Gwynn) *Lusitania* goes down

(Holroyd II) "Successful prosecution and suppression of...[D H] Lawrence's The Rainbow...because of denunciation of war" (159); Lawrence was introduced to B'bury via Garnett; none like each other; Garnett dumps Lawrence

(Holroyd II) G E Moore says war made no difference, "Why should it?" (148) (Spalding, 1983) "as if in defiance of the war [Ottoline] was holding parties every Thurs." (137)

(Shone, 1976) Sickert has his school in 8 Fitzroy studio during war

(Holroyd II) **Fry**, **Clive** and Forster visit **Strachey** at Lackett

## CREATIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS

**1907** (Spalding, 1983) **Strachey** shows **Vanessa** his "most indecent poems" (163); she types them up for **Virginia**

(Bell I) Dec. 21, 1st meeting of Play Reading Soc. at Gordon Sq.; **Virginia**, **Vanessa**, **Clive**, **Strachey**, Adrian and Saxon; read John Vanbrugh's The Relapse at Gordon Sq; started by **Virginia**

**1908** (Bell I) May 24, last meeting of **Virginia**, **Vanessa**, **Clive** and **Strachey**'s Play-Reading Soc. until Oct.

(Bell I) Oct. 27, **Virginia, Vanessa, Clive and Strachey's** Play-Reading Soc. meets in Gordon Sq., Fri. nights; **Clive** becomes sec'y.

**1909** (Bell I) Letter writing novel game with **Virginia, Vanessa, Strachey, and Clive**

(Bell I) Jan. 15, last meeting of **Virginia, Vanessa, Clive and Strachey's** Play-Reading Soc. until '14

**1910** (Edel) **Grant** and **Vanessa** working on "Grape Pickers" panels for **Keynes'** rms. at King's

(Bell I) Feb. 25, **Fry** speaks to **Vanessa** and **Clive's** Fri. Club (Edel) **Virginia** there (Shone, 1976) **Fry's** friendship with **Vanessa** and **Clive** "greatly helped him as he plunged into the sea of modernism...his supporters, his allies, and above all his friends...could assist [them] in his official capacity by helping them to exhibit...and introduce [their work] to likely patrons...[had] a less parochial, less cliquish attitude to life...while...completely at ease in the unworldly but not unsophisticated gatherings in [**Virginia** and **Adrian's**] Fitzroy or **Vanessa** and **Clive's** Gordon Sq...[with him] B'bury greatly expanded its contacts and its interests, became a definite social and intellectual force" (36)

(Shone, 1976) Jun., **Grant** exhibits 3 pictures with **Vanessa** and **Clive's** Fri. Club, including The Lemon Gatherers (Spalding, 1983) **Vanessa** buys it

(Bell I) Nov. 8-Jan. 15, **Fry's** 1st Post Impressionist Exhib.; "he was in fact a highly respectable and well-estab. figure until [now] when, as it seemed to many of his old friends and admirers, he had taken leave of his senses, and to his enemies, that he had willfully and wickedly entered into a conspiracy with hoaxers, crooks and criminals of the Parisian underworld. In short, he had asked the Brit. public to look at and admire the works of Cezanne" (167); "made [**Vanessa** and **Grant**] a little more centripetal, a little more conscious of being revolutionary and notorious" (168); **Virginia** supports it, but is not interested; **Vanessa** and **Clive** support it; **Virginia** and **Vanessa** to Ball as Gauguin girls; after Exhib. **Strachey** seems "less pre-eminent when compared with [**Fry**]" (168) (Spalding, 1983) "hit an Eng. audience like a rude unwelcome shock...but it was not until [he] brought together a mass of these paintings that [**Vanessa**] perceived their honesty and freedom of expression, qualities, of course, highly valued by B'bury" (91-2) (Shone, 1976) "a real personal animosity was directed against" him (102) (Tickner) "it was as if I might say things one had always felt instead of trying to say things that other people told I to feel"--**Vanessa** (71) (Spalding, 1980) as a result, **Grant** "abandoned his stylish naturalism in favor of bold experimentation, floundering a little from one style to another in the attempt to discover a personal language...the B'bury group...now found itself at the center of a raging artistic debate. Overnight, the tasteful Edwardian world had been dispelled" (140); before, "Eng. had remained largely insulated from the artistic revolutions that were revitalising Eur.. But in '10 the floodgate had been opened and by the end of '12 the safely moored craft of English cultural life was reeling from the repeated shock waves that had swept in from the continent bringing with them 30 yrs. of artistic revolt" (153) (Greeves) "at the age of 44, when, with his ability and experience, he could have been expected to be entering upon the summation of his career, he rejected the possibility of important official positions, and turned his energies towards a wholehearted propagation of modern art" (9) (Malcolm, 1995) "the exhibit. is either an extremely bad joke or a swindle. The drawing is on the level of that of an untaught child of 7 or 8 yrs. old, the sense of color that of a tea-tray painter, the method that of a schoolboy who wipes his fingers on a slate after spitting on them"--Wilfrid Blunt, in his diary (73) (Simon) **Strachey** said of **Fry's** Post-Impressionist exhib., "it made me feel very cold and cynical. I must say I should be pleased with myself, if I were Matisse or Picasso--to be able, a humble Fr.-man, to perform by means of a canvas and a little paint, the extraordinary feat of making some doz. country gentleman in Eng., every day for 2 mos., grow purple in the face"--Holroyd (89) (Spalding, 1976) Bussy "acted as intermediary between B'bury and the artistic scene in Paris during the years preceding the 1st Post-Impressionist Exhibit."

**1911** (Spalding, 1983) **Grant's** "large-scale Post-Impressionist murals" (100) being installed at dining hall of Boro Polytechnic, Lond., by **Fry** (Shone, 1976) **Vanessa** enthusiastic; "Lond. on Holiday" theme

(Edel) **Grant** and **Vanessa** finish "Grape Pickers" panels for **Keynes'** room at King's

(Shone, 1976) Feb., **Grant** exhibits Idyll at **Vanessa** and **Clive's** Fri. Club

(Spalding, 1980) Apr., **Fry** leases 33 Fitzroy Sq. for his, **Vanessa** and **Grant's** Omega

**1912** (Shone, 1976) **Grant** painting more landscapes now at **Virginia** and **Vanessa's** Asham

(Tickner) **Vanessa** paints The Studio (...**Grant** & Henri Doucet at [her and **Virginia's**] Asheham)

(Spalding, 1983) **Fry** paints **Vanessa**, with Sydney-Turner (Spalding, 1976) her recent por. of **Virginia**, painted during these yrs., "which capture the essence of the sitter's character while leaving the face featureless, may have influenced the elision of form in **Fry's** por. of **Vanessa** painting" (10); in his por. of **Vanessa**, "the cloth draped over the arm of the sofa...was printed in Lancashire for export to the Afr. market. Attracted by the bold designs of this cloth, **Fry** ordered several examples to sell at [his, **Vanessa** and **Grant's**] Omega. The por. was probably painted at [**Vanessa** and **Clive's**] 46 Gordon Sq. **Fry** later felt that **Vanessa** influenced his painting in a direction inimical to his personal style" (19)

(Shone, 1976) **Vanessa** embroiders **Grant's** designs on a screen while at **Clive's** family's house

(Spalding, 1983) Jan. 16, **Vanessa** to **Clive** that she's using "**Grant's** leopard manner [pointillism]" (103)

(Shone, 1976) Feb., **Grant** exhibits The Red Seal--decoration and Still Life at **Vanessa** and **Clive's** Fri. Club

(Holroyd II) c. Feb. 6, **Strachey's** Landmarks in Fr. Literature pub.; "Jas. [Strachey]...says [it is] rubbish; Ottoline that it is a work of supreme genius, **Virginia** that it's merely brilliant, [**Leonard**] that it is bluff carried a little too far for decency, and **Clive** that it's almost as bad as 'Ste. Beuve' (I haven't heard him say so, but I'm sure he must have)"--**Strachey** to Dorothy Bussy (40); dedicated to Mom; sells well

(Shone, 1976) May, thanks to **Fry**, (Spalding, 1983) **Vanessa** works on paper collages in bed in Italy; makes "a breakthrough in her painting" (105); begins outlining in black similar to Gauguin; "a passing phase *en route* to a more solid architectonic and abstract style...toyed briefly with **Grant's** semi-pointillism manner" (105) (Crabtree) **Clive** also there; she paints The Duomo, Pisa

(Monk's House) Aug., **Fry**, as guest of **Vanessa** at Asham while **Virginia** and **Leonard** are on honeymoon, possibly paints Landscape at Asham, oil on plywood

(Shone, 1976) Oct. 5-Jan. 2, **Fry's** 2nd Post-Impressionist Exhib. opens at Grafton Galleries; less shocking, more sales; has **Clive** pick Brits.--picked **Vanessa**, **Grant** and **Fry**--and Boris pick Russ.; **Clive** writing pref/ for catalogue section on Brit.; **Grant** "praised as most talented of Eng. group" (80); has 6 pictures; **Vanessa** has 4; **Leonard** starts work as Sec'y. a few days after opening (Spalding, 1983) **Grant** takes **Vanessa's** suggestion to show "a fashionable lady looking with horror at the announcement" (113) for poster; he designs it in semi-cubist style (Spalding, 1980) the 1st show "had popularized the notion that artists were romantic geniuses; the 2nd gave b. to the much more rigid doctrine of 'significant form'--Benedict Nicholson, "Post-Impressionism & [...**Fry**], Burl., Jan. '51 (163) (Tickner) 6 women besides **Vanessa** included; none in the 1st show

**1913** (Tickner) **Vanessa's** painting A Conversation "shows, in Post-Impressionist mode, 3 women in animated conversation against a sunlit flowerbed beyond the window. More precisely, at this moment, the woman who does not wear a hat (and is perhaps therefore at home here in a 'room of her own') leans forward to engage her visitors. 3 heads lean together and the brilliant color and energetic brushwork of the flowers obtrudes into the space between them, a floral speech-bubble, a visual metaphor for concentrated and uninhibited talk. (The speaker's pose, at once elegant and intense, is reminiscent of [**Grant's**] Queen of Sheba ['12], painted originally as part of a decorative scheme at Newnham College, Cambridge, where Pernel Strachey had been a student, and with the figures of [**Grant's**] cousins **Strachey** and Pernel very much in mind)" (74)

(Spalding, 1983) **Vanessa** and **Grant** decorate **Fry's** Durbins

(Spalding, 1983) **Fry** founds Grafton Group, an exhib. soc. (Shone, 1976) org. 1st exhib. at Alpine Club Gallery, with works by **Vanessa** and **Grant**, prelude to Omega; shows anon. works

(Spalding, 1980) **Fry's** Uncle Jos. Storrs Fry d.; 37 nieces and nephews get money from will; uses his for his, **Vanessa** and **Grant's** Omega

(Bell II) **Fry's** 2nd Post-Impressionist Exhib. at Grafton Galleries (Spalding, 1980) extended from Dec.; **Vanessa's** oil, Spanish Lady, incl.; **Grant** incl.; **Clive's** Dad pulls out of Omega as patron after seeing the exhib.; planned that it would have old and new Eng. painters; the old (Tonks, etc.) refused; "antagonized the old guard" even more (154) (Spalding, 1983) **Vanessa** helps him hang it; critics like **Grant's** work, but not Matisse and Picasso (Edel) **Strachey** doesn't understand all the fuss

(Shone, 1976) Jan.-Feb., **Vanessa** at **Virginia** and **Leonard's** Asham painting and designing for her, **Fry** and **Grant's** Omega's opening exhib.

(Holroyd II) Jun., **Strachey's** The Unfortunate Lovers or Truth Will Out, perf. at B'bury party, with **Vanessa**, **Grant**, **Clive** in double disguises

(Crabtree) Jul., "We should get all our disreputable and some of your aristocratic friends to come, and after dinner we should repair to Fitzroy Sq. where there should be decorated furniture, painted walls, etc. There we should all get drunk and dance and kiss, orders would flow in and the aristocrats would feel they were really in the thick of things"--**Vanessa** to **Fry** "proposing a celebration to mark the opening of [their and **Grant's**] Omega" (26)

(Spalding, 1980) Jul. 8, Omega Workshops founded; **Fry**, **Vanessa** and **Grant** co-dir.; "made B'bury painting more immediate, more decorative, concerned rather to gratify the senses than to reason with the mind" (124) (Shone, 1976) at 33 Fitzroy Sq.; **Vanessa** hosts kickoff party (Spalding, 1983) **Fry** "encouraged the 'family' of artists which he attracted to the Omega to follow an impulse towards free expression. As such the venture was a demonstration of his generosity...Rarely have the applied arts in Eng. displayed such an unabashed creativity...It seems probable that **Vanessa** played an important psychological role in the Omega. Her newly-won independence and willingness to experiment boldly may have helped stimulate the exchange of ideas among the other artists" (122) (Spalding, 1980) "on a personal level the Omega had immense significance for **Fry**. The experience of working daily with other artists, the constant need to adapt a motif or design to suit a given object developed in his own painting a greater fluency and assurance. During the war yrs. he arrived at a style, best seen in his still-lives and portraits, that is both personal and confident, and which had taken him almost 30 yrs. to achieve" (195)

(Holroyd II) **Strachey** writes satire on **Vanessa**, **Fry** and **Grant's** Omega

(Spalding, 1983) **Fry** turns down offer to write book on Post-Impressionism for Chatto & Windus; too busy with his, **Vanessa** and **Grant's** Omega; suggests **Clive**

(Spalding, 1983) **Vanessa**, **Fry** and **Grant's** Omega gets room commission from Ideal Home

(Spalding, 1983) **Vanessa** suggests prototype nursery at her, **Fry** and **Grant's** Omega, anticipating Matisse's cutouts (Shone, 1976) **Vanessa** produces it with Winnie Gill

(Charleston postcards) **Grant** paints screens for his, **Vanessa** and **Fry's** Omega

(Spalding, 1980) **Grant** does inlaid writing desk for his, **Vanessa** and **Fry's** Omega

(Spalding, 1983) **Vanessa** heavily involved with her, **Fry** and **Grant's** Omega; she manages it when **Fry** is gone

(Spalding, 1980) Sep.-Oct., **Vanessa**, **Fry** and **Grant** paint **Strachey** at **Virginia** and **Leonard's** Asham; **Clive** there (Spalding, 1976) "when cp. to the por. of [**Strachey**] by [**Vanessa** and **Grant**] painted at the same time [as **Fry's**], the individual quality of **Fry's** work becomes apparent. [**Grant's** has]...greater attn. to detail [and]...is the most decorative and immediately enjoyable. [**Vanessa's**] is the most outrageous in its choice of color...If **Fry's** por. does not compete with the colouristic experimentation of [**Vanessa's**], nor the painterly lyricism of [**Grant's**], the painting confirms his innate sensitivity for the rhythmic relationship of form" (10-11)

(Shone, 1976) Oct., Wynd. Lewis walks out of **Vanessa, Fry and Grant's Omega**; **Fry** takes **Clive's** advice to not answer Lewis' criticism (Tickner) "less than 6 mos. after it opened, in a bitter but obscure quarrel now known as the 'Ideal Home Rumpus.' He and his fellow secessionists accused **Fry** of manipulating the Daily Mail's commission of a rm. for the Ideal Home Exhib., and in an open letter to The Observer they distanced themselves from **Fry's** party of strayed and dissenting aesthetes' as the boys who would do 'the tough and masculine work' of Brit. modernism" (66) (Spalding, 1983) Lewis writes "Round Robin" letter attacking Omega and nobody notices; sets up Rebel Art Ctr. (Spalding, 1980) "in the long term, the loss of Lewis and his followers was more damaging to Omega than **Fry** at 1st admitted...lost something of the crispness and dynamic that had characterized the early designs" (188)

(Shone, 1976) Nov. 15, Wynd. Lewis and Camden Town Group (Lond. Group) form group of groups; **Grant** incl., but not **Vanessa** and **Fry**

(Shone, 1976) Winter, **Vanessa, Grant** and **Fry** begin to collab. on designs at Durbins; "each painter executed an enormous figure in bright colors on a wall of the hallway" (233)

(Spalding, 1983) End of yr., **Vanessa** decides her, **Fry** and **Grant's** Omega is affecting her painting; withdraws

**1914** (Shone, 1976) **Vanessa, Fry** and **Grant's** Omega picks up; sympathetic "center for meetings, exhib. and experimental thea....magazines and photographs from abroad...unobtainable elsewhere" (138) (Spalding, 1980) needs money; Shaw contributes and tells him to advertise more

(Charleston postcards) **Grant's** Lilypond Table design for his, **Vanessa** and **Fry's** Omega finished

(Bell II) Jan., **Virginia** typing for **Strachey**; **Leonard** visiting him in Wiltshire

(Shone, 1976) Jan. 5, **Grant's** Adam & Eve in **Fry's** 2nd Grafton Group Exhib.; **Vanessa's** Nativity in show

(Shone, 1976) Jan. 15, "are you waiting for [**Clive's** Art] to come out to know what to think on that and every other subject?"--**Strachey** to **Grant** (225)

(Spalding, 1983) After Jan. 15, **Clive's** Art pub.; its "basic tenets provide the theoretical standpoint which [**Vanessa**] clung to all her life" (115); "drew upon many of [**Fry's**] ideas...1st book pub. in Eng. to propound a cogent, easily understandable formalist theory of art. It became...a manifesto for the Eng. post-Impressionist movement" (115) (Spater) **Fry** thought he's stolen some of his ideas (Spalding, 1980) "was understandable too, to the lit. contingent in B'bury and they were, from now on, able to share in the melee of aesthetic discussion. [It] contributed significantly to the extraordinary cohesion which the group enjoyed, and which, after the shattering experience of WWI they never, to quite the same extent, recovered" (166); **Fry** "admitted that **Clive** had arrived first at a theory of art towards which he himself was slowly moving" (165)

(Shone, 1976) Fall, Lond. Group formed; **Grant**, a member of the Camden Group, becomes an automatic member, but doesn't show there because **Vanessa** and **Fry** left out

(Spalding, 1980) Oct., **Fry** still not covering his costs at his, **Vanessa** and **Grant's** Omega

(Bell I) Oct. 29, **Virginia, Vanessa, Clive** and **Strachey's** Play Reading Soc. revived

**1915** (Spalding, 1983) "And 1 eve. a week B'bury met for play-reading" (138)

(Shone, 1976) **Vanessa, Fry** and **Grant's** Omega decorates Cardena Cafe, Westbourne Grove,

(Spalding, 1980) **Fry** prod. teapot, cup and saucer for his, **Vanessa** and **Grant's** Omega

(Shone, 1976) Iris Tree poses for **Vanessa, Grant** and **Fry** at the same time



(Spalding, 1976) "During the enforced isolation from Eur. caused by the war...**Fry** was cut off from the Provencal landscape which so inspired him to paint. As a result he turned more to portraiture and to still-life paintings. The por. were all uncommissioned and limited to his circle of friends, yet among them can be numbered some of the leading figures of the day...**Edith Sitwell...Keynes, Strachey**" (11)

(Skidelsky I) Jan., (Spalding, 1983) **Keynes** gives big party at Cafe Royal, followed by party at 46 Gordon Sq., with reading of Racine play featuring **Grant's** puppets; Garnett invites **Vanessa** to tea, but she doesn't want to hurt **Grant's** feelings (Skidelsky I) to celebrate his app't. to Treasury; seats Garnett between **Vanessa** and **Grant**

(Shone, 1976) Feb., party at **Vanessa, Fry** and **Grant's** Omega

## EXIT

(Bell II) Mar. 25, **Virginia** and **Leonard** move to Hogarth House

(Shone, 1976) in Richmond; **Vanessa** and **Grant** paint por. of Garnett at Eleanor House

(Spalding, 1983) Mar., **Vanessa** to Eleanor House on Sussex Coast with **Clive**; **Grant** there 1st; moves into boathouse with him; **Adrian** and **Garnett** come on weekends with other B'burys; "when alone with **Grant** and [Garnett] in the boatshed, she abdicated in favor of the younger man" (141)

(Spalding, 1980) Mar., **Vanessa** and **Grant** move to Wisset Lodge and **Fry** does Omega with **Hamnett** and her husband



## The American Expatriates in Paris, 1921-1930

**Stein and Toklas' 27 rue de Fleurus**

**Stein and Toklas' Bilignin**

**Toklas' Plain Editions**

**Stein, The Autobiog. of...Toklas**

**McAlmon's Contact Press**

**Thomson's Larus**

### ENTRY

(Brinnin) May-Jul., **Anderson** arrives; goes to Shakespeare & Co. and asks to meet **Stein**; came with Sylvia Beach, his wife Tenn. and critic Paul Rosenfeld first time; "before...**Stein** had become the mother of all the sad young men, a momentous event in her life was the first visit of **Anderson**. While hist. assoc. him with the Lost Generation, **Anderson** by reason of his advanced age and artistic maturity was never really 1 of their no. He may have shared the indeterminate sense of loss that was part of the emotional equipment of most of them, but feelings of separation and dislocation had, in his case, already been transformed into a positive sense of freedom and a profound intuition that his own life, at least, was dedicated. He had long since got clear of Ohio, as a fact and as a state of mind, and had observed the nature of home-grown Bohemia in Cleve., Chic., and New Orleans. In the long-delayed realization of his talent he had achieved a personal security that allowed him to be a sponsor of the expatriate movement, rather than a participant. Like almost everyone else who came to Paris, he went to...Beach's shop, expressed his desire to meet [**Stein**], and was shortly escorted to '27'...'Imagine a strong woman with legs like stone pillars sitting in a room hung with Picassos,' he wrote in his notebook. 'The woman is the very symbol of health and strength. She laughs. She smokes cigarettes. She tells stories with an Amer. shrewdness in getting the tang and the kick into the telling'...'While the geniality of her *salon* accommodated everyone, as far as [they] were concerned the occasion was theirs alone" (235-6)

(Townsend) Jun., Beach finds him looking in the window of her shop; he tells her of his admiration for **Stein**; arrives with letter from Beach to **Stein**; "told [**Stein**] how she helped him find his tools, helped him believe in himself as a writer, and she was pleased" (180)

(Hobhouse) When he arrived in Paris "he found means of presenting himself to his mentor. Such a presentation was not a straightforward matter in those days. There were certain channels for approaching the 'Sybil of Mt. Parnasse.' 1 of these was thru...Beach...[Her] letter of intro, for **Anderson**, was not, however mere flattery. 'He is so anxious to know you,' she wrote, 'for he says you have influenced him ever so much and that you stand as such a great master of words.' So began a friendship which was to last 20 yrs." (114)

(Souhami) "**Toklas** was not home when [he] visited for the first time, but when she did meet him, she approved immediately...He was, besides, very sweet. He had pub. 4 very well-rec'd. books, and at 44 seemed more sure and settled than many of the younger writers [**Stein**] was meeting" (114)

(Mellow) **Toklas** took Tenn. away from the conversation

(Souhami) **Toklas** didn't like Tenn.

(**Stein, Toklas**) Beach "later ceased coming to the house but she sent word that **Anderson** had come to Paris and wanted to see...**Stein** and might he come...**Stein** sent back word that she would be very pleased and he came with his wife and Rosenfeld, the musical critic. For some reason or other I was not present on this occasion, some domestic complication in all probability, at any rate when I did come home...**Stein** was moved and pleased as she has very rarely been...**Stein** was in those days a little bitter, all her unpub. mss., and no hope of pub. or serious recognition. **Anderson** came and quite simply and directly as is his way told her what he thought of her work and what it had meant to him in his development. He told it to her then and what was even rarer he told it in print immediately after...**Stein** and **Anderson** have always been the best of friends but I do not believe even he realizes how much his visit meant to her" (212-13)

## OTHER RELATIONSHIPS

(**Stein, Toklas**.) "Kate Buss brought Ernest Walsh [Fleurus], he was very young then and very feverish and she was very worried about him. We met him later with **Hemingway** and then in Belley, but we never knew him very well" (216)

(**Stein, Toklas**) **Hemingway** "was also a shadow-boxer, thanks to [**Anderson**], and he heard about bull-fighting from me. I have always loved spanish dancing and spanish bull-fighting and I loved to show the photographs of bull-fighters and bull-fighting. I also loved to show the photograph where...**Stein** and I were in the front row and had our picture taken there accidentally. In these days **Hemingway** was teaching some young chap how to box. The boy did not know how, but by accident he knocked **Hemingway** out. I believe this sometimes happens. At any rate in these days **Hemingway** altho a sportsman was easily tired. He used to get quite worn out walking from his house to ours. But then he had been worn by the war. Even now he is, as Helene says all men are, fragile. Recently a robust friend of his said to...**Stein**, [**Hemingway**] is very fragile, whenever he does anything sporting something breaks, his arm, his leg, or his head" (235)

(**Stein, Toklas**) "In those early days **Hemingway** liked all his contemporaries except Cummings. He accused Cummings of having copied everything, not from anybody but from somebody...**Stein** who had been much impressed by The Enormous Rm. said that Cummings did not copy, he was the natural heir of the New Eng. tradition with its aridity and its sterility, but also with its individuality. They disagreed about this. They also disagreed about **Anderson**...**Stein** contended that **Anderson** had a genius for using the sentence to convey a direct emotion, this was in the great Amer. tradition,...She also add that **Fitzgerald** was the only one of the younger writers who wrote naturally in sentences" (235-6)

(**Stein, Toklas**) **Stein** and **Fitzgerald** "are very peculiar in their relation to each other... She thinks **Fitzgerald** will be read when many of his well known contemporaries are forgotten. **Fitzgerald** always says that he thinks...**Stein** says these things just to annoy him by making him think that she means them, and he adds in his favorite way, and her doing it is the cruelest thing I ever heard. They always however have a very good time when they meet. And the last time they met they had a good time with themselves and **Hemingway**" (236)

(**Stein, Toklas**) "Then there was **McAlmon**. **McAlmon** had 1 quality that appealed to...**Stein**, abundance, he could go on writing, but she complained that it was dull" (236)

(**Stein, Toklas**) "For some yrs. after this...**Stein** and **Hemingway** did not meet. And then we heard that he was back in Paris and telling a number of people how much he wanted to see her. Don't you come home with **Hemingway** on your arm, I used to say when she went out for a walk. Sure enough 1 day she did come back bringing him with her. They sat and talked a long time. Finally I heard her say, **Hemingway**, after all you are 90% Rotarian. Can't you, he said, make it 80%. No, said she regretfully, I can't. After all, as she always says, he did, and I may say, he does have moments of disinterestedness. After that they met quite often...**Stein** always says she likes to see him, he is so wonderful. And if he could only tell his own story. In their last conversation she accused him of having killed a great many of his rivals and put them under the sod. I never, said **Hemingway**, seriously killed anybody but 1 man and he was a bad man and, he deserved it, but if I killed anybody else I did it unknowingly, and so I am not responsible. It was Ford [Maddox Ford] who once said of **Hemingway**, he comes and sits at my feet and praises me. It makes me nervous. **Hemingway** also said once, I turn my flame which is a small 1 down and down and then suddenly there is a big explosion. If there were nothing but explosions my work would be so exciting nobody could bear it. However, whatever I say,...**Stein** always says, yes I know but I have a weakness for **Hemingway**" (238)

(**Stein, Toklas**) **Thomson** "had put a no. of...**Stein**'s things to music, Susie Asado, Preciosilla and Capital Capitals...**Stein** was very much interested in **Thomson**'s...music. He had understood Satie undoubtedly and he had a comprehension quite his own of prosody. He understood a great deal of...**Stein**'s work, he used to dream at night that there was something there that he did not understand, but on the whole he was very well content with that which he did understand. She delighted in listening to her words framed by his music. They saw a great deal of each other. **Thomson** had in his rm. a great many pictures by Christian Berard and...**Stein** used to look at them a great deal. She could not find out at all what she thought about them. She and **Thomson**...used to talk about them endlessly. **Thomson** said he knew nothing about pictures but he thought these wonderful" (246)

(Souhami) **McAlmon** liked the talk and the paintings at **Stein** and **Toklas**'s

(Souhami) **Hemingway** said she "looked like an earth mother, talked like an angel,...beautiful eyes and a strong Germ.-Jewish face that could have been Friulano...a number Italian peasant woman with her clothes, her mobile face and 'her lovely, thick, olive immigrant hair which she wore put up in the same way she had probably worn it in college' [--A Moveable Feast]...**Toklas**'s hair was cut like Joan of Arc...[She] had a very hooked nose, did needlepoint, saw to the food and drink, talked to wives and often interrupted [**Stein**'s] conversation to put her right" (151)

(Souhami) **Stein** said they were surrounded by gays; "when I ran down the male ones to **Hemingway** it was because I thought he was a secret 1"--quoted in Dear Sammy: Letters from [**Stein**] and [**Toklas**] (180)

(Hoffman) **Stein**'s "pupils" such as **Anderson** and **Hemingway**, wrote work more accessible than her, but made it easier for us to understand her

(Hoffman) **Stein**'s "name was constantly assoc. with...[**Fitzgerald**], **Anderson**, and **Hemingway** in the halcyon 20s...**Hemingway** originally shared [**Picasso** and **Anderson**'s] feelings, but he soon thought better of his discipleship and disavowed her influence, just as he had turned on **Anderson** in The Torrents of Spring. **Hemingway**'s lit. ingratitude is by now legendary; but, given **Stein**'s stolid peremptoriness, we can scarcely blame him. But, with all her imperial style and cutting wit, she was loved affectionately by many people--among them [**Thornton Wilder** and **Thomson**]-who found her warm, wise and understanding" (16)

(Brinnin) "In the cross fire of other men's wars, they [the lost generation] had watched their Christian democratic idealism become the first victim of its own pretensions, while the generation itself was dispossessed, disillusioned, and fed to the teeth with a bitterness they would taste, retaste and spit out for years" (233)

(Brinnin) "With an inordinate amount of musical accompaniment, the 20s had begun to roar. The dedicated expatriates and the sensation-shopping transients who would communicate the excitements of Paris to Main Str. had found at [**Stein** and **Toklas**'s] 27 Rue de Fleurus a figure who, in stature, temperament and wisdom, transcended both Paris and Peoria. 'It is very pleasant,' wrote Prof. Carlos Baker in Hemingway: The Writer as Artist, 'to think of the Pallas Athene, sitting among the statuary in 1 of her temples like...**Stein** among the Picassos...and murmuring to the Achaeans, homeward bound from the battle of Troy: 'You are all a lost generation'" (235)

(Brinnin) "In the wide act of lit., romance or bar-stool relationships that self-exiled Amer. and Englishmen had cast over artist-quartered Paris and its Spain, Italian, and Riviera suburbs,...**McAlmon** was a ubiquitous figure. His own work as a writer came to nothing much, but his svcs. as the pub. of Contact Ed. and the 3 Mts. Press were of enormous value. Besides...**Stein**, authors whose works he brought out [now rare ed.]...included...**Hemingway**,...Pound, Wm. Carlos Wms., H D, Djuna Barnes...If the expatriate period tends, today, to be notable mainly for the great fame of a very few writers and painters, it was also a period that beautifully accommodated scores of marginal artists like **McAlmon**, and hundreds of brilliant failures. Participation in the restless excitements of the milieu was a compensation for many individuals whose work would come to nothing but whose hopeless ambitions could be kept alive in endless talk, and, now and then, in vicarious enjoyment of the success of those who had 'come thru'" (267-8)

(Brinnin) "Whether or not the world agreed [with **Stein**], **Picasso** was the only painter, **Anderson** was the great Amer. writer, and **Thomson**..., as soon as he showed interest in putting her works to music, was the greatest living master of prosody" (272)

(Brinnin) "The regulars cherished their sense of coterie, yet the group was continually riddled with dissension. To have paid respects to [**Stein**] and to have sat with **Toklas** was to have been admitted into the charmed circle, of those whose pretenses, at least, were interesting and fashionable, and to have rec'd. the benediction which, a short time past, had been famously granted to **Picasso** and **Matisse**, to **Anderson** and **Hemingway**" (278)

(Sprigge) "**McAlmon** is pretty bad. **Fitzgerald** and **cummings** are the best of the crowd, but the rest are fairly weak in the head"--**Stein** (147)

(Simon) "Europe, esp. Fr., was just 'over there,' not more forbidding and much more enticing to the former ambulance drivers and privates than was Greenwich Village. And with the postwar devaluation, they could live cheaply and comparatively well. For less than \$100, they could book passage and leave home" (108)

(Simon) **Fitzgerald's** "being **Hemingway's** rival--and, **Toklas** thought, his victim--only made him more attractive [to her. Unlike **Hemingway**, he] was modest about his own talent and deferential toward other writers, [but **Toklas**] found his work repetitive in theme" (125)

(Simon) "When recounting a story, [**Stein**] would get repetitive and vague...**Toklas** would say...looking up from...knitting, 'I'm sorry, Lovey; it wasn't like that at all.' 'Allright, Pussy...you tell it.'"--**Thomson** (175)

(Hobhouse) "The character of **Fitzgerald** made him legendary in Paris. Charming, gentle, with the 'visage of a poet,' as Janet Flanner wrote, he was always willing to praise or learn from or to help other writers. For **Hemingway**, [he got Perkins]...For [**Stein**] he offered the devotion and tributes of someone she recognized as a genuinely gifted writer" (126-7)

(Hobhouse) **Toklas** says **Fitzgerald** was always sober at Fleurus with her and **Stein**

(Mellow) **Thomson** thought **Stein** and **Hemingway** "were perhaps in love with each other" (153)

(Mellow) **Fitzgerald** was "usually" (330) sober at Fleurus with **Stein** and **Toklas**

(Baldwin) 10 cent bottle of wine

(Baldwin) "When one goes to see people, one is influenced even if one doesn't think about it"--Marcel Duchamp

(LeVot) "Paris then was the capital of imagination,...how timid and backward the rebellious NY intelligentsia seemed amid Paris' fecund and stimulating upheavals" (185)

(LeVot) "Refugees from the Amer. desert passed along the address, scribbled the passwords" (187)

(Reynolds) Ford and Stella Bowen lived on same str. with Pound and his wife, "a most lit. str."

(Martin) "But no wonder that [**Hemingway's**] life attracts the biographer. A war vet. by the age of 18, a journ. of internat'l. repute by 21, and intimate with Pound,...**Stein**, Arch. MacLeish, ...**Ray**, ...Ford, Cocteau and Valery. His...reports to Amer. and Can. newspapers helped to create the myth of the Lost Generation over which he was soon to preside, just as his friend...**Fitzgerald** was to take out the patent on the Jazz Age" (5)

(Wittke) **Thomson's** "chemistry rejected the Teutonic mechanics of musical composition; the soul-searching symphonies of Bruckner and Mahler were alien to him. [Erik] Satie and **Stein** were a breath of fresh air: modern, optimistic, enthusiastic craftsmen seriously dedicated to their art, but living in the here and now. They were not dwellers in some exclusive empyrean or members of the pleasure-seeking, drinking, nihilistic crowd of the 'crazy 20s' like **Hemingway** and **Fitzgerald**, the sort [**Thomson**] detested" (7)

(Wittke) **Thomson** "resented that he was often considered a clone of ...**Stein**, but it must be admitted that a close reading of his words and music does suggest signs of an incestuous relationship--he was partially intimidated by the Earth Goddess. **Stein** and [he] hit it off he said 'like 2 Harv. men' (a variant of **Hemingway's** '2 bros.')" (8)

(Wittke) **Toklas** "was the guiding hand behind the scene of this lit.-musical duo [**Stein** and **Thomson**] relationship, even tho initially she was not taken in by [him] (probably resenting his closeness with her inamorata). It all worked out well; [**Thomson** and **Toklas**], besides sharing their affection for **Stein** and each other, shared imaginative recipes" (13)

(Wittke) "2 other women besides **Stein** and [**Toklas**] played a major role in [**Thomson's**] life, Louise Langlois...Mary Butts" (14-15)



(Wittke) "But musicians were only a segment of [Thomson's] world; any casual guest list of his chic Fri. night dinners (shades of Sun. evenings in KC) hosted by the jovial, informed, and snappy Amer. host in his small apt. at 17 quai Voltaire will attest to that--Gide, Duchamp, Hemingway, Hart Crane, Janet Flanner, Picasso, Mary Garden, Cocteau,...Fitzgerald, Stein, Beecham, Christian Dior, etc. Here food and wine were a connoisseur's dream, the conversation and gossip on an Olympian level. To be dissected at such an assembly was considered an honor" (16)

(Summerfield) "A lit. movement consists of 5 or 6 people who live in the same town and hate each other cordially" (193)

(Kohfeldt) Quinn gave money to "needy geniuses" (281) thru Pound

(Shone, 1976) *Grant* was "one of the few Eng. artists with any reputation in Fr." (14)

(Crabtree) B'bury "was not a salon in the Parisian sense; it was not a school with a master and disciples, and it was not a club or a coterie. It seems to have been a group of intellectuals who had become friends in Cambridge and then found a convenient meeting place in Lond., who enjoyed each other's co., who had a common interest in lit. and art, who were dedicated to free discussion and the pursuit of truth and who stimulated 1 another's lit., artistic and intellectual achievements to a remarkable degree" (2)

(Keats) "The pattern of [Parker's] life and that of her Algonquin friends, seemed to be remarkably superficial and in some ways similar to the kind of Bohemian life followed by many young intellectuals in any time of postwar flux when all values are in doubt, and when the young people tend to gather in some quarter of a city to flout the laws and social conventions of a society they believe to be rotten. But she and her friends were quite different from the Paris and the Greenwich Village intellectuals of the 20s, and their superficiality and their Bohemianism were far more apparent than they were real. They had fun together, yes, but as she said, they also worked hard--even if they pretended they did not. It was the nature of their work that made much of it fun to do and permitted the kinds of fun they enjoyed when the work was done" (73)

(Keats) The Alg. Round Table's "mutual friendships reinforced 1 another's talents, and they were, many of them, becoming important to NY and to the nation...[because NY was becoming] the capital of the nation's emergent mass media communications industry...[They were] by virtue of their employment as thea. critics, newsp. columnists, playwrights, newsp. and magazine eds. and writers, in a position to help set taste in the nation's leading intellectual center. The Algonquin-ites could cause to be pub., and could comment on, such new writers as, for example, that of the Paris group, and thereby help to create a climate in which it would find acceptance" (85)

(Frewin) "Amer., hitherto a culturally insecure nation, was embracing the arts with latent joy; and artistically was finding its feet, helped by other emergent poets, playwrights and writers like Rob't. Frost...[Stein], Amer. writer-emigre in Paris; and [Pound, Anderson], and Upton Sinclair" (41)

(Gaines) "None of [the Alg. Round Table] identified strongly with the Lost Generation, except perhaps for...Parker, who would have identified with anything that was lost" (20)

(Gaines) "A lost generation of its own sort...[the Alg. Round Table] were a crucial few yrs. older than the widely hailed generation of 'flaming youth'" (80)

(Gaines) "Dreiser, [Anderson], [Edward Arlington] Robinson, [Edgar Lee] Masters and [Carl] Sandburg were all in their 40s before they were able to devote most of their time to writing; Sinclair Lewis was 35 before he made his first success with Main Str. It was different with the new group of writers. Largely as a result of what the older group had accomplished, their public was ready for them, and they weren't forced to waste yrs. working in a custom house, like Robinson, or writing advertising copy, like [Anderson]. At the age of 24, Fitzgerald was earning \$18,000 a year with his stories and novels. Hemingway, Wilder, Dos Passos and Louis Bromfield were internationally known novelists before they were 30. They had a chance which the older men lacked to develop their craftsmanship in book after book; from the very first they were professionals"--Malcolm Cowley, Exile's Return

(Gaines) "In part it was the war that had come between the Alg. writers and those in Paris (and, indeed, some other writers in NY). The Round Table writers had been happy warriors almost to a man, while the vision of most of their literature peers, esp. those who served in ambulance units in the yrs. before the US joined the war, was war-sick. The great distance between close-up horrors of trench-and-gas warfare and grandiloquent prose in justification of those horrors has been credited with shocking Amer. writers abroad into lower-case letters and leaner prose. The Stars & Stripes Algonquin-ites had been, of course, among the foremost retailers of the war. However much a symbol of the lit. life the Round Table became for later generations, among the best of what John Peale Bishop called 'the first lit. generation in Amer.,' it was regarded with signal disdain...The expatriate writers generally spoke of the Alg. group derisively when they deigned to speak of them at all" (158)

## MAJOR EVENTS

**1921** (Mellow) The Willie Dunbar Jewetts introduce **Stein** and **Toklas** to **Ray**; was photographing all the cultural celebrities of Paris...asked [**Stein**] to come and pose for him...pleased...he became something of an official photographer at [Fleurus]" (305) (**Stein, Toklas**) "in those days you met anybody anywhere. The Jewetts were an amer. couple who owned a 10th cent. chateau near Perpignan. We had met them there during the war and when they came to Paris we went to see them. There we met 1st...**Ray** and later Rob't. Coates, how either of them happened to get there I do not know. There were a lot of people in the rm. when we came in and soon...**Stein** was talking to a little man who sat in the corner. As we went out she made an engagement with him. She said he was a photographer and seemed interesting, and reminded me that Jeanne Cook, Wm. Cook's wife, wanted her picture taken to send to Cook's people in Amer." (213)

(Hoffman) Jun., *Parker* meets Don. O. Stewart at *Life*; knew *Benchley*; had sold some things to *Vanity Fair* and *Smart Set*; became a regular "at [her] apt. and at Neysa's studio" (87); didn't do lunch, too uncomfortable; "his friendship with [*Parker*] and *Benchley* provided him with constant sustenance. The others struck him as basically unfriendly. Before he joined them for lunch at the Algonquin, he fortified himself with several cocktails" (87)

(Baker) After Aug., **Anderson** has dinner with newly married **Hemingway** when back in Chic. from first Paris trip; advises them to go to Paris, not to Italy; writes him letters of intro. to Beach and **Stein**

(LeVot) Fall, Sara and Gerald Murphy to Paris (Kimmelman) Sara Murphy meets Picasso while repairing scenery at Ballets Russes

(Baldwin) Oct., Andre Breton meets Sigmund Freud

(LeVot) Nov., Warren G Harding elected US Pres.

(Baldwin) Dec., 6000 Amer. in Paris (Simon) "there must be no artists in Amer. They were...all in Paris"--Helene the cook (202) (Brinnin) "the Amer.-ization of Fr...was evident" (229); "they came in multitudes--valedictorians fresh from the colleges of the E. seaboard, misunderstood children from small festering towns in the Deep So., cynics in corduroy from the wastelands of the great Middle W. where cult. was Caruso on the gramophone and Millais' *Hope* twanging her harp over the imitation fireplace. Greenwich Village was but a stopping place on their inevitable trek to the 'city of Light' and the crooked str. of its Left Bank. After the Fr. Line had ferried them across and they had estab. a beachhead at Amer. Express, they were like children let loose in a grand bazaar" (234)

(Baldwin) Dec. 7, (Reynolds) Hadley and **Hemingway** at Dome, **Stein** and **Toklas** planning X'mas dinner; Pound reading *Wasteland*; Joyce reading of *Ulysses* at party at Sh. & Co., "a conjunction of lit. influence was about to take place which would forever change the topography of Amer. lit." (11) (Galatiere) when the **Hemingways** arrive, "there were, as yet, relatively few Amer. about...Pound had settled in Paris;...**Stein** and [**Toklas**] were in their *pavillon* in the Rue de Fleurus;...**Ray** was there. Will Bradley was estab. the lit. agency which Jenny, his widow, would manage so remarkably after his early d.; Edna Millay, gay and sans make-up, had her own small circle. Janet Flanner and **Thomson**...were already old Parisians; Hart...had come and gone" (1)

**1922** (Reynolds) Announcement that Nikolai Lenin's brain is paralyzed

(Skidelsky II) Mussolini takes Italy

(Sprigge) cummings' Rm. pub.

(Baldwin) "Strong and lasting lesbian relationships were woven permanently into the social fabric of the Left Bank" (36) (Kunkel) Flanner moves to Paris to live more openly with Solita Solana

(Hughes) Florine Stettheimer paints Por. of Carl Van Vechten "on a red stool on a black rug on a red carpet"

(Reynolds) Amer. in Paris warned of grippe

(Baldwin) Hilaire Hiler opens Jockey Club; Jane Heap and Little Rev. group hang out there

(Baldwin) Moholy Nagy gives photos to Broom

(Goodell) Cole Porter invites Murphys to Riviera (Turnbull) Murphys rent villa at Antibes for friends; build a house there

(Reynolds) Mar. 8, **Hemingway** writes to **Stein** with **Anderson's** letter; **Toklas** and **Stein** invite them to tea the next day

(Brinnin) Mar. 9?, **Hemingway** comes to dinner at Fleurus with Hadley; **Stein** hadn't heard of him; "did find him delightful. She was struck with his extraordinary good looks, and was above all completely charmed to find that he was 'a born listener.' From their very first encounter he seemed to want only to sit before her, an immense audience of 1, and listen to the slow deliberation of her entrancing voice. When, now and then *he* talked, she liked what he said, but had to admit that she preferred his long absorbent silences. She knew they would become friends and, as a 1st gesture, offered to teach him how to cut his wife's hair" (250) (Mellow) Hadley invites **Stein** and **Toklas** to tea; **Stein** invites him to "stop by...afternoons after 5" (316); advises Hadley not to buy fashions (**Stein, Toklas**) "the 1st thing that happened when we were back in Paris was **Hemingway** with a letter of intro. from **Anderson**. I remember very well the impression I had of **Hemingway** that 1st afternoon. He was an extraordinarily good-looking young man, 23 yrs. old. It was not long after that that everybody was 26. It became the period of being 26. During the next 2 or 3 yrs. all the young men were 26 yrs. old. It was the right age apparently for that time and place. There were 1 or 2 under 20, for example Geo. Lynes but they did not count as...**Stein** carefully explained to them. If they were young men they were 26. Later on, much later on they were 21 and 22. So **Hemingway** was 23, rather foreign-looking, with passionately interested, rather than interesting eyes. He sat in front of...**Stein** and listened and looked. They talked then, and more and more, a great deal together. He asked her to come and spend an eve. in their apt. and look at his work" (229-30)

(Brinnin) After Mar. 9, **Hemingway** writes to **Anderson** that "**Stein** and me are just like bros., and we see a lot of her" (250)

(Reynolds) Apr., **Stein** thanks **Anderson** for sending **Hemingway** (Simon) "in retrospect, the only mistake [**Anderson**] made was sending [**Hemingway** to her and **Toklas**]" (115)

(Baker) May, Fascists attack Bologna

(Reynolds) Jun., Pope dies of flu

(Reynolds) Jun. 1 (Baker, Spring), **Hemingway** to Spain with **McAlmon** (Brinnin) "some of his friends suspected that his response was less love at 1st sight for the sport than it was need to love the art of the bullfight because [**Stein**] had praised it to him" (257)

(Reynolds) Jul., Bill Bird starts 3 Mts. Press at Ile St. Louis

(Reynolds) Fall, the Germ. mark is down

(Reynolds) Nov., \$1 = 15 fr

(Skidelsky I) Nov., Wilson loses US election

(Souhami) Winter, **Stein** and **Toklas** send fruit from country to **Hemingway**

1923 (LeVot) Mah jong and "Yes! We Have No Bananas" big hits

(Reynolds) Pres. Harding d.

(Gaines) US stock market "reversed and rising" (128)

(Galantiere) "Amer. came in a flood, prompted by the Eur. currency inflations or supported by Guggenheim fellowships. They arrived at a moment when the Right Bank had come to life, glittering with luxury and vibrant with new energy--the theaters of Dullin and Baty, a brilliant film world and, above all, the seasons of the Ballets Russes. It was here that Diaghileff, the most extraordinary animator of the arts since the Renaissance patrons, found employment for so many painters and composers--and with which Stravinsky's music might have gone long yrs. unperformed. On the Left Bank the light brightened, the cafes became more animated, and a general air of happiness spread from the homely fact that so many who frequented them were writers and artists actively at work. The miseries they may have known were of a private order; for them, at any rate, the time was not out of joint" (1)

(Mellow) Premiere of Facade by Wm. Walton and Edith Sitwell

(Mellow) Little Rev. eds. to Paris

(LeVot) Sarah Bernhardt d.

(Baldwin) Raym. Radiquet kills himself

(Baldwin) Mina Loy arrives in Paris with dtrs.; hangs out at the Jockey Club

(LeVot) Gerald Murphy shows at Salon des Indep.; recommends Cole Porter for musical

(Smoller) Mina brings **McAlmon** to **Toklas** and **Stein's**; likes her at 1st (Mellow) not "eager" (347) to meet **Stein**; had seen her driving; found her "almost shy" (347) (Simon) "had been in Paris for several yrs. before he was invited to tea" (Brinnin) **Stein** invited them for bus. as well as social reasons (Reynolds) remembered on 1st visit that they shared "a mutual passion for Trollope's novels, for documentaries, autobiog. and biographical things" (35) (Boyle) "in consequence of this suspicion of mine about ...**Stein**, I had not met her in the several yrs. I had been in Paris, altho my admiration for 'Melanctha' was great...**Stein's** name was one that newsp. columnists used to twit, and there were innumerable legends about her since either she or her bro. Leo 'discovered' Picasso, Braque, Matisse and so on" (4) (**Stein, Toklas**) "**McAlmon** was very nice in those days, very mature and very good-looking. It was much later that he pub. The Making of Amer. in the Contact press" (216)

(Mellow) **McAlmon** is "on invitational terms" at **Stein** and **Toklas's** (600)

(Smoller) Winter, Kay Boyle to Paris

(Mellow) Feb., **Hemingway** stays at **Stein** and **Toklas's** all day upset that Hadley is pregnant (**Stein, Toklas**) "he and his wife went away on a trip and shortly after **Hemingway** turned up alone. He came to the house about 10 o'clock in the morn. and he stayed, he stayed for lunch, he stayed all afternoon, he stayed for dinner and he stayed until about 10 o'clock at night and then all of a sudden he announced that his wife was enceinte and then with great bitterness, and I, I am too young to be a father. We consoled him as best we could and sent him on his way" (230-1)

(Kimmelman) Summer, Murphys stay at Hotel du Cap, Picasso also there; "used his considerable 'animal magnetism' to woo Sara in Antibes...when Gerald retreated to be with [Cole] Porter in Venice...'I doubt if it was a romance. Picasso was seeing a lot of the Murphys that particular summer and he was very susceptible to beautiful women, as we know--Calvin Tomkins" (B2)

(Kimmelman) Picasso paints Woman in White, por. of Sara Murphy; "indeed...in '23, pictures of Sara far outnumber those of Picasso's wife, Olga"--Wm. Rubin

(Reynolds) Jun., **Hemingway** to Pamplona with Hadley, Bird and **McAlmon**; earthquake at Pamplona during festival (Baker) on **Stein's** advice (Brinnin) **Toklas** and everyone else said they sent **Hemingway** to Pamplona; some say he fell in love with bull fighting because **Stein** liked it (Simon) since he liked it, it was always ruined for **Toklas**

(Bridgman) Fall, **Stein** and **Toklas** godparents to **Hemingway's** son John Hadley

(Smoller) Sep., Cowley jailed for punching the owner of Rotonde

(Reynolds) Nov., Hitler's Bavarian coup fails

**1924** (LeVot) Crossword puzzle craze

(Reynolds) 32,000 permanent Amer. in Paris; twice as many Brit.; lots of suicides among expatriates

(LeVot) Bricktop opens club on Montmartre

(LeVot) Eleanora Duse d.

(Reynolds) Anatole Fr. d.

(Reynolds) Dome reopens

(Schaffner) Breton's Manifeste du surrealisme pub.

(Kimmelman) Infatuation between Sara Murphy and Picasso ends

(Baker) Pound and wife move permanently to Rapallo

(Smoller) Walsh begins This Quarterly

(Hobhouse) Quinn backs Ford's transatl. rev.

(Souhami) **McAlmon** goes to tea at **Stein** and **Toklas's** (Smoller) meets **Stein** for 1st time thru Mina

(Reynolds) **Hemingway** borrows money from **McAlmon** and **Stein**

(Reynolds) Feb., Woodrow Wilson d.

(Reynolds) Feb., Amer. Women's Club of Paris bans that mo.'s transatl rev.

(Reynolds) Mar. 16, John Hadley Nicanor Hemingway baptised (**Stein, Toklas**) "the 1st thing to do when they came back was as they thought to get the baby baptised. They wanted...**Stein** and myself to be god-mothers and an eng. war comrade of **Hemingway** [Baker, "Chink"] was to be god-father. We were all born of different religions and most of us were not practising any, so it was rather difficult to know in what church the baby could be baptised. We spent a great deal of time that winter, all of us, discussing the matter. Finally it was decided that it should be baptised episcopalian and episcopalian it was. Just how it was managed with the assortment of god-parents I am sure I do not know, but it was baptised in the episcopalian chapel...In the beginning we were active god-parents, I particularly. I embroidered a little chair and I knitted a gay colored garment for the god-child. In the meantime the god-child's father was very earnestly at work making himself a writer" (231-2)

(Sprigge) Spring, Ford to US for more money; Quinn says no; issues stock

(Daly) After spring, Quinn d.

(Reynolds) Apr., Joyce's "Work in Progress" in transatl. rev.

(Smoller) May, Wm. Carlos Wms., Bryher and H D to Paris (Mellow) **McAlmon** intro. Wms. to **Stein** and **Toklas** with Bryher and H D (Souhami) Wms. comes to tea once

(Reynolds) Summer, Olympics in Paris; Diaghilev ballet with costumes by Juan Gris

(Reynolds) Sep., Amer. buys Dingo, adds Amer. food and Eng.-speaking waiters

(Simon) Dec., last iss. of Transatl.

**1925** (LeVot) Holy Year

(LeVot) Charleston craze

(Goldstein) Geo. Gershwin's Concerto in F premiered

(Skidelsky I) Calvin Coolidge becomes US Pres.

(Sklar) Theodore Dreiser's Amer. Tragedy pub.

(Sklar) Sinclair Lewis' Arrowsmith pub.

(Mellow) Dos Passos' Manhattan Transfer pub.

(LeVot) \$1 = 22fr

(Mellow) Satie d.

(LeVot) Josephine Baker a hit at Champs Elysees Thea.

(Schwarz) Duchamp prod. Anemic Cinema

(Baldwin) Leger's essay, "The Machine Aesthetique," pub.

(Kramer) "'Arguably the greatest and most renowned scandal in the hist. of Surrealism.' It took place at a lit. banquet honoring the poet Saint-Pol-Roux at a Paris restaurant...Saint-Pol-Roux, a writer now more or less forgotten, was in fact a poet much admired by Breton and his circle. It was because of their public expression of admiration for his work that the innocent Saint-Pol-Roux invited these younger lit. rebels to his banquet. What the surrealists could not abide, however, was that this sexagenarian poet, whom they regarded as their discovery, had lately become the darling of the lit. estab.. They therefore contrived to disrupt the banquet by shouting insults and obscenities at the other guests and generally causing a good deal of mayhem and breakage. The police had to be called, and the press responded with an outburst of fury. For the surrealists, of course, the event was a complete success--a bid for attn. that paid off handsomely. But was it--as they seemed to have believed at the time--some sort of revolutionary act?...The whole affair sounds a lot more like a scene from a Marx Bros. movie, with the poet Philippe Soupault 'swinging from the chandelier, [sending] plates and glasses cascading to the floor'" (A9)

(Reynolds) Spring, Sinclair Lewis to Paris

(Baldwin) Apr.-Oct., art deco explodes in Fr. Exhib.

(Sklar) Jun. (Reynolds, end of Apr.) (LeVot, May?, finds?, "**Fitzgerald** had met **Hemingway** in Le Dingo, a bar on the Rue Delambre [a few] yards from the corner on which the Cafe du Dome stands. He knew nothing about him except what the Murphys had told him; all he had read of **Hemingway's** were the few poems and stories **McAlmon** had pub. and [Edm.] Wilson's article about him. When **Fitzgerald** walked into Le Dingo with [his guide] a Princeton baseball star..., he saw **Hemingway** seated at the bar. He was a husky, casually dressed fellow, over 6' tall, with a weathered face, bright, laughing eyes and brown, brushed-back hair. With him were a couple of Brit. expatriates slightly older than he: a long, straight, boyish woman with gray eyes and very short blond hair, whose name was Duff Twysden, and her escort, Pat Guthrie, slim and bent, with the battered-looking face of a heavy drinker. Both were Montparnasse regulars who were to have pivotal places in The Sun Also Rises. **Fitzgerald**, as **Hemingway** 1st saw him, frail and elegant in his impeccably cut Brooks Bros. suit and white shirt with button-down collar, also seemed a character in search of an author, a little incongruous among the ragtag bohemians of Montparnasse...[**Fitzgerald**] ordered a bottle of champagne and launched on a dithyrambic speech in praise of **Hemingway** while [he] watched him coldly. He asked some overly personal ques. that the other man avoided with joking answers. Suddenly, **Fitzgerald's** face was covered with sweat; it puckered, took on a deathly look. Then he passed out. He was taken home in a taxi" (196-7) (Turnbull) "the 1st time [they] spent an evening together..., **Fitzgerald** had passed out, and this image was firmly rooted in **Hemingway's** mind" (229) (Reynolds) "1 of the 1st ques. he asked [**Hemingway**] as he asked many people that year, was had [**Hemingway**] and Hadley slept together before their wedding" (286); meets Zelda at same time?

(LeVot) c. May, **Fitzgerald** to Edm. Wilson, "I have met **Hemingway**. He is taking me to see [Stein] tomorrow'...the 2 keys that would open him to a world whose existence he scarcely suspected... He still knew little about Paris an even less about the Amer. who had more or less centered its artistic life. Not the moneyed Amer. who, like him, patronized the big Right Bank hotels,...but those on the Left Bank who followed in the wake of Joyce and [Stein]" (185)

(LeVot) c. May, "before the trip [to Lyons] **Hemingway** had brought **Fitzgerald** to [Stein and Toklas's]...to intro. him to Stein, whom [**Hemingway**] had known for 3 yrs. They came across her in the str. while she was looking for a place to park her car. The meeting was probably cordial, **Fitzgerald** charmingly modest, **Stein** kindness itself. At least this is how the roles were assigned in the few letters they later exchanged" (197); gives her copy of The Great Gatsby (Brinnin) "inevitably, the writer most closely identified with the Jazz Age, [**Fitzgerald**] came to join the charmed circle about her feet. From their 1st meeting, he had her deepest confidence and affection. In [Stein's] estimation, [he] was 'the 1st of the Lost Generation...The only 1 at that time of their descent on Paris to have already given proof of a gift.' She felt he 'really created for the public the new generation,' first by being the generation's representative and then by becoming its symbol. [He] was impressed with [her], but also amused by her. He describe her as looking like 'the Great Stone Face' and once remarked to a friend, 'what an old covered wagon she is!' According to **Toklas**..., he was then 'distinguished, highly intelligent and completely attacking'" (240) (Souhami) told her that she was a very handsome, acutely sensitive, gallant, kind lady" (153) (Hobhouse) "when [Stein] met him..., [he] was the kind of novelist **Hemingway** wished to be. He was handsome, charming, rich, and his writing was a critical, as well as a commercial success...[He and Zelda] were already legendary in Paris when [Stein] met them" (126)

(Mellow) Summer, **Stein** and **Toklas** make friends with Geo. Antheil; invite him to Fleurus; brings **Thomson**; when leaving, she shakes his hand and says, "We'll be seeing each other" (361) (**Stein, Toklas**) at show of Russ. painter she "met...Antheil who asked to come to see her and when he came he brought with him **Thomson**...**Stein** had not found...Antheil particularly interesting altho she liked him, but **Thomson**...she found very interesting altho I did not like him...[they] became friends and saw each other a great deal" (244) (Wittke) "Stein was not musical but she was always interested in any trend that was rumbling thru the 'in' cliques of Paris. Ballet mecanique was the latest rage, discussed everywhere, and so she invited Antheil to visit her. Even the nervy Antheil was uneasy about meeting the towering **Stein** so he took [**Thomson**] with him for protection. **Stein** immediately took a shine to [**Thomson**] but Antheil was never asked again. [?] In all fairness to Antheil, [**Thomson**] was no stranger to **Stein's** work, and she in turn recognized in him the makings of a disciple. Not only was he an accomplished musician, he was exceptionally well acquainted with lit. and painting. He invited her to a 1-man (his) performance of Satie's Socrate" (13) (Kathleen Hoover) meet thru Joyce; writes to her; "became a frequent guest at [Fleurus], and in its atmosphere of passionate experimentation formed associations with leaders of contemporary movements in all the arts" (62) (Brinnin) "eminence among her works was not assured, however until **Thomson**...had come into her orbit...already a mature artist...[he] at 1st maintained none but sardonic attitude toward the whole **Stein** circle"

(Kunkel) Jul., 1st letter from Paris in *Ross' New Yorker*; not by Flanner

(Kunkel) Oct. 10, 1st Flanner "Letter from Paris" in *Ross' New Yorker*; lasts 50 yrs.

(Schwarz) Nov., 1st surreal group show, Galerie Pierre

(Smoller) Nov., **Fitzgerald** apologizes to **Hemingway** for being drunk at **Hemingway's** and saving **McAlmon** "from a beating he probably deserved" (155)

**1926** (Sklar) Spengler's Decline of the W. pub. in Eng.

(Wittke) Geo. Gershwin writes Piano Concerto

(Gaines) Don. Ogden Stewart's new bride meets Alg.-ites; "nervous" (160)

(LeVot) \$1 = 36 fr

(Smoller) Pound tells Joyce that Ulysses is pirated in 2 Worlds Monthly

(Schwarz) Surrealist exhib. of objects doesn't happen "for lack of contributions"

(Smoller) Bird sells press to Nancy Cunard; renames it Hours Press

(Wittke) Jan., **Thomson** first comes to **Stein** and **Toklas's** with Antheil

(**Stein, Toklas**) After May, "after the return from Eng. and [**Stein's**] lecturing we gave a great many parties, there were many occasions for parties, all the Sitwells came over, Carl Van Vechten came over, **Anderson** came over again. And besides there were many other occasions for parties" (265)

(Souhami) Summer (Bridgman, late spring?), **Stein** and **Toklas** to Antibes to visit Picasso; stop in Belley, stay all summer; hotel owner comments, "une generation perdue"; tells **Hemingway** hotel owner's comment (Bridgman) Hotel Pernollet; meet Fay (LeVot) **Fitzgerald** more critical of Murphys; Murphys like **Hemingway** better

(Meade) Summer, **Woolcott** and MacArthur visit Paris on way to Riviera; also Don. O Stewart and new wife Bea. "en route to Cap d'Antibes"; **Fitzgerald** and **Zelda** to Paris to have her appendix removed; all talk about Murphys (Frewin) **Woolcott** nearby at Villa Gamelon with Harpo, et. al; Geo. B. Shaw and wife arrive; "the only person Shaw asked to meet was [**Parker**]. After their introduction, he turned to **Woolcott** and said, 'I'd always thought of her as an old maid!...[She] however was having a disturbing time trying to equate the gilded, golden-coast life-style with her social conscience and convictions. And, as her friends knew, she was not winning...[getting drunk; not working; **Fitzgerald** and **Zelda** fight; **Hemingway** tells **Zelda**] she was mad. Jas. Thurber...observed...that only [**Stein** and **Toklas**] were missing, and wasn't that good?" (127); **Zelda** takes off her panties at **Woolcott's** going away party; flings herself down the stairs and in front of a car when Isadora Duncan picks **Fitzgerald** "as a bed companion" (128); **Fitzgerald** knocks over a str. vendor's stand, gives him 500 fr and says, "wasn't that funny?" (128) (Rosmond) Alan Campbell used the **Fitzgerald** and the str. vendor incident in a story in *Ross' New Yorker*

(Kathleen Hoover) Fall, Antheil invited to **Stein** and **Toklas's**, afraid to go alone; brings **Thomson**

(Smoller) Oct., Walsh d. of TB

(LeVot) Dec., Baker opens Chez Josephine

(Townsend) Dec., **Anderson's** 2nd Paris visit with Eliz., son John and teen dtr.; gets flu; doesn't see much of **Hemingway**; "nothing could bring back the excitement of [his and **Stein's**] 1st meeting" (241) (Mellow) Eliz. intimidated; settles down to talk to **Toklas**; he and **Stein** discuss mutual admiration for U S Grant (**Stein, Toklas**) **Anderson** "came to Paris that winter and he was a delight. He was enjoying himself and we enjoyed him. He was being lionized and I must say he was a very appearing and disappearing lion" (265-6)

(Souhami) **Stein** and **Toklas** meet Natalie Barney at ballet; invites them to salon with **Anderson**

(**Stein, Toklas**) "Mme. de Clermont-Tonnerre came in very late to 1 of the parties, almost everyone had gone, and her hair was cut. Do you like it, said Mme. de Clermont-Tonnerre. I do, said...**Stein**. Well, said Mme. de Clermont-Tonnerre, if you like it and my dtr. likes it and she does like it I am satisfied. That night...**Stein** said to me, I guess I will have to too. Cut it off she said and I did. I was still cutting the next eve., I had been cutting a little more all day and by this time it was only a cap of hair when **Anderson** came in. Well, how do you like it, said I rather fearfully. I like it, he said, it makes her look like a monk" (267) (Souhami) "**Toklas** did not know how to go about it, so the style became shorter and shorter, and the shorter it became, the better [**Stein**] liked it. By the end of the session, [**Stein**] did not have much hair left" (11-2); takes 2 days; **Hemingway** says it makes her look like a Rom. emperor, "fine if you liked your women to look like Rom. emperors" (12)

(Brinnin) Xmas eve, **Stein** and **Toklas** give party for **Anderson** and his kids (Souhami) **Thomson** brings Fay (Mellow) to annual Xmas Eve party; **Anderson** doesn't come; too depressed; **Anderson** and **Stein** can't understand why **Hemingway** got so nasty; **Stein** and **Toklas** seeing less of **Hemingway** (**Stein, Toklas**) "we did install electric radiators and [**Anderson**] turned up and we gave him a Xmas party. The radiators smelled and it was terrifically hot but we were all pleased as it was a nice party. [**Anderson**] looked as usual very handsome in 1 of his very latest scarf ties. **Anderson** does dress well and his son John follows suit. John and his sister came over with their father...It was during this visit that...**Stein** and **Anderson** had all those amusing conversations about **Hemingway**. They enjoyed each other thoroughly" (266); they "are very funny on the subject of **Hemingway**. The last time that [**Anderson**] was in Paris they often talked about him. **Hemingway** had been formed by the 2 of them and they were both a little proud and a little ashamed of the work of their minds. **Hemingway** had at 1 moment, when he had repudiated **Anderson** and all his works, written him a letter in the name of amer. lit. which he, **Hemingway**, in co. with his contemporaries was about to save, telling [**Anderson**] just what he, **Hemingway** thought about [**Anderson's**] work, and, that thinking was in no sense complimentary. When [**Anderson**] came to Paris **Hemingway** naturally was afraid. [**Anderson**] as naturally was not. As I say he and...**Stein** were endlessly amusing on the subject. They admitted that **Hemingway** was yellow, he is, ...**Stein** insisted, just like the flat-boat men on the Miss. R. as described by...Twain. But what a book they both agreed, would be the real story of **Hemingway**, not those he writes but the confessions of the real...**Hemingway**. It would be for another audience than the audience **Hemingway** now has but it would be very wonderful. And then they both agreed that they have a weakness for **Hemingway** because he is such a good pupil. He is a rotten pupil, I protested. You don't understand, they both said, it is so flattering to have a pupil who does it without understanding it, in other words he takes training and anybody who takes training is a favorite pupil. They both admit it to be a weakness...**Stein** added further, you see he is like Derain. You remember Monsieur De Tuille said, when I did not understand why Derain was having the success he was having that it was because he looks like a modern and he smells of the museums. And that is **Hemingway**, he looks like a modern and he smells of the museums. But what a story that of the real **Hemingway**, and one he should tell himself but alas he never will. After all, as he himself once murmured, there is the career, the career" (234)

1927 (Wittke) Aaron Copland writes Piano Concerto

(LeVot) Isadora d.

(LeVot) \$1 = 25 fr and stays there

(Wittke) "Milhaud's use of jazz...in La Creation du Monde...was the 1st salvo of the argument [of "highbrow/lowbrow music"]" (39)

(Smoller) Pound starts The Exile

(Mellow) **Anderson's** son John stays in Paris for Academie Julian; visits **Stein** and **Toklas** on his own (**Stein, Toklas**) "while [**Anderson**] was still in Paris John the son was an awkward shy boy. The day after [**Anderson**] left John turned up, sat easily on the arm of the sofa and was beautiful to look upon and he knew it. Nothing to the outward eye had changed but he had changed and he knew it" (234)

(Kramer) Jan.-Apr., **Thomson** visiting **Stein** and **Toklas** a lot

(Smoller) May 21, Paris, "Lindy's landed!"

(Schaffner) Oct. 10, "The Exquisite Corpse has/ the honor of inviting you/ to the reopening of/ la Galerie surrealiste/ at 16, rue Jacques-Calot/ taking place/ Mon., Oct. 10, '27/ at 3 o'clock in the afternoon.' Making one of his 1st public appearances, le cadavre exquis was the subject of the reopening exhib. of la Galerie surrealiste...Had we attended this event, we would have experienced the surrealist movement in its heyday and found le cadavre exquis in his prime"

(Smoller) Xmas, "God will forgive everybody---even [**McAlmon**] and Burton Rascoe" (188)--**Fitzgerald to Hemingway**

**1928** (Hughes) Stettheimer paints Por. of Stieglitz

(Smoller) Amer. writers do Amer. parody of transition in the Chelsea Hotel, NYC

(Smoller) "Fancy Amer.-style bars had replaced the crude but direct bistros and bal musettes of the early 20s" (188)

(Baldwin) Roland Penrose's 1st 1-man show in Paris

(Mellow) Spring, **Stein** and **Toklas** dismiss Techelitchev after fight with **Thomson** at Fleurus; **Thomson** makes up with roses; allowed back (Souhami) banish Techelitchew for bad por. of her and affairs with Sitwell and men

(Sklar) Summer, **Fitzgerald** visits **Stein** and **Toklas**; tell **Hemingway** stories

(Meserve) Nov., Al Smith loses race for presidency

**1929** (Baldwin) MOMA founded; Alfred Barr hired as 1st dir.

(Skidelsky I) Coolidge ends term as Pres.

(Baldwin) Steiglitz founds Amer. Place to "showcase his favorite artists" (233)

(LeVot) Diaghilev d. in Venice

(Kastor) In Antibes, "paradise had sadly altered...folded with Amer. tourists and no 1 swam any more save for a short hangover dip at noon. Instead people sat around the bar discussing each other" (184)

(LeVot) Dos Passos to Paris

(Souhami) Last iss. of Little Rev.; prints survey of writers

(Souhami) Last of Barney's salons

(Mellow) **Fitzgerald** at Fleurus with **Stein**, **Toklas** and **Hemingway**, baiting him about Farewell to Arms; **Fitzgerald** gets **Hemingway** to tell **Toklas** how he "achieved his great moments" (332)

(Smoller) Apr., Cowley arrives in Paris

(LeVot) Summer, Morley Callaghan visits; **Fitzgerald** tries to impress him with **Hemingway's Arms** and headstand; fights Callaghan with **Fitzgerald** as timekeeper (Smoller) **Fitzgerald** accuses Callaghan of thinking that he's gay; **McAlmon** meets Callaghan; not impressed; tells him **Hemingway's** gay; **McAlmon** takes Callaghan to Joyce

(Donnelly) Oct., Thos. Wolfe's Look Homeward, Angel pub. by Scribner's

(Skidelsky II) Oct., Wall St. crash

(Smoller) Oct., **McAlmon** meets Perkins; Perkins tells **Fitzgerald** that **McAlmon** insulted **Hemingway** at lunch; **Fitzgerald** says **McAlmon's** "failed as a writer" (223); "usually sensitive, tolerant and sympathetic... **Fitzgerald** seemed to step out of character where **McAlmon** was concerned...virulently abused [**McAlmon**] and his work seemingly far in excess of any just retribution for a palpable offense...[was] in large part responsible for undoing **McAlmon's** chances for an Amer. audience" (156)

(LeVot) Dec., **Fitzgerald** tells **Hemingway** about **McAlmon** insult (Smoller) **Hemingway** slugs **McAlmon**

(LeVot) Dec. 11, Harry Crosby commits suicide

1930 (Townsend) D H Lawrence d.

(Mellow) Marg. Anderson's autobiog., My 30- Yrs.' War, pub.

(Sklar) Blue Angel released

(Baker) Sinclair Lewis becomes 1st Amer. to win Nobel Prize for Lit.

(Donnelly) Scribner's has best yr. ever

(Schwarz) Henry Miller to Paris

## CREATIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS

1921 (Baldwin) Summer, **Stein** and **Toklas** are 1st to visit **Ray** studio, takes **Stein's** picture (**Stein, Toklas**) "we all 3 [including Jeanne Cook] went to...**Ray's** hotel. It was 1 of the little, tiny hotels in the rue Delambre and...**Ray** had 1 of the small rms., but I have never seen any space, not even a ship's cabin, with so many things in it and the things so admirably disposed. He had a bed, he had 3 large cameras, he had several kinds of lighting, he had a window screen, and in a little closet he did all his developing. He showed us pictures of...Duchamp and a lot of other people and he asked if he might come and take photographs of the studio and of...**Stein**. He did and he also took some of me and we were very pleased with the result. He has at intervals taken pictures of...**Stein** and she is always fascinated with his way of using lights. She always comes home very pleased. 1 day she told him that she liked his photographs of her better than any that had ever been taken except one snap-shot I had taken of her recently. This seemed to bother...**Ray**. In a little while he asked her to come and pose and she did. He said, move all you like, your eyes, your head, it is to be a pose but it is to have in it all the qualities of a snap-shot. The poses were very long, she, as he requested, moved, and the result, the last photographs he made of her, are extraordinarily interesting" (213-4)

1922 (Baker) After Mar. 8, **Stein** and **Toklas** visit **Hemingway** apt. to look at mss.; shows her "Up in Mich." and 1st novel (**Stein, Toklas**) "**Hemingway** had then and has always a very good instinct for finding apts. in strange but pleasing localities and good femmes de menage and good food. This his 1st apt. was just off the place due Tertre. We spent the eve. there and he and...**Stein** went over all the writing he had done up to that time. He had begun the novel that it was inevitable he would begin and there the little poems afterwards printed by **McAlmon** in the Contact Ed...**Stein** rather liked the poems, they were direct, Kiplingesque, but the novels she found wanting. There is a great deal of description in this, she said, and not particularly good description. Begin over again and concentrate, she said. **Hemingway** was at this time Paris correspondent for a can. newsp.. He was obliged there to express what he called the can. viewpoint. He and...**Stein** used to walk together and talk together a great deal. 1 day she said to him, look here, you say you and your wife have a little money between you. Is it enough to live on if you live quietly. Yes, he said. Well, she said, then do it. If you keep on doing newsp. work you will never see things, you will only see words and that will not do, that is of course if you intend to be a writer. **Hemingway** said he undoubtedly intended to be a writer" (230) (Brinnin) they "conferred, piece by piece, about most of the work he had written" (250)

(Bridgman) After Mar. 8, "circumstances other than the challenge of the Dadaists and Surrealists encouraged [Stein] to analyse her achievements in the early 20s. As she was making no particular progress, the time was ripe for a rev. of her career. Another motivation was the discovery of the young [Hemingway] at her door, come, at the instigation of Anderson, to learn the art of writing. Still another was her decision to pub. a rep. selection of her work. These stimuli turned [Stein] to self-explication, an activity she carried on industriously for the rest of her life" (165) (Hobhouse) her "morale was very much lifted by the attns. of young writers like Anderson and...Hemingway in the early '20s. Altho she worried constantly about all the unpub. work that was mounting at [her and Toklas's], she was very much aware of her reputation as an important Parisian figure" (116)

(Stein, Toklas) Winter? (Bridgman, late summer?), "in St. Remy and during this winter that [Stein] wrote the poetry that has so greatly influenced the younger generation. Her Capital Capitals, Thomson...has put to music. Lend a Hand or 4 Religions has been printed in Useful Knowledge. This play has always interested her immensely, it was the 1st attempt that later made her Operas & Plays, the 1st conception of landscape as a play. She also at that time wrote the Valentine to Anderson, also printed in the vol. Useful Knowledge, Indian Boy, printed later in the Reviewer..., and Sts. in 7, which she used to illus. her work in her lectures at Oxford and Cambridge, and Talks to Sts. in St. Remy" (226)

(Bridgman) Dec., Stein's Geography & Plays pub.; collection of her past work "as far back as '08-09...hoped to consolidate her position as a serious artist" (169) (Souhami) includes "Sacred Emily"; Toklas "selected the motto 'A rose is a rose is a rose is a rose' to appear in a circle on [Stein's] stationery. [Stein] first used the words in a poem called 'Sacred Emily'" (15); in his intro., Anderson wrote that [hers] was the most important pioneer work being done in the field of letters...[She had] even foregone the privilege of writing The Great Amer. novel...to go live among the little housekeeping words, the swaggering bullying str.-corner words, the honest working, money saving words" (151) (Stein, Toklas) "I am so completely happy that I mention it.' And mention it she did. She mentioned it and mentioned it and mentioned it"--"If You had 3 Husbands," Geography (Mellow) asks Cocteau to rev. it; doesn't ans.

1923 (Sprigge) Anderson's Many Marriages pub. (Howe) some D H Lawrence influences (Brinnin) Stein writes to say she likes it (Townsend) Fitzgerald rev. in NY Herald

(Smoller) Late spring, brochure announcing McAlmon's Contact Pub.; including Hemingway's 3 Stories & 10 Poems; decides to print Hemingway even tho he is derivative of Anderson; inundated with ms. (Simon) "grew from the journ. contact"

(Mellow) Mid-Aug., Hemingway visits Stein and Toklas on way back from Spain (Stein, Toklas) "when they came back Hemingway said that he had made up his mind. They would go back to Amer. and he would work hard for a yr. and with what he would earn and what they had they would settle down and he would give up newsp. work and make himself a writer" (231)

1924 (Stein, Toklas) Hemingway and Hadley "went away and well within the prescribed yr. they came back [as Stein had advised] with a new born baby. Newsp. work was over" (231)

(Mellow) McAlmon writing to Stein from Switz. asking for piece for Contact Collec. of Contemp. Writers; gives him "2 Women" (Smoller) also writes to Joyce, Pound, Ford and Wynd. Lewis; latter refuses (Reynolds) Hemingway sends "Dr. & Dr.'s Wife" (Souhami) pub. himself, Bryher, H D, Stein, Pound, Hemingway, Wms., Djuna

(Souhami) Feb. (Baker, Apr.?), Hemingway talks Ford into serializing Stein's Making in transatl. rev.; she never gets paid (Brinnin) gives Hemingway her only copy (Mellow) Ford thinks it's a short story; angry; tries to get Liveright to take it (Stein, Toklas) "Hemingway came in then very excited and said that Ford wanted something of...Stein's for the next number and he, Hemingway, wanted The Making...to be run in it as a serial and he had to have the first 50 pages at once....Stein was of course quite overcome with her excitement at this idea, but there was no copy of the ms. except the 1 that we had had bound. That makes no difference, said Hemingway, I will copy it. And he and I between us did copy it and it was printed in the next number of the Transatlantic. So for the first time a piece of the monumental work which was the beginning, really the beginning of modern writing, was printed, and we were very happy" (232-3)

(Reynolds) Apr., Bird pub. **Hemingway's** in our time (Martin) he "deliberately set his mark on the era with the consciously modish title of his 1st book... I had not known that the story 'Big 2-Hearted R.', the book's climactic masterpiece, had in its earlier version a long reflexive passage at the end in which the hero, Nick Adams, having landed the big trout, reveals himself as a writer" (5) (**Stein, Toklas**) "in the meantime **McAlmon** had printed the 3 poems and 10 stories of **Hemingway** and...Bird had printed In Our Time and **Hemingway** was getting to be known. He was coming to know Dos Passos and **Fitzgerald** and Bromfield and...Antheil and everybody else and Harold Loeb was once more in Paris. **Hemingway** had become a writer" (235)

(**Stein, Toklas**) "So then **Hemingway's** career was begun. For a little while we saw less of him and then he began to come again. He used to recount to...**Stein** the conversations that he afterwards used in the Sun...and they talked endlessly about the character of...Loeb. At this time **Hemingway** was preparing his vol. of short stories to submit to pub. in Amer. 1 eve. after we had not seen him for a while he turned up with Shipman. Shipman was an amusing boy who was to inherit a few thousand dollars when he came of age. He was not of age. He was to buy the Transatlantic Rev. when he came of age, so **Hemingway** said. He was to support a surrealist rev. when he came of age, Andre Masson said. ...As a matter of fact when he came of age nobody who had known him then seemed to know what he did do with his inheritance. **Hemingway** brought him with him to the house to talk about buying the Transatlantic and incidentally he brought the ms. he intended sending to Amer. He handed it to...**Stein**. He had added to his stories a little story of meditation and in these he said that The Enormous Rm. was the greatest book he had ever read. It was then that...**Stein** said, **Hemingway**, remarks are not lit." (237)

(Reynolds) Fall, **Anderson's Story Teller's Story** pub., **Hemingway** rev. it in Trib.  
(Townsend) **Stein** rev. it

(Brinnin) Oct., **Hemingway** "must be counted as the only Amer. but I--Mr. **Anderson**--who has felt the genius of...**Stein's** 3 Lives and has evidently been influenced by it. Indeed, Miss **Stein**, Mr. **Anderson**, and Mr. **Hemingway** may now be said to form a school by themselves. The characteristics of this school is a naivete of language, often passing into the colloquy of the character dealt with, which serves actually to convey profound emotions and complex states of mind. It is a distinctively Amer. development in prose"--book rev., re: "the newly arrived **Hemingway**" Dial (326)

1925 (Mellow) **Anderson's Story** pub.; **Stein** and **Hemingway** rev. it in Ex Libris (Reynolds)  
**Hemingway** rev. it

(Mellow) **Hemingway** writes Torrents in 10 days; relationship with **Stein** and **Anderson** cools

(Sklar) Apr. 10, **Fitzgerald's Gatsby** pub. (Turnbull) great rev.; sales not good (Donnelly) "from Gatsby...to Tender Is the Night...was one of the most trying times in **Fitzgerald's** career" (F-10) (**Stein, Toklas**) **Stein** said Paradise "really created for the public the new generation...She thinks this is equally true of...Gatsby" (236) (Brinnin) she cp. it to Thackeray in "creating a contemporary world" (240) (LeVot) Wharton writes to him about Gatsby; invites him and Zelda to her villa, number of Paris; gets drunk; Woolcott writes to him to praise Gatsby

(Wittke) Summer?, "**Stein's** companion **Toklas**...had a respectable musical background. As a result this [**Thomson** 1-man show of Satie's] Socrate reading further cemented the budding friendship of the 3 of them and eventually led to the creation of 4 Sts. and...Mother" (13)

(Brinnin) Sep., Making pub.; **McAlmon** tells her he'll pulp all copies if they're not sold in a yr. (Mellow) in his Contact Collection; if it "can make any claim to being a monument in the hist. of modern lit., it is as an archetypal folly--something like the Guell Park of Antonio Gaudi or the Watts Towers of Simon Rodina" (154) (Bridgman) Prologue reads, "once an angry man dragged his father along the ground thru his own orchard. 'Stop!' cried the groaning old man at last, 'Stop! I did not drag my father beyond this tree'"--from Aristotle's Nichomachean Ethics (66) (**Stein, Toklas**) "everybody quarreled. But that is Paris, except that as a matter of fact...**Stein** and he never became friends again" (216); he "became very angry and not without reason, and The Making...appeared but **McAlmon** and...**Stein** were no longer friends" (243) (Souhami) they "soured. [**Stein**] would not give him a free hand...**Toklas's** view was that he was irresponsibly drunk throughout the whole affair" (163-4); "rev. were thin and poor" (164) (Smoller) Ethel Moorhead rev. it in This Quarterly; Bryher rev. for Poetry; Stephen Vincent Benet rips it in Sat. Rev. of Lit.; first time she is rev. in a popular US magazine

(**Stein, Toklas**) After Sep., "after this we did not see **Hemingway** for quite a while and then we went to see someone, just after the Making...was printed, and **Hemingway** who was there came up to ...**Stein** and began to explain why he would not be able to write a rev. of the book. Just then a heavy hand fell on his shoulder and...**Ford** said, young man it is I who wish to speak to ...**Stein**. **Ford** then said to her, I wish to ask your permission to dedicate my new book to you. May I...**Stein** and I were both awfully pleased and touched" (237)

(**Reynolds**) Oct. 5, **Hemingway's** *In Our Time* pub. by Liveright; "there is something of **Anderson**, of his fine bare effects and values coined from simplest words, in **Hemingway's** clear medium. There is ...**Stein** equally obvious...wanting some of the warmth of **Anderson** and some of the pathos of...**Stein**...'--*New Republic*; 'With **Anderson** and Ring Lardner this author shares a secret'--*KC Star*; 'There are obvious traces of **Anderson** in Mr. **Hemingway** and there are subtler traces of...**Stein**'--*Sat. Rev. of Lit.*; 'He shows the influence of ...**Stein** very strongly, that of Joyce almost not at all; he is also very strongly under the influence of **Anderson**'--*NY Herald Trib.*" (328-9) (**Martin**) "ironically it was the advice of the supreme modernist,...**Stein**, that persuaded **Hemingway** to remove what she called his 'little story of meditations' from the end of the story ['T2-Hearted R.,'] and pub. the collection capitalised as...*Time* to deserved and universal applause" (5) (**Hobhouse**) **Edm. Wilson**, rev. it and *3 Stories*, calls him a "disciple of both **Anderson** and [**Stein**]" (128)

1926 (**Brinnin**) "We were a coterie and most of us young enough to think it very important. We were all going to be great artists and we had all sat with **Toklas** and we had all given our homage to [**Stein**]...So it was perfectly normal to attach importance to the fact that **Thomson** mulled over his melodies whilst walking in his favorite park, the Parc St. Cloud,...that [**Stein**] was going to take elocution lessons from a prof. at the Sorbonne as it was almost certain she would be invited to speak at Oxford, that **Toklas** was having trials at her dentist...that **Anderson** was coming that very afternoon to meet Picasso and that [**Anderson**] had a new wife who was a charming creature"--**Bravig Imbs** (279)

(**Howe**) **Hemingway's** *Torrents* pub.; **Anderson** says Beach's satire of it in *Benchley* and **Rob't. Sherwood's** *Life is funnier* (**Baker**) but is upset (**Reynolds**) **Hemingway** writes to him about it (**Brinnin**) "Ah, there was a woman! Where were her experiments in words leading her? What was at the bottom of it? All that in Paris. Ah, Paris!"; Part 3 was called "The Making & Marring of Amer."; **Anderson** was "puzzled" (255) by **Hemingway's** bitterness; **Stein** said he "had resented **Anderson's** stories "I'm a Fool" and "I Want to Know Why" because they frustrated **Hemingway's** determination to stake out the whole field of sports himself" (255); eventually he agreed with **Stein** about **Hemingway**; **Stein** yelled at **Hemingway** for being "ungrateful"; **Hemingway** "said that it had to be made clear that he and **Anderson** were and had always been poles apart in the matter of taste. [She] was not interested. She loved **Anderson**...There was no one else in Amer., she said, who could write so clear and passionate a sentence. **Hemingway** thought this was false and, even if it were true, he was still sure that **Anderson** was deficient in taste. [Her] ans. was that taste had nothing to do with sentences" (256)

(**Sprigge**) Jan.-Feb.?, **Hemingway** writes to **Stein** that "the young Amer. critics and their public were turning against both her and **Anderson** but that he was sure that she would win them back" (134)

(**Sklar**) May, **Fitzgerald's** "How to Waste Material: A Note on My Generation" in *Bookman*; praises **Hemingway** and **Anderson**

(**Brinnin**) Sep. 24, **Fitzgerald** visits **Stein** and **Toklas** on his 30th b'day; "he said it was unbearable to have to face that fact that his golden youth was over. When [**Stein**] insisted that, after all, he had been writing like a man of 30 for many yrs., he thanked her for telling him what he wanted to believe" (240)

(**Stein, Toklas**) Winter, "I remember [**Anderson's**] being asked to the Pen Club...**Barney** and a long-bearded Frenchman were to be his sponsors. He wanted...**Stein** to come too. She said she loved him very much but not the Pen Club...**Barney** came over to ask her...**Stein** who was caught outside, walking her dog, pleaded illness. The next day [**Anderson**] turned up. How was it, asked...**Stein**. Why, said he, it wasn't a party for me, it was a party for a big woman, and she was just a derailed freight car" (266) (**Mellow**) **Barney** had talked him into it

(**Stein, Toklas**) Xmas, **Stein** and **Anderson** "found out that they both had had and cont. to have **Grant** as their great amer. hero. They did not care so much about Lincoln either of them. They had always and still liked **Grant**. They even planned collab. on a life of **Grant**...**Stein** still likes to think about this possibility" (267)

1927 (Kramer) New Year's day, **Thomson** visits; **Stein** and **Toklas** say they're not at home; leaves setting of Asado (Souhami) while cutting her hair?; he leaves Asado score; she "replied immediately: 'I like its looks immensely and want to frame it and [**Toklas**] who knows more than looks says the things in it please her a lot and when can I know a little other than its looks but I am completely satisfied with its looks" (152)

(Souhami) Mar., **Stein** writes 4 Sts. (**Stein, Toklas**) "**Thomson**...had asked **Stein** to write an opera for him. Among the sts. there were 2 sts. whom she had always liked better than any others, St. Theresa of Avila and Ignatius Loyola, and she said she would write him an opera about these 2 sts. She began this and worked very hard at it all that spring and finally finished 4 Sts. and gave it to **Thomson** to put to music. He did. And it is a completely interesting opera both as to words and music"--**Toklas** (247)

(Kramer) New Year's Eve, **Thomson** plays and sings score of 4 Sts. for **Stein** and **Toklas**

## 1928

1929 (Kathleen Hoover) **Thomson** begins 5 Por. (Wittke) "was not the initiator of musical por. Composers had always written them....[his] incl. not only the sitter but ideas and events that occurred to him during their composition. But [his] por. are singular in that they were drawn from life....**Stein** did this in lit. and [**Thomson**], ever her disciple, aspired to do so in music. The score page was his canvas. The 'model' would sit for his or her por. [He] then proceeded to write, automatically, whatever came into his head, pausing at certain places to read what he had done, then cont. to add new material, again pausing and adding until he was satisfied that he had captured the sitter's total and individual personality. If someone else was in the rm., or something happened during the procedure, he would include that in the por., as well as any stray thoughts or reminiscences that came into his mind...[He] composed more than 150 por.: Picasso,...**Stein**,...**Toklas**, Copland, Maurice Grosser, Eugene Ormandy. The majority are for piano, and if performed as a group tend to be monotonous. They are clever and witty, but more is needed to hold our interest...Those written for instrumental combinations, or later orchestrated by the composer (or others), are far more accessible or interesting. Among them are...5 Ladies for Violin & Piano (1 of whom is **Toklas**...)" (31)

(Souhami) Summer, **Thomson** to visit **Stein** and **Toklas**'s in Bilignin; Hugnet transl. some of **Stein**'s Making into Fr; says she'll transl. one of his and totally changes it; **Thomson** intercedes; "then [**Thomson**] was dismissed (tho temp.) for his part as failed mediator" (183)

(Souhami) **Thomson** sends **Stein** and **Toklas** an invitation to one of his concerts, which includes several pieces written to [her] texts. [**Stein**] replies on 1 of her cards engraved "Miss **Stein**," under which she wrote 'declines further acquaintance with [**Thomson**].' **Toklas** had anyway never particularly liked him. She thought him frivolous and 'darted little poisoned arrows whenever she could,' said...Imbs [in Confessions of Another Young Man]" (183)

## 1930

### EXIT

(**Stein, Toklas**) "Everyone began at this time to be very occupied with their own affairs" (247)

(Souhami) "It was a pattern for [her], prompted by **Toklas**, ultimately to quarrel with and banish most of the young men, the painters and writers, she encouraged and advised" (152); **Stein** in love with **Hemingway**, "that's why **Toklas** had to get rid of him"--**Toklas** (153); "when [**Hemingway**] came over 1 morn. and heard **Toklas** speaking to [her] as he had never heard 1 person speak to another...'Don't Pussy...I'll do anything, Pussy, but please don't do it'" (152); he "started quarreling with everybody...implied that it was **Toklas** who could be cruel to [**Stein**]" (153); "the rejections were cool, deadly and delivered by **Toklas**" (181); **Toklas** "had had enough of all the young men. They ate her food, created work for her, distracted [**Stein**] from writing. She said that [**Stein**] was always finding excuses for not working. 1st it was because Picasso was there, then she hated starting on Mon., then [van Vechten] arrived unexpectedly, then Henry MacBride came. The little court dispersed. The devoted admirers became exiles. Friends of the exiles stayed away out of sympathy...'No more hrs. of gossip, no more recriminating against a common fate with pub., no more dropping in after dinner, no more little cakes, no more exciting painter discoveries to discuss, no more mss. to criticize, no more voyages in the country...I missed [**Stein**] and **Toklas** very much for a yr. Even now, sometimes, I regret the little cakes' [--Imbs, Confessions]" (184)

(Brinnin) "No single event marked [her and **Hemingway's**] estrangement and no isolated reason can account for it...drifted apart" (258)

(Hoffman) **Hemingway** told Kiddie that their break was because of "**Toklas's** jealousy of any of [**Stein's**] real men-friends" (119)

(Simon) "Getting rid of **Hemingway**, no easy task, would stand as **Toklas's** most notorious triumph. He was, after all, so charming" (122); "tho [they] liked to see people come, [they] equally liked to see them go and if they banished many, then there were always more" (149)

(Baldwin) Feb. 12, **Ray** sends a bill for "500 fr for the last series of photographs" (162); she writes back on same sheet, "kindly remember that you offered to take the last series of por. the 1st time you saw my dog...that I have always refused to sit for anyone to photograph me...to give you the exclusive rights...you haven't ever been asked to give me any returns for your sale of my photograph. My dear Man **Ray**, we are all hard up but don't be silly about it" (162); "they never spoke to each other again. The bill was never paid. And the bitterness never left [him]"

(Turnbull) Apr. 23, **Fitzgerald's** wife **Zelda** to Hospital in Malmaison; "anxiety" (192); "breaks down" (353)

(LeVot) **Zelda** admitted drunk; w. of Paris

## The Algonquin Round Table, 1919-1928

**Woolcott's Neshobe**

**Ross' Stars & Stripes**

**Ross' NY-er**

**FPA's "Conning Tower"**

### ENTRY

(Sam'l. Hopkins Adams) After Jun. 3

(Kunkel) John Peter Toohey wanted to promote Eugene O'Neill, didn't know **Woolcott**; called Murdock Pemberton to set up lunch with Toohey, Pemberton and **Woolcott; Broun** "had yet to reach his peak popularity as a columnist and champion of labor...[**Ross**], tho a founder, the unlikeliest member of the circle" (77-8)

(Meade) Jun. (Keats, May), to welcome **Woolcott** back from the war; Frank Case gave them a round table in the back of dining rm.; 35 showed up; **FPA** invited as "personal friend" of **Woolcott; Parker** invited; "insisted" (59) that **Benchley** and Rob't. Sherwood come; "all of them working together down the street at Vanity Fair, poorly paid eds. grateful to attend a free lunch welcoming **Woolcott** back from the war. Altho none of them realized it at the time, that animated party...was the 1st gathering of the Alg. Round Table. [**Parker**], content to observe, had scarcely uttered a word. She looked meek and fragile in every way, childlike, not quite 5' tall with a mop of dark hair demurely tucked under the brim of her embroidered hat and huge dark eyes that seemed to plead for the world's protection. She wore glasses, but not in public. She had never smoked a cigarette or drunk more than a sip of a cocktail. The taste of liquor made her sick. She still lived in her childhood neighborhood...and visited her married sister on Sun." (xv-xvi); "another couple at **Woolcott's** lunch had already married and spent their honeymoon in Fr. as war correspondents: [**Broun** and Hale]. [**Parker**] had met **Broun** 1 summer long ago at the shore" (60); a vague acquaintance of her sister; "at the Alg. [the 1st time, **Parker**] remained silent, shyly blinking at everyone from under the brim of her Merry Widow hat, virginal, self-conscious, and extremely well turned out in 1 of her good suits so that she looked like a Park Ave. princess slumming. She could not decide whether or not she even liked **Woolcott** or his friends...[No 1 remembered what happened that day, but] the only certainty was that [**Woolcott**] had held center stage recounting his wartime adventures at length and that the others were good natured about allowing him to spout off...[starting all with], 'When I was in the thea. of war...'" (61)

(Gaines) When the group began, **Benchley** "showed all the signs of a sustaining and important talent" (117); **Woolcott** weighed 195 at start; **Broun** brings Hale to 1st lunch; "nearly all of NY's newspapers were represented at the Alg. that day" (25); there were 12 dailies in Manhattan and 5 in Brooklyn

(Goldstein) "In the beginning, [**FPA** was] much the best known" (64); the "only genuine celebrity and serious wage earner, and thus the informal dean" (77)

(Frewin) Pemberton (Meade) or "somebody" (62) (Gaines) or Toohey said "why don't we do this every day?"

### OTHER RELATIONSHIPS

(Keats) NYC became the capital of the new mass media business

(Keats) Vincent Sheean "agreed with Gilbert Seldes that [**Parker**] was essentially an artist, whereas no 1 else in her circle was. People like [**Benchley, FPA, Woolcott, Ross, Broun**] were not so much artists as they were highly competent craftsmen and popular entertainers"

(Keats) "It was important for them to separate work from play because the work done by people in the communication arts involves the free play of ideas" (43)

(Keats) "This group enlarged to encompass what was virtually a talent elite of NY's practitioners of the communicative and performing arts of the '20s...But in the beginning, most of these people, so many of whose names are now famous, were by no means estab...Instead, most of them were hard-working and not well-pd. men and women in their mid-20s who had come from the provinces to seek their fortunes on B'way or on NY's newspapers and magazines staffs. They were, most of them, on the way up, and what they had in common was their talent, their wit and their taste, their readiness to do at any time anything that promised to be fun, and a kind of inner certainty of their future successes. It was the latter quality, so suggestive of youthful errantry, that led Murdock Pemberton to think of them as members of a new Round Table" (51-2)

(Keats) Similar to the Mermaid Tavern, 18th cent. Lond. coffee house; "what counted was being well-informed, clever and amusing in conversation, and having an awfully good time. The joyous ambience of this well-met group was not sustained by alcohol--at least, not at the Alg., for the hotel had no bar during Prohibition" (52)

(Keats) "While the group was not a conscious lit. or thea. 1 in the sense of a membership that discussed techniques and otherwise talked shop, it was certainly a critical 1, very much concerned with the lit. and thea. values of the day. They were interested in a new elegance, a new sophistication. They were conscious of a new age; they were conscious of treading frontiers, and they were very sure this fact would shortly become apparent" (52)

(Keats) "They were not in revolt against society; they merely felt superior to it. Their point was that even if most people might pursue false values, they pursued good ones of their own...They felt themselves to be an elite, and they had considerable reason to believe they were right. From there, they went on to set another standard for the nation, to create a different intellectual climate" (73)

(Keats) "It was a point of honor among the Alg. group not to take themselves seriously as creative artists" (82)

(Keats) "Their mutual friendships reinforced 1 another's talents, and they were, many of them, becoming important to NY and to the nation...[because NY was becoming] the capital of the nation's emergent mass media communications industry...[They were] by virtue of their employment as thea. critics, newsp. columnists, playwrights, newsp. and magazine eds. and writers, in a position to help set taste in the nation's leading intellectual center. The Alg.-ites could cause to be pub., and could comment on, such new writers as, for example, that of the Paris group, and thereby help to create a climate in which it would find acceptance" (85)

(Frewin) 1st named Luigi's Board

(Frewin) They spent weekends on Stanton Griffith's yacht

(Frewin) Lots of word games

(Frewin) Tony Soma's was the Puncheon Club, 42 W. 49th Str., would become '21'; owned by Jack Kriendler and Charlie Berns

(Frewin) "They were all living lives of extreme casualness...They always had to be witty, playful, entertaining. They never spoke about anything for more than minute, and never in depth, and so they were being forced to sell short on the other side of their nature: the purposeful, striving side. They wrote to make money or to be witty and, knowing instinctively that something was missing, they needed the security the group gave them. The exclusiveness of the group, the amount of time they spent together--I saw that and still do, as an index of how insecure they all were. 1 of the results was a terrible malice. Nearly all of them had a terribly malicious streak"--Dr. Barach

(Frewin) "In time, the legend of the Round Table built upon itself and soon various peripheral irregulars, all closely associated with the arts, joined the party. Since luminaries like Alfred Lunt and Lynn Fontanne, *Lady Gregory*..., Harpo Marx, Noel Coward, Peggy Wood...Edna Ferber and Peggy 'Peaches and Cream' Leech all turned up on occasion, the place quickly became a publicist's paradise....Case predictably rubbed his hands, greeting his guests with animated warmth" (37)

(Frewin) "In becoming estab. in an almost casual way, the Round Table had affixed itself to a central Manhattan hotel, thus following the pattern of similar bohemian gatherings in European capitals...The Round Table seemed in its escalating success, sufficient unto itself, an almost enclosed society of NY's art elite. It was the pattern to be seen in Berlin in the early 20s, where the center of artistic life was the Romaniche Cafe, shabbily splendid and packed with artists and writers holding forth in a haze of liquor fumes, stale air and cigarette smoke, bohemians who included ...Berthold Brecht, Chris. Isherwood...Billy Wilder,...Thos. Wolfe, as well as Albert Einstein, who was known to drink coffee and slurp boiled eggs with the best and the worst of them. Most of them buzzed around Ullstein's *Der Querschnitt* lit. estab. like bees round a sunflower. The Romanische had ricocheted off the Domino Room of the celebrated Cafe Royal in Regent Str., Lond., which, as the reprobate Frank Harris recorded, had 'the best cellar on earth.' This was the place where the ornate gilt mirrors reflected a formidable procession of artistic giants of the stature of Fritz Kreisler, Amer.-born Jas. McNeill Whistler, D H Lawrence, the eclectic Ronald Firbank, Oscar Wilde and...Walter Sickert...Hugh Walpole...and T S Eliot, most of them contributing to the *Sat. Rev.* What the Mermaid Tavern had been to the Elizabethans, Wills' Lond. Coffee House to the Augustans, The Cock to the mid-Vic., the Cafe Royal to the late Vic. and the Edwardians, the Alg. was fast becoming to the NY 20s lit. scene" (37-8)

(Frewin) "Concurrent, too, with the Vicious Circle in Manhattan, the celebrated B'bury set held sway in Lond.---'9 characters in search of an author'--*Virginia* and *Leonard*..., *Strachey*,...*Keynes*, Desmond MacCarthy,...*Fry*, *Clive* and *Vanessa*...and...*Grant*., leaders of a group which had another 30 or more artists, writers, poets and journalists fetching up the rear. Between them the B'buryites represented the intellectual end of the arts and crafts of Brit. politics, fiction, biography, criticism and painting, a loftier lot, it has to be admitted, than their Alg. contemporaries. They, too, were to center much activity on a magazine, Cyril Connolly's *Horizon*, and to a lesser extent, on *Leonard's*...pub. house, the Hogarth Press. They took their pleasures and food in their Georgian homes and in the lesser-known restaurants of B'bury, Gordon, Mecklenburgh and Russell Sq. in Lond.'s B'bury district, becoming known as 'that elite group in which all the couples were triangles who lived in sq.'" (38)

(Frewin) "If the Alg. set was something of an enclosed order, what was happening in the serious lit. scene in Amer. at large, outside the somewhat incestuous habitat of the Manhattan hotel? In artistic terms, Amer. writing was poised for a breakthrough. Eur. had unquestionably led the way; now it was time for Amer.'s new lit. talents to come to the fore" (39)

(Frewin) "Amer., hitherto a cult. insecure nation, was embracing the arts with latent joy; and artistically was finding its feet, helped by other emergent poets, playwrights and writers like Rob't. Frost...[*Stein*], Amer. writer-emigre in Paris; and [Pound, *Anderson*], and Upton Sinclair" (41)

(Frewin) "Sometimes profane in dialogue, it was also a secular site of thea. shop talk, bitchy gossip, epicene epigrams and rapier ripostes. It was, indeed NY's trade center of vituperative vipersions" (42)

(Frewin) "The journalists saw to it that the best of the stories and bon mots were quoted in their columns, chiefly because so many of them were...quotable" (43)

(Frewin) "There is little doubt that several of those within the charmed circle spent waking, and often what should have been sleeping, hours dreaming up verbal strikes for the next day's assemblage in The Rose Room" (43); "out of these wet clothes and into a dry martini" was attributed to **Parker**, **Woolcott** or **FPA**, but **Benchley** said it

(Frewin) "If you did not approve of the Table, you certainly couldn't ignore it; it was growing in stature from comment to comment, from story to story, from riposte to riposte. As Mrs. [Averell] Harriman wrote, 'The Round Table has the bloom of youth on it'" (44)

(Frewin) "All considered it a mortal sin to take themselves, or others, seriously" (45)

(Frewin) "Determined by now, they were glorifying in their public profiles, playing happily to a city and a decade that seemed to be there for them alone. Their clothes were uniforms, emblems of style: **Woollcott** sported a cape and top hat to opening nights; [**Parker**] came to be known for her splendid hats; **Benchley** and [Don. Ogden] Stewart made an annual harvest-time ritual of buying Derbies at Brooks; [**Connelly**] bought an Inverness;...[**Broun**] made a virtue of his dishabille which made **Woollcott** think of him as 'an unmade bed.' More than ever they began to honor their ambitions for each other and themselves in mutually beneficial antics outside their inner circle"--Gaines (61)

(Frewin) "So the baseball game with D. [O] Stewart...thence to G **Kaufman's**, and played cards, and lost so little that H **Ross** said it was a moral victory...So to H **Broun's**, where a great party and merry as can be, and we acted a play, J Toohey being the most comickal of all;...Then after to R Sherwood's to play at cards, and an amusing game we had of it, save for the long and dreary recital of a story of H **Broun's**...**Benchley** came in to watch and did most comickal antics ever I saw in my life, what with imitating a cyclone and a headwaiter...All very gay on the str. and I threw snowballs at A **Woollcott**, who chased me and washed my face in the snow, but not by strength but by weakening me with causing me to laugh at his antics and crude remarks...and so to dinner with R **Benchley** and Mistress [**Parker**]...and so home, at nearly 4 in the morning. But I made a vow that I shall go to bed early forever after this"---**FPA**, "Diary of Our Own Sam'l. Pepys" (62)

(Frewin) "The group discussed and verbally fought each other with opinion, fact and fancy, changing the subject whenever fatigue threatened" (72)

(Frewin) Case sat them together in front of a mirror to reflect at 1st; let them eat on credit; gave free starters; was "unwilling to accept them as full-fledged adults" (74)

(Frewin) **Parker** "was a night creature, invariably returning home late at night or in the early morn., sleeping only a few hrs. before getting up around 11 to meet her friends for lunch at the Alg.. After lunch they moved on to the speakeasies and, later, to a play, a film, an art opening and more speakeasies--followed by an impromptu party at either **Ross's**, at **Woollcott's** place, Neysa's studio, Swope's NY apt., or somewhere else. It didn't matter where, so long as there were people and something to drink, even if it was the familiar, embellished grain alcohol stored in a cupboard in the bathroom. **Woollcott**, having assumed his garrulous leadership of the pack, saw to it that there was always plenty of booze in his apt. in the Campanile, a coop. apt. house on the E. River where...[**Parker**] and **Ross** also stayed during the Vicious Circle era; [she] dubbed the building Old Manse R. before she rechristened it Wit's End" (74-5)

(Frewin) At Neysa's, "squatted uncomfortably round an ottoman, [**FPA**, **Connelly** and **Parker**] will be playing cold hands to see who will buy dinner that eve. At the bookshelf [**Benchley**] and ...Ferber are amusing themselves vastly by thoughtfully autographing her set of...Twain for her" (84)

(Frewin) **Parker** "went frequently to the thea., for in those days there were as many as 9 openings in a single week during the season, but this cost nothing because she attended plays together with Mr. **Woollcott** or Mr. **Benchley**, and thea. critics were always assigned 2 free seats. The books she read were rev. copies given her by magazines and newsp. friends. And her greatest source of amusement cost nothing at all, consisting as it did of the company of her friends. She was so seldom home that her private life was, in a sense, nonexistent. She would wake at mid morn. and at noon meet friends for lunch. The working hrs. of many of the Alg. group were elastic and nocturnal; this was particularly true of the newsp. columnists **FPA** and...**Broun** and of the motion picture and thea. critics Sherwood, **Benchley** and **Woollcott**...After a leisurely lunch, someone might propose a thing that seemed fun to do"--Keats (89)

(Frewin) "'The Alg. group were by no means alone in spending so much of their time with 1 another,' says Keats. This was the pattern of life in NY in the 20s. People tended to go out in groups, playing together, staying up all night together. The Alg. group lived and worked in Manhattan, and could conduct all of their social and working lives, every day, within a few blocks of Manhattan's W. Side between the 40s and 50s" (91-2)

(Frewin) After the tea and parties, "still later a session of consequences, Shedding Light, Categories, or The Game, in what was no longer the same night but hrs. into the next day, the whole party might move to Polly Adler's bawdy girl shop for conversation with *les girls* and with Mrs. Adler, who would later find fame as a litterateur of sorts with her book A House Is Not A Home, which her house then most certainly never was. It was such a favorite haunt of the group that one of [Parker's] friends had a charge acc't. and kept a black Jap. kimono there. This friend was in fact, ...Kaufman. Attired in his kimono, 'he would sit down to play backgammon with Mrs. Adler for \$20 a game--this being the price of a girl's favor--while everyone would crowd around to see how the game came out.' Altho more circumspect about his patronage, ...Benchley also had a charge acc't. there, of which Mrs. Parker knew and seemed not to mind. 'On occasion, Don. O Stewart would take [Parker] to Polly's in the afternoon, and she would sit in the parlor and chat while, [he] said, "I went upstairs to lay some lucky girl" [--Keats]'" (91)

(Frewin) "The Alg. group was somewhat in the position of Puck saying 'What fools these mortals be,' altho they were not so far above the battle as Puck. They felt themselves to be an elite, and they had considerable reason to believe they were right. From there, they went on to set another std. for the nation, to create a different intellectual climate. But they did this *en passant*"--Keats (92)

(Frewin) Ross "admired Parker, but was suspicious of her. Yrs. later, Jas. Thurber recalled that Ross had said at the time: 'You've got to watch Woolcott...and Parker...They keep trying to get double meanings into their stuff to embarrass me'" (134)

(Frewin) Parker "was drinking far too much, which greatly concerned Benchley, who finally persuaded her to consult with AA. Afterwards, she met with Benchley, Sherwood, the Stewarts and [Woolcott] at Tony's. All were eager to learn about her consultation. She was unusually quiet. Benchley broke the ice: 'What do you think about AA,...?' he asked. 'I think it's an admirable outfit,' she replied. 'Are you going to join?' 'Certainly not,' [she] retorted. 'They want me to stop now!'" (143)

(Meade) Tony Soma's closing time was whenever the last 1 left

(Meade) Crowninshield was in middle of disputes between staff and Conde Nast

(Meade) From spring to Thanksgiving, Parker would arrive at Swope's on Sat. afternoon, drink, wait for other guests, including FPA, Ruth Gordon, Sherwoods, Ethel Barrymore, Broun, Woolcott; met Bern. Barach there; tea at 6 or 7, dinner at midnite; he gave them a mutt as a present; also weekends at Pulitzer's in Manhasset or Harriman's; home to Manhattan on Mon.

(Meade) Many celebrities came, but Case was not impressed; they were "just a crowd of unusually agreeable folk...none of them had any money"--Case, Tales of a Wayward Inn (65)

(Meade) The main restaurant, the Rose Rm., had the big celebrities, such as John Barrymore and Doug. Fairbanks; "from the outset, they tended to be cliquish; nobody sat at their table without an invitation and they referred to themselves as 'the Board' and to their lunches as 'Board Meetings'" (74)

(Meade) Except for FPA, none had done anything; "Woolcott, despite his affectations, was beginning to achieve some popularity. Broun and Benchley were highly regarded journalists but without big followings. Nobody had heard of [Kaufman], who was earning \$4000 a yr. at the Times...As for [Ross], Case must have examined him with an air of incredulity because he described him as 'a sort of adopted child, taken in on approval before the final papers were signed'"--Case, Tales (74)

(Meade) "The most striking fact about the writers was their vitality and the intense pleasure they seemed to take in 1 another's co. They were always laughing and joking, clearly having a terrific time. Unfortunately, the jokes never earned them any money...[Mankiewicz said] 'there goes the greatest collection of unsaleable wit in America' [--Margaret Case Harriman, The Vicious Circle; Case helped change this because he] provided a free club house" (74)

(Meade) "Altho [Ring Lardner] had mixed feelings about the Round Table, they honored him with an intensity that bordered on reverence and considered him a master of the short story...Edm. Wilson suspected that they badly needed 'such a presiding but invisible deity, who is assumed to regard them with a certain scorn'" [--Wilson, The 20s] (76)

(Meade) "In the earliest days of the Round Table nobody strained to make an impression. Conversation was relaxed and stories flowed unrehearsed. It never occurred to them that their remarks might be worth recording for posterity, altho [FPA] occasionally printed those that had tickled him. In fact, [he] could be considered the Boswell of the Round Table. He unapologetically filled his column with plugs for their various activities and kept a running chronicle of the most mundane aspects of their lives: '...so to Mistress [Parker's] and found A. Woollcott there in the finest costume ever I saw off the stage; spats and a cutaway coat, and silk high hat among the grand articles of his apparel....So to a great party at Neysa's and had some talk with Miss Ruth Gillmore and D. Parker...and so to dinner with R. Benchley and Mistress...Parker, and then with her to see Back to Methuselah....To luncheon and found there Mrs....Parker and ...Sherwood and he feeling ill, and was for taking train to Pelham, but I drove him there with [her] and she back to the city with me, and very pleasant and no chatterer at all...and so uptown, and met Mistress Neysa McMein and...Parker, and they asked me to walk with them and look in windows, which I promised to do if they would not beg me to buy them this or that, and they said they would not, but they teased for everything they saw, from emerald necklaces to handkerchiefs. But I was firm and bought them never a thing.' So [Parker], it seemed, idled away her afternoons window-shopping and partied thru the nights but never was she glimpsed sweating over a typewriter--to the old lady in Dubuque, this was the perfect fantasy of the lit. life, and the very embodiment of NY sophistication" (84)

(Meade) "Ross, a favorite target of their ribbing, never got off a memorable crack himself. Benchley's appearance at the table usually meant gentle humor and a comic description of his daily vicissitudes...Woollcott's std. repartee relied heavily on insults...[Parker] spoke infrequently. 1 of her greatest talents...was to make a perfect comeback or to say nothing" (85)

(Meade) They "were having the time of their lives. Very quickly they had become essential to 1 another, the way a shining new love drives out all other thoughts. Theirs was a special affair, magical, fierce, childlike. They were remarkably tolerant of each other's pathologies, which in some cases they shared, and rivalry was curiously absent. Eating lunch soon became the least part of it. They met for breakfast and dinner, slept together, worked cooperatively and went on group vacations [including Neysa's honeymoon]. They patronized the same physician, Woollcott's dr...The Round Table also acquired its own unofficial psychotherapist [Parker and Broun's Dr. Barach]" (86)

(Meade) "Always showing off for each other, they could be reasonably confident of receiving attn. and appreciation. Their meetings were boisterous enough to attract disapproving stares from outsiders, but they took no notice. They were always their own best audience and needed no 1 else. If they listened endlessly to each other's jokes, they also paid attn. to each other's routine headaches, tho they tended to hide the big troubles. They were quick to offer comfort...If they found themselves apart for any length of time, they suffered from separation anxiety...Noel Coward was amazed to run into the same group of them 3 times in 1 day, in 3 different places. 'But don't they ever see anyone bloody else? [--Harriman, Circle]" (86)

(Meade) "It was also true that not 1 of them could tolerate being alone, which is a different thing entirely. In fact, the existence of such a group made it possible for them as individuals to avoid loneliness and self-examination. Their habit was to share the troublesome parts of life, all the painful stuff they found hard to acknowledge, under [Case's] big table and pull the cloth down" (86)

(Meade) They didn't know any good marriages; "Benchley...was in a dreadful mess. [Kaufman] had stopped sleeping with Bea. [FPA] bedded a succession of young women, whose names he flaunted in his columns for his wife and a million NY-ers to read over their morning coffee...Nothing inspiring about the marriages of [Broun and Ross]. [Hale and Grant], paragons of feminist strength, may have kept their maiden names, but they spent much of their time running households and entertaining their husband's friends" (91)

(Meade) "The Round Tablers held a high opinion of [Swope], which had nothing to do with the fact that at 1 time or another he had employed most of them. Woollcott, FPA, Deems Taylor, even Benchley and Broun, for a brief period, were all World columnists" (113)

(Meade) "Those Round Tablers not afflicted by alcoholism had other crippling problems that made happiness difficult to sustain. Few of them managed to find satisfaction in love or marriage" (322)

(Rosmond) It "didn't include some of the great humorists of the era, such as [Ring]"

(Rosmond) **FPA** was "1 of the most vocal supporters **Kaufman** and **Connelly** had" (44)

(Rosmond) "They weren't what they were cracked up to be. That bunch at the Alg. insulted each other all the time. If you said to 1 of them, 'How are you?' he'd answer, 'Better than you are, old boy!'"--Thurber (88)

(Rosmond) At the beginning, weren't famous; "they were still in a wistful, peering at the future stage...[But Case] allowed credit and charged low prices" (89)

(Gaines) "Dreiser, [*Anderson*], [Edward Arlington] Robinson, [Edgar Lee] Masters and Sandburg were all in their 40s before they were able to devote most of their time to writing; Sinclair Lewis was 35 before he made his 1st success with Main Str. It was different with the new group of writers. Largely as a result of what the older group had accomplished, their public was ready for them, and they weren't forced to waste yrs. working in a custom house, like Robinson, or writing advertising copy, like [*Anderson*]. At the age of 24, *Fitzgerald* was earning \$18,000 a yr. with his stories and novels. *Hemingway*, Wilder, Dos Passos and Louis Bromfield were internationally known novelists before they were 30. They had a chance which the older men lacked to develop their craftsmanship in book after book; from the very first they were professionals"--Malcolm Cowley, Exile's Return

(Gaines) "Good practical reason for coming...a chance to join the company of people who were relatively successful and could help them achieve the same goal...No 1 came...a 'nobody'; they all held respectable positions...and were showing talent almost as prodigious as their ambition. Still, like most fervent self-believers, they also needed reassurance that they were indeed as good as they thought. That reassurance came almost as a prerequisite of acceptance in the Alg. group" (29)

(Gaines) "Unprecedented and still unmatched boom in thea. building and new prod...Amer. thea. became more than the thoughtless entertainer it had been before; it began to judge and reflect and in that role found its maturity...The war had made the world safe for, and needful of, satire" (39-40); \$10,000 to mount a prod.; \$3 to \$5 per head for a few 100 in audience equaled a long run

(Gaines) "Altho everyone at the Round Table owed some part of his success to **FPA**, no 1 owed him more than **Kaufman**...except perhaps for ...**Parker**...[who said he] 'raised me from a couple'" (40)

(Gaines) "Part of their success [**Broun** and **FPA**], like that of the **Kaufman** comedies, lay in their ability to convey a sense of in-ness to their readers...often more apparent than real...They also had a large market for their prod., which was nothing less than an inside line to the new sophistication" (47-8)

(Gaines) **FPA** "filled his column with more sparkle than light" (50)

(Gaines) "The charge against them all was logrolling" (50)

(Gaines) The 1st yrs. "were inarguably a swirl of success, publicity, mutual admiration and the happy coincidence of various self-interests, for they were all patently in the same bus....**Woolcott** and **Benchley** and **Parker**...rev. plays by **Kaufman** and **Connelly** and perf. by their friends" (52)

(Gaines) "No 1 had to pass money under the Round Table to get his name in the papers. That was just 1 of the privileges of membership...Not to suggest any explicit bargains were struck, only that no 1 cared to draw the line between private life and public role" (54)

(Gaines) "For the expanding and moveable party that was the Round Table, these were heady times indeed. Success seemed assured to those who did not already have it, and...it...was every bit as much fun as they had dreamed it would be. The Round Table had become a magnet" (59)

(Gaines) "For all their talk, there seems to have been little communication" (78)

(Gaines) "A lost generation of its own sort...they were a crucial few yrs. older than the widely hailed generation of 'flaming youth'" (80)

(Gaines) "All of the Alg. men seem to have suffered from the sexual repercussions commonly ascribed to the Vic. era" (82)

(Gaines) "The losers seemed to be in the majority" (88)

(Gaines) "Home was where you were quite likely to be interrupted at any time by a band of people with nothing better to do than barge in and play" (100)

(Gaines) "They were always 'on'" (102)

(Gaines) "The time and energy of people busily depleting themselves on enormously unimportant matters...They certainly helped recycle each other's books" (112)

(Gaines) "Never have so many writers in NY written so much alike" (113)

(Gaines) "In their work and in their play, the Round Tablers were only giving what their public demanded of them, which was more and more connected to the legend they were creating for themselves--a legend demanding greater and greater 'debunking,' more and more daring, higher heights of defiance for which the writer would have to pay a private cost" (114)

(Gaines) "However diverse the Algonquinites were in personality, they were unanimous in writing mainly for money...They came to writing as a bus. from the beginning, and so it remained for all but a few of them" (124)

(Gaines) "Of the city's pre-eminent critics...I might have...expected better taste" (126)

(Gaines) "No evidence that any...were ever bribed" (128)

(Gaines) "Nast kept a meticulous file of names from which he compiled his guest list for parties. [Divided into A, B and C]...the Alg. crowd was considered and considered itself a group of perf. guests: they knew enough of fine manners to write books parodying them...They were already ranking practitioners of the art of indoor entertainment...and their gifted conversation could be relied upon to enliven any gathering...The return in food and good liquor were plentiful. They cemented important connections with pub. and eds. and, as time went on, they compiled from these parties a roster of angels for their work and play" (130)

(Gaines) "Not long before **Ross** enforced his moratorium on further coverage of the Round Table, **Ralph Barton** took up the subject of logrolling [in the magazine], and, except for the fairly charitable response he wrote for **Geo. Jean Nathan**, his ans. were very like the ones the principals often gave: "The Enquiring Reporter: Every week he asks a ques. of 5 people at random. This week the ques. is: Do the critics and writers who lunch at the Alg. Hotel logroll for each other or is that just another lie of the interests? The Ans.:...**Woolcott**, dramatic critic and boulevardier, of W. 47th Str.: "Stuff and nonsense! There is no such thing as an 'Alg. group,' and if there were, they would never have a kind word for each other. Isn't...**Broun** always saying nasty things about [FPA's] superb writings in 'It Seems to Me,' **Broun's** magnificent daily column in the NY World? And isn't [FPA's] brilliant 'Conning Tower' almost completely devoted to roasting **Broun's** epoch-making novels?"...**Broun**, art critic and novelist, of Park Row: "I don't know anything about logrolling, but I know what I like. It is true that I drop in at the Alg. Hotel now and then at lunch time. After all, it is the center of life and cult. and I is likely to see there all the people in the world worth knowing. Then, too, anyone who hates a boiled shirt as much as I do likes to be among friends. A fellow can't get his back and shoulders into untidiness when there is co.'" [FPA], columnist and poet, of Park Row: "Whom are you to ask me such a ques., like you suspected me of logrolling? I have looked up all the statutes, local, state, and nat'l., covering the subject, and I have searched thru the Index Expurgatorius, the Code Napoleon, the Corpus Juris Civilis, and the 10 Commandments, and I didn't find a word in any of them that would force anybody to listen to logrolling if he didn't want to hear it"...**Georges**, head-waiter at the Alg. Hotel, W. 44th Str.: "I am only a head-waiter, but it seems to me, from all that I have heard on the subject of logrolling, that the principal objection to logrolling held by those who object to logrolling is that the log is not being rolled for the right person"" (171)

(Gaines) "In part it was the war that had come between the Alg. writers and those in Paris (and, indeed, some other writers in NY). The Round Table writers had been happy warriors almost to a man, while the vision of most of their lit. peers, esp. those who served in ambulance units in the years before the US joined the war, was war-sick. The great distance between close-up horrors of trench-and-gas warfare and grandiloquent prose in justification of those horrors has been credited with shocking Amer. writers abroad into lower-case letters and leaner prose. The Stars & Stripes Alg.-ites had been, of course, among the foremost retailers of the war. However much a symbol of the lit. life the Round Table became for later generations, among the best of what John Peale Bishop called 'the 1st lit. generation in Amer.,' it was regarded with signal disdain...The expatriate writers generally spoke of the Alg. group derisively when they deigned to speak of them at all" (158)

(Gaines) "1st writing celebrities of a new mass culture" (254)

(Meserve) "Drama in Amer. was assuming a quality it could not have boasted previously" (38)

(Rchd. O'Connor) A scene in Gentleman Marry Brunettes was set in the Alg.

(Rchd. O'Connor) **Broun** incl. **Parker** with Swope and **Woollcott** on his "All-Amer. Talking Team" (83)

(Rchd. O'Connor) "The promising beginner in any of the popular arts had a chance to prove himself. If he or she belonged to 1 of the cliques which made such opportunity easier, so much the better" (100)

(Rchd. O'Connor) Case "displayed them like gems in a jewelry window" (101)

(Rchd. O'Connor) "All that self-promotion effort...might indicate.. sort of a conspiracy, but actually its primary purpose was amusement" (102)

(Rchd. O'Connor) They "rightly felt they stood at stage center, during a lit. and thea. renaissance, during a time when the popular arts were booming" (103)

(Rchd. O'Connor) "'Far from boosting 1 another they actually were merciless if they disapproved. I have never encountered a more hard-bitten crew. But if they liked what you had done they did say so, publicly and wholeheartedly. Their stds. were hi, their vocabulary fluent, fresh, astringent and very, very tough. Theirs was a tonic influence, 1 on the other, all on the world of Amer. letters. The people they could not and would not stand were the bores, hypocrites, sentimentalists, and the socially pretentious. They were ruthless toward charlatans, toward the pompous and the mentally and artistically dishonest. Casual, incisive, they had a terrible integrity about their work and boundless ambition [--Ferber, autobiog.] They were also the most hilarious, gay, rowdy, charming, laughing people she knew. 'They were a hard-boiled crew; brilliant, wise, witty, generous and debunked...About their own work hrs. they were hard as nails. But when work was finished they had more fun than any other group I've ever seen. They played like children'" (104-5)

(Rchd. O'Connor) They lived "by taking in each other's joshing" (105)

(Rchd. O'Connor) NYC was "just then becoming the capital of the proliferating mass media communication industry" (109)

(Rchd. O'Connor) "Some...thought they should occupy themselves with something more serious than chitchat" (114)

(Rchd. O'Connor) "What the hell else was there to do? Who else was there?"--Don. O Stewart (114)

(Goldstein) "The Round Table regulars numbered almost 30. Since they were all working people with the somewhat unpredictable hrs. and duties imposed by the crafts of journalism, thea. and fiction writing, not every 1 of them could be present every day. But as frequently as possible they repaired to the hotel, [it] became essential to their well-being" (66)

(Goldstein) "Not yet the artistic capital of the world, NY was at least the artistic capital of the US, in the new era signaled by the Armistice its creative energy brought forth new canons of taste and judgment. Novelty was in heavy demand. Eugene O'Neill...was not only revolutionizing Amer. drama, he was winning the attn. of Europe...*Fitzgerald*, spokesman for the young, was bringing contemporaneity to the novel of manners. Jazz was becoming respectable...The city itself was rising in a building boom...; where isolated towers had stood, skyscrapers erected side by side created canyons of brick and limestone. Prohibition, as the 'wets' had predicted, was not working, and the particular way in which it failed, with the emergence of the speakeasy as a center of social activity, added to the hectic pace of urban life. In the course of an evening those who liked their liquor followed a trail from bar to bar in search of guaranteed imported scotch and gin (as opposed to the synthetic stuff concocted out of who knew what substance in some Greenwich Village cellar)" (65)

(Goldstein) "No 1 seated himself unbidden at the table; neither fame nor money nor talent nor all 3 in combination were sufficient to ensure a welcome. Wit and the ability to evoke it in others were 2 prerequisites and a 3rd was the common sense not to try to dominate the conversation...No vote of the regulars was necessary to keep away [anyone] when a cool glance could do it" (68-9)

(Goldstein) "A collection of 1st-rate 2nd-raters"--Peggy Wood's father, a newsp. man (72)

(Goldstein) "Most of the Alg. writers...felt the desire to turn the past upside down...**Parker** in light verse, **Benchley** in comic essays, **Sherwood** in plays" (75); **Kaufman** and **Connelly** in their Life calendar

(Kunkel) "Edith Wharton's NY was giving way to...*Fitzgerald*'s" (72)

(Kunkel) "Didn't start out to be a salon, or a cascade of wit" (76)

(Kunkel) "The wits cross pollinated feverishly...Many of the glowing notices were deserved...not all the notices were glowing" (80)

(Kunkel) "Worked hard at play" (81)

(Kunkel) "In managing creative people, who can be overly sensitive, given to self-doubt and capable of leading messy personal lives, hand-holding is as critical an ed. skill as blue-pencil ed." (163)

(Allen) "This smart set, this in-crowd,...prodigals rather than prodigies, Peter Pans smoking cigarettes and betraying their wives with 'a kind of inner certainty of their future success' [--Keats]" (G6)

(Allen) "There have always been coteries to provide the sense of 'such an acute limited excellence...that everything afterward savors of anticlimax,' as *Fitzgerald* said of a Yale football hero in *The Great Gatsby*. Coteries are not peculiar to the arts. There are neighborhood potluck groups that last until the 1st adultery. They are 13-year-olds hanging around the country club snack bar, never knowing this will be the best summer of their lives, but happy to be irritating everybody around them. In politics, we've had the OSS spooks in WWII, and the Kennedy White House, a Camelot that didn't exist until it was gone. What promise! What doom! We precious few, we band of bros.! Coteries have to seem eternal, with a sense of being chosen and exempt. Coteries have to have a public, which can be anyone from the others kids in the hi school to the NY-ers--some celebrities themselves--who lunched at the Alg. just to witness the Round Table. A public gives the coterie someone to exclude, and it creates self-consciousness. This is the preferred state of narcissists, and a state that encourages a sense of entitlement, even a sense of being a living legend. This is what coteries are all about--a feeling like nostalgia for the present, like the snugness of cozy purpose inspired by 2 or 3 oz. of whiskey" (G6)

(Allen) "And there was wit. Before tv, before radio, human beings entertained themselves by pursuits that included talking. Some did it well, and some of the best of them got to the Round Table...Much laughter around the table. The glazed eyes of people scouring their psyches for comebacks. Anita Loos, author of Gentlemen Prefer Blondes, had a character in another work say that the Round Table geniuses 'are so busy thinking up some cute remark to make that they never have time to do any listening.' They ate breakfast and dinner together. They went on vacations together, slept together, went to the same drs. and talked about it all at parties thrown for them by the rich on the no. shore of Long Isl." (G6)

(Allen) "To have been There, Then, or at any of the others: To have drunk in eternal cafes with *Hemingway*, Dos Passos, Lady Duff Twysden,...*Ray*, the whole Lost Generation utterly bitched and beautifully wounded, and isn't it pretty to think so? To have stood in the abstract expressionist sawdust of the Cedar Bar next to [Jackson] Pollock, Kline and [Willelm] de Kooning; to have noted the doings of Wm. Burroughs, Paul Bowles and company amid the boys and hashish of Tangiers; to have hung out at Minton's in Harlem in the bebop '40s, hearing Charlie Parker, Dizzy Gillespie and Bud Powell ricocheting thru improbable chord changes at impossible tempos. To have ridden on the psychedelic school bus in the middle '60s as part of the Merry Pranksters led by novelist Ken Kesey, who said, 'You're either on the bus or off the bus.' To have been at Andy Warhol's Factory in NY when Edie Sedgwick was proving that you could look, live, suffer and get hi like an artist and have the lovely doomed secret we-few feeling of artists' coteries, and you didn't have to make any art at all. Burning with a hard, gemlike flame. Burning the candle at both ends. Such a glow, such charisma" (G6)

(Grimes) "The hist. record, and the less than enthralled commentary of many Round Table contemporaries, suggests a scandalous thought: The Round Table really wasn't all that funny. The members were. No I would argue that **Parker's** stories, **Benchley's** sketches and movie shorts, **Kaufman** and **Connelly's** plays and movie scripts were not grade-A Amer. humor. But the Round Table itself was a different matter. 'I spent a good deal of time researching this, and my sense is that it wasn't funny at all,' said...Gaines, the managing ed. of Time magazine... 'It was very competitive, which made it sort of unfunny. I certainly would not have wanted to have lunch with them'" (B1)

(Grimes) Director Alan Rudolph "a fan of the group, does concede that some members used cheat sheets for their 1-liners" (B1-2)

(Grimes) "H L Mencken, who often stayed at the Alg., called the group 'literati of the 3rd, 4th and 5th rate.' He loathed them. ' He thought that they were silly and not true wits and more interested in publicity than in serious artistic accomplishment,' said Jonathan Yardley, the ed. of Mencken's My Life as Author & Ed. 'And he was right.'" (B2)

(Grimes) "A cold examination of the record shows that the famous Round Table gems tend to fall into 2 categories: written rather than spoken lines, and quips whose provenance seems shaky at best" (B2)

(Leonard) "I cannot escape the thought that luncheons at the Round Table must have been boring on an epic scale. Probably no-one ever touched his food; it was not unlike a conclave of vaudeville comics, with each 1 waiting to get a word in and cap his neighbor's *quip du jour*, to be noted down and quoted by Walter Winchell and other shop-soiled Boswells" (15)

(Drennan) "A typical incident was the time...**Ross** broke a dinner engagement with...**Woollcott** (without telling him why) so that he could go the thea. with...**Connelly**. **Connelly** and **Ross** made the mistake of dining at the Alg., where they were spotted by **Woollcott**, who obviously took it as a personal insult. Later that night **Woollcott** rec'd. the following telegram: 'Dear [**Woollcott**], I find myself in a bit of a jam. If anyone asks you where I was tonight would you mind saying I was with you? (signed) **Ross**.'" Actually, it was **Connelly** who sent the telegram in **Ross'** name" (13)

(Drennan) "The group's avg. age was not much older than the cent. itself, and before its members had passed into the next decade, each had achieved his respective niche in contemporary Amer. letters or thea." (14)

(Drennan) The...'Vicious Circle,' as they preferred calling themselves--came together, as any in-group must, because of mutual interests. To begin with, each possessed, or was possessed by, the spirit of his times, and each, as if touched by a common muse, found natural direction in the urge to record that spirit under the elusive mask of comedy. On the 1 hand, they embraced the 'roaring 20s' for the fun-loving hell of it, setting the pace, telling the jokes, pulling the pranks, ignoring the future...On the other hand, they took issue with the general feeling of apathy, the moral and social indifference so characteristic of the period, their humor lashing out at the inadequacies and injustices of the Estab. under which they flourished" (14)

(Drennan) "Whatever regrets they may have experienced in later life, the Round Tablers of the 20s were far too involved in living to worry about long-range goals. They enjoyed good food and drink, camaraderie, talk, travel, and stud poker. Their daily luncheons were inevitably drawn out well beyond the customary hour" (16)

(Drennan) "It is important to remember that the Round Tablers sought each other out before they themselves became the sought-after celebrities of Manhattan. Generally speaking, all were young, fun-loving, and ambitious; all took a strong interest in thea., sports, politics, and social problems; and, most noteworthy, all were gregarious, loquacious, articulate. Their common bond and peculiar genius was, of course, *wit*, altho their excellence in conversation, repartee, and bons mots may have caused them to undervalue their contributions to the community of letters" (15)

(Drennan) **FPA** "wrote in the 'genteel' tradition, excelling in urbanity, hi wit, and erudition. Contributors to 'The Conning Tower' included Round Tablers...**Kaufman**,...**Parker**, and...**Woolcott**...**Ross** based much NY-er humor on 'The Conning Tower,' liked [**FPA**'s] emphasis on 'humor with a local flavor.' Described as 'the cigar-smoking, pool-playing little gargoyle with the long neck and the big nose and the bushy mustache,' **FPA** spoke favorably of card games and tennis, derisively of hat-check girls, paper towels, illegible house-numbers, and his wife's salad dressing. Fond of light verse with a satiric bite, he pub. several books of poetry and short prose sketches (e.g., The Book of Diversion and Half a Loaf), and a lit. parody in topical setting,...Pepys" (23-4)

(Summerfield) "A lit. movement consists of 5 or 6 people who live in the same town and hate each other cordially" (193)

(Kimmelman) "Sara Murphy was a woman a lot of men fell in love with including *Fitzgerald*, maybe *Hemingway*, too"--Calvin Tomkins" (B2)

## MAJOR EVENTS

**1919** (Meade) **Ross** begins to lunch; **Connelly** comes with **Kaufman**; talk about plays to each other (Gaines) not present at 1st lunch; **Kaufman** had declined **Woolcott**'s invitation (Goldstein) **Kaufman** comes with Bea., "early members of the Alg. set" (65)

(Sam'l. Hopkins Adams) Summer, Actor's Equity forms from strikes (Goldstein) recognized by producers

(Meade) Summer, "for **Woolcott** and the other vets [**Ross**, **Broun**, and **FPA**] it had been the best of all possible wars, but now they were concerned about their future...[It was] a time of great expectation and endless possibilities, they all wanted to retrieve careers, make contacts, get their books pub. and plays prod., be rich and famous, rise like cream to the top of the NY bottle" (62); "young and unproved, their goal had been to have it all--love, money, fame, and happiness" (320)

(Kastor) Jul. 1, Prohibition passes in US

(Bell II) Jul. 19, Treaty of Versailles signed

(LeVot) Fall, Black Sox fix of World Series (Gaines) "say it ain't so, Joe"

(Sam'l. Hopkins Adams) Sep., thea. re-open after Actors' Equity strike

(Meade) End of year?, "still boiling [about salary and signs row], but trying to keep a low profile around the ofc. [**Parker**, **Benchley** and **Sherwood**] allowed themselves to blow out steam after lunch. From time to time they ate at the nearby Alg., whose name they had familiarly shortened to 'the Gonk.' After his party..., [**Woolcott**] had cont. to lunch there and nearly always invited his friends to join him" (64)

**1920** (Maslin, 1994) "The 20s seemed to me the source of many contemporary notions, only with better language"--Rudolph (B3)

(Meade) Prohibition passes (Goldstein) 19th amendment ratified giving women the vote

(Gaines) Edgar Bernays uses the term "public relations" on his wedding announcement to describe his profession

(Donnelly) Main Str. by Sinclair Lewis pub.

(LeVot) 1st public radio broadcast (in US, KDKA)

(Fagan) "In the frantic '20s, NY's columnists played much the same role as TV chat show hosts do today" (10)

(Meserve) O'Neill's Emperor Jones premieres (Gaines) Pulitzer Prize to O'Neill for Beyond the Horizon

(Meade) Ring moves to Great Neck from Chic.

(Gaines) Case moves them from Pergola Rm. (now the Oak Rm.) to Round Table in Rose Rm.; stops free starters (Meade) "before long [Case] noticed the size of the group expanding as they pulled up chairs from other tables, overflowed into the aisles and to adjoining tables, and created traffic problems. For practical reasons, Case decided to move them to a front table in the Rose Rm. That failed to solve the problem either, for even more people showed up to eat with them. Next he seated them at a large round table in the rear of the dining room and gave them a waiter of their own" (75)

(Meade) Jan. 26?, **Parker, Benchley** and Sherwood meet **Woolcott** and Gert. "who had offered no objection to her husband's decision" to quit his job in protest of **Parker's** firing, at the Alg. for a drink; they didn't worry any more

(Frewin) Apr. 15, Sacco and Vanzetti arrested

**1921** (LeVot) Brief recession in US

(Goldstein) Managers Protective Assn. accepts std. playwriting contract

(Sam'l. Hopkins Adams) Otto Kahn prod. Chauvre-Souris, Russ. vaudeville

(Rchd. O'Connor) "Only the World could still claim to be a nat'l. newsp...[Swope's credo was] pick out the best story of the day and hammer the hell out of it" (78-9); at World, Swope invented the op ed page

(Goldstein) 1st Music Box Revue, with Irving Berlin music

(Frewin) Ring moves to Long Isl. next to Swope's house

(Gaines) Neysa opens salon to the "Round Table crowd" (56) (Meade) her studio became their "2nd home by dropping in each afternoon between 4 and 7 until it had become an annex to the Alg....[She didn't do lunch and wasn't witty.] Neysa never permitted guests to interrupt her work and generally ignored people after greeting them" (80); other showbiz types there incl. Charlie Chaplin, Paul Robeson, Yasha Heifetz, Ethel Barrymore, Berlin, Geo. Gershwin and Loos

(Gaines) Thanatopsis Lit. and Inside Straight Club b.; Case gives them a rm. free; "FPA would raise and raise with a pair and then fold on the last round. He always lost, even tho he made it sound like he was a 1st class player in his column...He often lost a good deal more than he could afford"--from "I occasional player" (88); **Ross** was "a chronic loser" (88) at poker; **Kaufman** was "by far [Thanatopsis] best player...volunteered to become the game's official treas., cashing checks with his own cash and taking upon himself...collecting the face value of the bad ones. His desire to see the game continue smoothly can have been his only reason for doing it,...given his always more than even chances of winning among such players. His card sense was famous" (90); "I'd rather be a poor winner than any kind of loser"--**Kaufman** (142); "playing with **Woollcott** was an invitation to slow financial ruin. [He] never forgave a gambling debt and some who felt they had been coerced to play when they could least afford it never forgave **Woollcott**" (96) (Frewin) **Woollcott** was the worst poker player; "the Thanatopsis sessions were a constant delight to [**Parker**]. She and her cronies would play poker throughout the night and often thru a weekend until sheer exhaustion would bring the play to an end" (63) (Meade) "unable to get through a weekend without seeing each other, some of the men began meeting on Sat. nights to play poker in a 2nd floor suite at the hotel" (76); Sat. afternoons thru eve., sometimes to Mon; **FPA, Woollcott, Ross, Kaufman** and **Broun** were regulars; didn't eat, but came for poker; **Broun** was "a good poker player...His only problem was that he couldn't bear to break even. He had to be either way ahead or way behind before he could quit.--[1 Thanatopsis player]...advised by his psychiatrist that he played pathologically, sado-masochistically, he never could quit" (88); **Kaufman** won the most (Kunkel) according to **Ross, Broun** "lost \$30,000 1 eve. and had to sell his apt...Thea. and journalism were 2 Round Table pillars. The 3rd was gambling" (82) (Rchd. O'Connor) **FPA, Woollcott, Broun, Ross** and **Benchley** were "inferior poker players" (91); **Kaufman** was "the best honest poker player in town" (97) (Goldstein) **FPA** was "adept at the game...[**Kaufman** was] 1 of the best, if not the best player...acted as banker...his card sense was keen enough to become legendary" (70) (Drennan) "**FPA** founded it, naming it after a similar group...writers he had formed in Paris" (17)

(Rchd. O'Connor) May 18, (Gaines) **Ross** tells Jane Grant and **Broun's** wife Hale to "go hire a hall"; so they do and found the Lucy Stone League; **Broun** joins; **Ross** and **Parker** don't join; "I married to change my name"--**Parker** (81) (Frewin) **Kaufman's** wife Bea. joined

(LeVot) Fall, Murphys to Paris (Kimmelman) Sara Murphy meets Picasso while repairing scenery at Ballets Russes

(LeVot) Nov., Warren G Harding elected US Pres.

(Meade) New Year's Eve, **Broun** hosts party at new brownstone, Upper W. Side; **FPA** and **Parker** there

1922 (Kunkel) Reader's Digest founded

(Meserve) O'Neill's Hairy Ape prod.

(Goldstein) John Barrymore's Hamlet on B'way

(LeVot) Cole Porter invites Murphys to Riviera (Turnbull) Murphys rent villa at Antibe for friends; build a house there

(Gaines)"The games became increasingly intense and consequential" (86)

(Gaines) Swope moves to Great Neck; "social boundaries then were 'merging together in the interest of having a good time...partly the breaking down of the barriers after the war'"--Stewart (128); Swope referred to them as "my boys...would never have eaten with them at the Alg...Thru their connections to Swope...came into the full hue of the socially chosen" (132)

(Meade) **Benchley** and **Parker** "became a regular twosome at Tony's...In their cups [they] would become rambunctious...[She] once suffered a black eye...the best drinking co. was **Benchley** or other Round Tablers like [**Broun**] who had a habit of fueling himself all day long from his hip flask...Never did [she] appear drunk. But she was seldom completely sober either" (94-5); she settles on scotch without water; Eddie encourages her

(Frewin) After 4th of Jul., **Parker's** husband Eddie leaves for Conn. (Meade) big explosion with **FPA**; "with the exception of **Benchley**, the Round Tablers did not receive an accurate account of the parting. Their assumption, which [she] did not bother to correct, was that the separation had been amicable" (98); after Eddie's departure, [she and **Benchley**] became inseparable" (56-7)

(Gaines) Oct., (Goldstein, Jul, Nantucket?) Sherwood marries Mary Brandon; **Connelly**, **Benchley**, **Woollcott** and Case ushers; at Little Church Around the Corner; Mary Pickford, Fairbanks, *Fitzgerald* there; "the hi point of the marriage" (68) (Meserve) "by all accounts, not a smooth marriage...not an amenable woman and he put up with a great deal" (25)

(Baldwin) Before Nov., Crownie visits *Ray's* studio and picks 4 works for Nov. Vanity Fair

(Meade) After Nov. 3, **Parker** gets sick while sitting for her portrait with Neysa; confesses she's pregnant; Neysa gives her gin, gets her into a w. side hospital for an abortion; would talk about it drunk at Tony's; rumor was Chas. MacArthur, the father, had contributed \$30 and **Parker** said "it was like Judas making a refund" (105) (Frewin) "the day after it was all over, **Benchley** went to call on his friend: 'Serves me bloody right,' she told him, 'for putting all my eggs in one bastard'" (85); discharged in 1 week; started to be more resentful of her friends; "the Alg.-ites were to prove staunch friends at this time, despite [her] frequent lapses into long, introspective silences...Between their verbiage and vanities they continued to give her support...But it didn't do to take too optimistic a view of life in her presence" (86); **Benchley** said dump him when he started affair with Bea Lillie; "we have it on **Benchley's** authority that she wept for days on end" (80) (Gaines) "tragic love affair with MacArthur was **Woollcott's** doing" (84)

1923 (Gaines) US stock market "reversed and rising" (128)

(LeVot) Mah jong and "Yes! We Have No Bananas" big hits

(Leonard) Pres. Harding d.

(LeVot) Gerald Murphy shows at Salon des Indep.; recommends Cole Porter for musical

(Goldstein) Ferber writes So Big

(Meserve) Elmer Rice's Adding Machine prod.

(Gaines) Neysa marries John Baragwanath

(Goldstein) All discuss croquet (Rchd. O'Connor) croquet becomes a passion

(Gaines) Swope's' record-making poker game, 48 hours straight, in a private Pullman car in Palm Beach, won \$470,300; Flo. Zeigfield d. without paying up

(Meade) Mid-Jan., Sun., (Frewin) **Parker** phones the Alps Restaurant to send up supper; 1/2 hr. later the delivery boy gets a pass key when she doesn't ans. the bell; goes in with the tray, finds her in the bathtub, "blood spurting from her slashed wrists. On the floor lay a razor -- [Eddie's] razor. She screamed, 'Jesus, get a dr., get a dr.!' [Ambulance arrives just in time; taken to Columbia Presby.; tells **Benchley**], 'Eddie didn't even keep his razors sharp'... 'Why do you despise yourself' asked **Benchley**. 'People become the thing they despise the most,' she replied...'Snap out of it ...,' said **Benchley**, 'you might as well live'" (87-8); when Bea. Ames and **Connelly** come, she has blue bows on her wrists; when **Woollcott** visits she's typing; "the 1st time [she] had attempted suicide her friends rallied around, some displaying unexpected compassion" (105); "her self-mutilation had found its place in Round Table lore as 1 of her unpredictable eccentricities, a gesture not to be taken wholly seriously since she had the foresight to arrange for her own rescue by the Swiss Alps. This version enabled them to shrug off [her] unhappiness...'It was a little bit of thea.'--[**Connelly** interview]...'Some people believed she did it because she wanted attn., altho I didn't understand that because she had a lot of attn.' [--Margalo Gillmore interview]" (107) (Gaines) **FPA** doesn't go to hospital

(Goldstein) Mar. 3, 1st iss. of Time, rev. of Black Oxen by Gert. Atherton, with Alg.-ites as "sophisticates"

(Kimmelman) Summer, Murphys stay at Hotel du Cap, Picasso also there; "used his considerable 'animal magnetism' to woo Sara in Antibes...when Gerald retreated to be with [Cole] Porter in Venice...I doubt if it was a romance. Picasso was seeing a lot of the Murphys that particular summer and he was very susceptible to beautiful women, as we know--Calvin Tomkins" (B2)

(Kimmelman) Picasso paints Woman in White, por. of Sara Murphy; "indeed...in '23, pictures of Sara far outnumber those of Picasso's wife, Olga"--Wm. Rubin

(Meade) Sep., housewarming for **Woolcott, Ross** and Grant; **Parker, MacArthur** and Harpo rent carousel for the kids (Kunkel) **Woolcott** threatens to boycott because of guest list

(Leonard) Nov., Hitler's Bavarian coup fails

**1924** (LeVot) Crossword puzzle craze

(Goldstein) Amer. Merc. starts

(Goldstein) "The Man I Love" dropped from Lady Be Good

(Gaines) What Price Glory? on B'way

(Meserve) O'Neill's Desire Under the Elms prod.

(Eisen) Robeson leaves a legal career to play the title role of the Jones in a revival staged by the Provincetown Playhouse; then in lead of O'Neill's All God's Chillun Got Wings

(Goldstein) Last Music Box Revue

(Goldstein) Stark Young named Times drama critic

(Shone, 1976) *Clive* with Picasso to the Murphys (Kimmelman) infatuation between Sara Murphy and Picasso ends

(Gaines) *Hemingway* and Don. O Stewart in papers as "bullfighting Amer." (156); Don. O Stewart meets Bea. Ames in Paris

(Goldstein) Ferber moves permanently to NYC

(Gaines) The Round Table is a "Force to Be Reckoned with" (112)

(Meade) MacArthur moves in with **Benchley** for next 3 yrs.; they hang out with **Parker**; he and MacArthur are inseparable; "chased the aristocratic Chas. Evan Hughes down Madison Ave., spraying him with cries of 'Yah, Yah, Sec'y of State'"--**Woolcott**; she "could not escape his presence with out giving up the co. of **Benchley**. As a result, the 3 of them were often together" (130)

(Leonard) Feb., Woodrow Wilson d.

(Goldstein) Feb. 12, Geo. Gershwin's Rhapsody in Blue premiered

(Sam'l. Hopkins Adams) Spring, Herald sold to Trib.

(Goldstein) May 19, **Broun, Kaufman, Connelly** (Gaines, **FPA?**) at *Thanatopsis* when **Woolcott** brings Harpo; Bea. was attracted to Harpo and vice versa, but didn't get physical

(Gaines) recruits Harpo to Round Table; goes backstage to I'll Say She Is and then takes him to game; loses \$100

(Meade) Summer, Democratic Nat'l. Convention in town

(Leonard) Nov., Calvin Coolidge wins US pres. election

**1925** (Skidelsky I) Coolidge inaugurated

(LeVot) Charleston craze

(Sklar) Dreiser's Amer. Tragedy pub.

(Spater) *Virginia's* article on US fiction for US magazine, "completely demolishes any conception of her as nothing but a sickly, introspective aesthete. For she had read [Ring's] You Know Me, Al...[which few outside the US read and few inside appreciated]...and recognized it for what it was: 'the best prose that has come our way' [--Essays 2]" (115)  
(Townsend) criticizes *Anderson* in "Amer. Fiction" for spending too much time insisting he's an Amer. man

(Sklar) Sinclair Lewis' Arrowsmith pub.

(Mellow) Dos Passos' Manhattan Transfer pub.

(Goldstein) Geo. Gershwin's Concerto in F premiered

(Goldstein) Jed Harris begins prod.

(Goldstein) Drama Guild begins putting together std. contract

(Goldstein) Times drama critic goes from Young to Brooks Atkinson

(Kunkel) Raoul Fleischmann's cousin and best friend Julius Fleischmann d. on polo pony

(Gaines) Neysa and husband move to Great Neck

(Meade) Spring, "restless and dissatisfied, [**Parker**] began to draw closer to the Round Tablers again. **Benchley** was often away [doing Treas.'s Report. She] turned for companionship to **FPA** who was currently single again...[Between his marriages, he] depended on women friends like [her] to fuss over him" (147)

(Kunkel) Summer, really hot in NYC

(Kunkel) Scopes trial

(LeVot) Aug., *Fitzgerald* and *Zelda* to Antibes (Turnbull) Riviera with Murphys (Smoller) fighting with Murphys, too

(Kunkel) Fall, Mankiewicz to Hollywood

**1926** (Kunkel) 25 people in US have over \$1 million

(LeVot) \$1 = 36 fr

(Wittke) Geo. Gershwin writes Piano Concerto

(Simon) Eugene Debs d. in prison

(Kunkel) Rudolph Valentino collapses and d.

(Meserve) Queen Marie of Rumania tours US

(Meserve) 268 prod. in 80 thea. in NYC

(Wittke) NY Times described by essayist as "the living norm of the median cult. of Amer. life" (63)

(LeVot) Murphys tell *Hemingways* not to stay because of Bumby's cough

(Gaines) Don. O Stewart's new bride meets Alg.-ites; "nervous" (160)

(Sam'l. Hopkins Adams) **Kaufman** joins Dutch Treat Club with (Goldstein) **Broun**, **FPA**, and **Connelly** (Rchd. O'Connor) and **Benchley**

(Frewin) "After a party, **Benchley** walked [**Parker**] to the elevator at the Alg., where she was temp. staying...[She got into bed and took] a large vial of barbiturates" (103); throws a glass thru the window; doesn't show for lunch so **Benchley** goes up, finds her "hardly breathing...The 2nd time was rather different. When **Benchley** visited her in the hospital, he looked at her dolefully and said, '... if you don't stop this sort of thing, you'll make yourself sick.'...He planned to use hard-hitting tactics this time, to try to frighten her. Her friends, he claimed, did not want to know. Her repeat perf. was not simply a nuisance, it was more than that. It was a bloody great bore. 'If you could have seen how utterly repulsive you looked when we found you,' he scolded, 'you would never have d1 it. You looked a drooling mess.' And then, to soften the hurt, he said, 'If you had any consideration at all for your friends, you'd shoot yourself cleanly and not be so revoltingly messy.'...[Suicide was a felony but it] was largely hushed up by the group at **Benchley's** behest" (105-6) (Meade) **Parker** "discovers Veronal"; can get it without a prescription in NJ; takes too many, "saved herself by hurling a glass thru the window at the last moment" (160); wakes up at Presby.; angry that Barach saved her; tries to dry her out; **Benchley** "warned her that if she didn't stop it she would make herself sick. From a chair next to her bed, he began to unburden himself as tho he were the 1 who had caved in" (161); **Broun** brings her booze in the hospital between 4 and 7; it was "such an interesting part of [**Broun's**] character--so idealistic and yet so willing to play the little boy and try to outwit me...testing my affection the way a child would: love me no matter how bad I am"--Barach (Gaines) Barach calls it "patently infantile" (116)

(Baker) Jan., *Hemingway* to NYC; meets **Connelly**, **Benchley** and **Parker**

(Meade) Feb. 20, **Parker** booked on same ship, *Pres. Roosevelt*, as *Hemingway*; Seward Collins probably pays her way; **Benchley** decides to go at last min.; wife Gert. not happy, almost makes him take their 9-yr.-old with him; agrees but he has "to come straight back home on the next boat" (165); Seward planning to follow; board in a snow storm; **Connelly** and Bill Benet to going away party on ship; **Parker** worried about the weather, **Benchley** making jokes; "**Benchley** could always make her feel better" (166); no rms., so **Benchley** stays in maid's rm. and gets lice; someone steals **Parker's** scotch; good crossing

(Kastor) Mar., *Hemingway* to Austria with Murphys and Dos Passos

(Goldstein) Apr. 27, prod. sign Dramatists Guild agreement; Shuberts refuse at 1st

(LeVot) Summer, *Fitzgerald* more critical of Murphys; Murphys like *Hemingway* better

(Sam'l. Hopkins Adams) Summer, **Woolcott** forms corp. to buy Neshobe, includes Neysa, Ruth Gordon, and **Kaufman's** wife Bea. (Frewin) gets 10 to put up \$1000 initiation fee for house on Neshobe Isl., Vermont; requires breakfast at 7 am; no drinking before 11 am; 1 hr. break before long lunch; intended as a retreat, becomes his "fiefdom" (71); **Benchley** only went once; didn't like the rules; "he would usually wait for **Parker** to return to Manhattan and her spartan apt., where he would put his feet up on the couch and listen to her recount the weekend's events" (74); "the frolics seemed endless. [Harpo], dressed only in a boater, would regularly jump out of the bushes scaring the women; [**Parker**] attired in nothing but a picture hat, would gambol with **Woolcott's** dog, Cocaud" (71) (Gaines) "a mandatory morn. dip at 7 am and a seemingly interminable communal breakfast, shortly thereafter...[**Woolcott**] hoped that the isl. would be a place where all his talented friends could find a retreat hospitable to hard work and good talk...but in the '20s...no 1 worked at Neshobe...[He] read excerpts from his stack of daily mail" at Neshobe's breakfast (92); invited more to lunch and Neshobe, electricity and water added; **Kaufman** "almost never went [to Neshobe] in part because Bea. and Geo. Backer carried on their love affair there, in part because he had his own pursuits, amorous and theatrical, in the city" (94); **Benchley** said, "I can't imagine a worse place to spend a weekend than 1 where your host is always boisterously forcing you to take part in games...about which you know nothing. A weekend guest ought to be ignored" (96)

(Meade) Summer, **Woollcott** and MacArthur visit Paris on way to Riviera; also Don. O Stewart and new wife Bea. "en route to Cap d'Antibes"; *Fitzgerald* and *Zelda* to Paris to have her appendix removed; all talk about Murphys (Frewin) **Woollcott** nearby at Villa Gamelon with Harpo, et. al; Geo. B. Shaw and wife arrive; "the only person Shaw asked to meet was [Parker]. After their intro., he turned to **Woollcott** and said, 'I'd always thought of her as an old maid!...[She] however was having a disturbing time trying to equate the gilded, golden-coast life-style with her social conscience and convictions. And, as her friends knew, she was not winning...[getting drunk; not working; *Fitzgerald* and *Zelda* fight; *Hemingway* tells *Zelda*] she was mad...Thurber...observed...that only [*Stein* and *Toklas*] were missing, and wasn't that good?" (127); *Zelda* takes off her panties at **Woollcott's** going away party; flings herself down the stairs and in front of a car when *Isadora Duncan* picks *Fitzgerald* "as a bed companion" (128); *Fitzgerald* knocks over a str. vendor's stand, gives him 500 fr and says, "wasn't that funny?" (128) (Rosmond) Alan Campbell used the *Fitzgerald* and the str. vendor incident in a story in **Ross' NY-er**.

(LeVot) Oct., *Hemingway's Sun Also Rises* pub. (Meade) "did the greatest svc. to [*Stein's*] reputation by including her reputed statement about the 'lost generation' as an epigraph to [*Sun*]" (16) (Brinnin) "'young men tried to get as imperturbably drunk as the hero [*Sun*], young women of fairly good family cultivated the heroine's nymphomania, and the name ['the lost generation'] was fixed. It was a boast at 1st, like telling what a hangover I had after a party to which someone else wasn't invited. Afterwards it was used apologetically, it even became ridiculous, and yet in the beginning, as applied to writers born at the turn of the cent., it was as accurate as any tag could be. They were, in the 1st place, a generation, and probably the 1st real one in the hist. of Amer. letters. They came to maturity during a period of violent change, when the influences of the time seemed temp. more important than that of a class or locality. Everywhere after the war people were fumbling for a word to express their feeling that youth had a different outlook. The word couldn't be found for years; but long before...*Stein* made her famous remark, the young men to whom she referred had already undergone the similar experience and developed the similar attitude that made it possible to describe them as a literature generation' [--Cowley, *Exile's*]...It was true that the young men of his generation had been dumped out of their porch swings by the tremors of militarism, and it was a matter of record that they had been sent or cajoled into battlefields by the ripples of patriotism and the rhetoric of hi-minded slogans" (232-3); said she never said it, but thought she might have gotten it from M. Pernollet, the hotelkeeper in Belley (Reynolds) "Jake Barnes was not the sort of person who visited...*Stein's*" (309) (Baker) dedicated to Hadley and son, assigned royalties to them (Frewin) in *Sun, Hemingway* said, "it was then an important part of the ethics of journalism to pretend not to be working" (92)

(Gaines) Fall, by the time [they] returned to NYC, the Alg. group was "changed--more sparsely attended than before and vaguely dispirited" (163)

### 1927 (Goldstein) The Jazz Singer opens

(Gaines) 208 prod. in NYC thea.

(Goldstein) Deems' opera, The King's Henchman, prod. at Met (Wittke) "Preceding *Thomson*...as composer-critic-journalist was the genteel Deems Taylor, who wrote for the NY World and The NY Amer. and had 2 operas prod. at the Met...His music is pleasant, if not very distinguished...One of the wits of his day, Taylor was a member of the Alg. Round Table,...He wrestled with many of the subjects that [*Thomson*] did...he had none of the panache of [*Thomson's*] cool, patrician style. 'Sassy but classy,' [*Thomson*] modestly said of himself, and it was true" (37-8)

(Gaines) Case buys the Alg. (Frewin) "it didn't matter too much if any of the members of the Circle were suffering temp. financial restrictions; they knew that...Case, who had now purchased the hotel, would be understanding. He customarily did not press any of them for debts" (66)

(Meade) **Parker** has affair with John Garrett, a right-wing Republican (Frewin) intro. by **Connelly**; meet at Tony's; looks like Eddie; "**Benchley** saw the warning signs: 'It was sufficient that he loved her and exhibited his love at the drop of a fork. We knew it couldn't last; he wasn't her type, yet perversely he was...He was her beau, so she had to be protected. We all knew she was heading for the furniture but with [her] you didn't interfere" (139); another "handsome, Gentile, corporate type, wearing Rom. numerals behind his name, who was in no other way remarkable" (190)

(Gaines) **Ross** and **Grant** "begin to grow apart" (84); "his career was their mutual obsession, but his success and the magazine's seemed to overwhelm the marriage"; **Woolcott's** rising animus helped matters not at all; his attempts to drive a wedge between them...was 'the final straw'"--Jane Grant (186) (Kunkel) **Grant** asks **Connelly** to talk to him and see what's really wrong; he has long talk with **Connelly** who reports that "he's tired" (158); **Grant** asks his Mom to intervene

(Smoller) May 21, Paris, "Lindy's landed!"

(Frewin) Aug. 11, **Parker, Benchley, Dos Passos** and **Millay** march in Boston to protest **Sacco and Vanzetti** verdict; arrested and fined \$5 (Meade) **Broun's** wife **Hale** and **Seward** bail them out; he's sorry he missed being arrested; **Parker** gets him to buy Times ads; pickets again; **Parker** "found the indifferent behavior of other friends extremely vexing. 'Those people at the Round Table don't know a bloody thing...They just don't think about anything but the theater'"--Rchd. Lamparski interview (184) (Rosmond) **Benchley** has affidavit in **Vanzetti's** appeal; not admissible as hearsay and his friend denies he heard the remark (Gaines) **Woolcott** says they "probably were guilty" (172)

(Meade) Aug. 23, **Sacco and Vanzetti** executed

(Drennan) Nov., Abie's Irish Rose closes (finally)

(Goldstein) Dec. 27, **Ferber's** Show Boat opens

1928 (Gaines) 264 prod. in NYC thea.; not since equaled

(Goldstein) Pulitzer to **O'Neill's** Strange Interlude

(Meade) **Swope** retires, age 46, sells interest in World for \$6 million

(LeVot) **Murphys** introduce *Fitzgerald* and **Zelda** to **Sylvia Beach** and **Kath. Anne Porter**

(Meade) c. May, more parties; **Parker** sees **Broun's** sec'y. and **Benchley** innocently coming out of a bedroom, tells **Broun** she's a slut; finds out and begs **Benchley** to tell **Broun** the truth

(Goldstein) Spring, **Ring** leaves **Great Neck**

(LeVot) Fall, **Murphys** visit *Fitzgerald* and **Zelda** in NY

(Meserve) Nov., **Al Smith** loses race for presidency

## CREATIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS

### 1919

1920 (Meade) **Kaufman** is ass't. to **Woolcott**, Times drama reporter; "earning \$4000 per yr." (74) (Goldstein) little tho it paid, contributed to his comfort by providing him with an excuse to leave any tedious gathering. 'Back to work,' he could always say, and march out" (81) often to meet **Connelly** to discuss a script

(Frewin) Early Jan., day after **Benchley** and **Parker** leave Vanity Fair, **Woolcott** runs Times story about them quitting, saying **Parker** had been fired as drama critic, but "that her work in other ways would still be valued highly by the magazine" (59); says that **Benchley** resigned, too, but didn't mention **Sherwood** (Meade) "it was the sort of invaluable publicity that the unemployed can't buy" (69); **FPA** plugged her, too

(Meade) Apr., **Sherwood** becomes Life's ass't. ed.; hires **Benchley** as drama critic for \$100 a week; has to change clothes and stay in town with **Parker** and **Sherwood** nights to rev. plays (Frewin) used **Parker, Benchley, Kaufman, Connelly, Don. O Stewart**; gets **Edw. S Martin** "who had formed the Harv. Lamp. with his father" (65) to hire **Parker** and **Benchley** as regular contributors; **Benchley** does humor and thea.; **Parker** does 1 poem per week

1921 (Nolan) **Benchley** and **Sherwood** hire **Connelly** and **Kaufman**, to do "a humorous mo. calendar of hist. and not-so-hist. events" (52) for Life (Gaines) **Benchley** and **Sherwood** do annual parody of **FPA**, "The Leaning Tower" in Life

(Goldstein) **Kaufman** and **Connelly** hang around Times office waiting for **Woollcott** to leave so they could use his typewriter to write Dulcy, based on **FPA** character

(Rchd. O'Connor) Feb. 13, Dulcy, written by **Connelly** and **Kaufman** on **FPA** character, opens in Ind.

(Rchd. O'Connor) Feb. 20, Dulcy, written by **Kaufman** and **Connelly** on **FPA** character, opens in Chic.; Booth Tarkington agrees to write pref. (Goldstein) **Kaufman**, *extremely* nervous, tells **Connelly** at dinner before opening, "we've been kidding ourselves and we might as well admit it" (59); **Connelly** "remained calm but "somewhat uncomfortable in the face of **Kaufman's** despair" (59); invites Margalo to opening; Tyler gets **Kaufman** to write piece from point of view of **Connelly** on working with such a collab.

(Nolan) Aug. 13, Dulcy opens in NYC with Fontanne; "it was directly from their assoc. with the Alg. wits that **Connelly** and **Kaufman's** first success came...borrowed [**FPA's**] character [Dulcinea] and built... Dulcy around her" (33) (Goldstein) 246 perf; "revealed a flair for creativity, a sense of community among their characters...and for turning out jokes in quantity" (61); **Broun** criticizes an actor in his rev.; **FPA** gets 10% of royalties; in his rev. **Woollcott** implies it's not good enough for Fontanne

1922 (Goldstein) Merton of the Movies serialized in Sat Eve. Post, pub. as a novel (Nolan) **FPA** reports in column that he loved it; suggests it to **Kaufman** and **Connelly**

(Meade) Jan., **Broun's** New Year's party in **FPA's** column: "but I loved Mistress...**Parker** the best of any of them, and loathe to leave her, which I did not do until near 5 in the morn., and so home"--Pepys (92)

(Nolan) Feb. 20, To the Ladies!, written by **Connelly** and **Kaufman**, opens with Helen Hayes; mentions "**Benchley**, an efficiency expert" (40) (Goldstein) 128 perf.

(Nolan) Apr. 30, No Sirree! perf.; **Benchley**, **Connelly**, **FPA**, **Woollcott** in chorus; **Connelly** also acts in 3 skits and "gave recitation with gestures" (40); duet, "**Kaufman** and **Connelly** from the West"; Laurette Taylor cites them as the best things in the show in Times; **Ross** has no featured spot; "acting considered so hapless that he was relegated to the role of Lemuel Pip ('an old taxi driver') who is referred to repeatedly but never appears on stage" (81) (Meade) **Parker** writes "Everlasting Ingenue Blues" for Sherwood; music by Deems, Berlin conducts, Heifetz plays offstage; bad rev.; all to Swope's til 4 am; **Benchley** makes up "Treas.'s Report" in cab (Meserve) **Broun** opens the show "looking much like a dancing bear who had escaped from his trainer" (107); Laurette's rev. advised "a new vest and pants" for **Broun** (108); World rev. cited his "personal charm" (108); **Woollcott** appears as "Dregs, a Butler" (Goldstein) **Kaufman** writes sketch, "Big Casino Is Little Casino" (Sam'l. Hopkins Adams) **Woollcott** in O'Neill parody; writes Zowie or The Curse of an Aking Heart, skit for him, **Kaufman** and **Ross** (Benchley) audience is by invitation; Laurette rev. it in **Woollcott's** space in the Times; she hated the "Treas.'s Report"

(Nolan) May, **Connelly** and **Kaufman's** W. of Pgh. opens; **FPA** gives it a good rev.

(Drennan) Jun. (10 Winter), Abie's opens; "was panned by most serious thea. critics. **Benchley** was adamant in his opinion of it: 'The Rotters [also a notoriously poor play] is no longer the worst play in town! Abie's...has just opened.' His subsequent comments about the show during its record run...included these: 'People laugh at this every night, which explains why democracy can never be a success.' 'In another 2 or 3 years, we'll have this play driven out of town.' 'Where do people come from who keep this going? You don't see them out in the daytime.' 'We were only fooling all the time. It's a great show.' Then, much later: 'We might as well say it now as later. We don't like this play'" (49) (Sam'l. Hopkins Adams) **Broun** wouldn't rev. it; **FPA** calls it the "worst play he had ever seen" (141); **Benchley** calls it "1 of season's worst" in Life; **Woollcott** gives it a good rev. (Gaines) he "shone more for enthusiasm than substance. His taste was questionable at best. He loved Abie's" (48) (Rchd. O'Connor) **Benchley** said it wouldn't last 1 mo.

(Goldstein) Nov., last Life calendar by **Connelly** and **Kaufman** for **Benchley** and Sherwood; **Kaufman** still sends in quips

(Meade) Nov. 3, **Connelly** and **Kaufman** stage 49-ers for 15 perf.; "even **Woollcott** was embarrassed" (105) (Nolan) says, "it wasn't fun...not at all" (48) (Goldstein) **Broun** writes "A Robe for the King," not funny; gives himself a bad rev.; **Connelly** writes "Chapt. from the Amer. Economy"; **Kaufman** writes sketch "Life in the Book?"; refuses to replace awful MC after first night; **FPA** writes lyrics for songs in "The Love Girl," finale (Gaines) **Parker** and **Benchley** write 1-act drama, "Nero" (Gaines) "The dues demanded by their greater fame began to be called in, as the Sherwood wedding and the failure of The 49ers gave partial testament. The boundary between the group's public life and its members private lives seemed to be growing blurred. The Vicious Circle was no longer a group of talented young men and women reveling in each other's co. for the fun of it, or even for the glory. What had been a loose-knit coupling of shared ambitions and insecurities was gathering in to a self-propelling force in each of its members' ways of living and working. Few of them seem to have thought much about it then. They were, after all, helping to rid their generation of the tattered creeds of a world whose time had gone--all of them, that is except for **Woollcott**, **Ross** and [**FPA**], who had full calendars when it came to anything so remote. If some of the rest of them were riding the crest rather than leading it, that was nothing to be sneered at either. But as '22 drew to a close, doubts were beginning to simmer among them about the Round Table's role in their lives and work, doubts that would begin increasingly to darken even the best of their times together" (74)

**1923** (Gaines) **Connelly** and **Kaufman** write mo. "Life's Calendar" for **Benchley** and Sherwood at Life

**1924** (Meade) **Parker**, **Connelly**, **Kaufman**, and **Woollcott** listed on board of ed. of **Ross'** NY-er.; **Benchley** isn't because of contract with Life; **Broun** and **FPA** can't be because of contracts with World; "none of the Round Tablers believed **Ross** capable of starting a magazine about NY. **Woollcott** thought the idea sounded 'crazy' and flatly refused to listen. [**Parker**] listened but had no cash to invest...Ferber and **Woollcott** withdrew because they were reluctant to have their names assoc. with a magazine doomed to failure" (133-4) (Kunkel) **Broun** and **FPA** on board; **Ross** puts up \$25,000 and gets board (Gaines) listing 5 Alg.-ites as advisory eds. for the 1st yr. was "the most dishonest thing I ever did" (143); that he could get the money "owed everything to the social education and connections he was given at the Round Table" (143) (Goldstein) he described the list "as the only dishonest act of his life...but even the vague phrase 'part-time' was too suggestive of endeavor to describe the advisory function of the writers on the list, for **Ross** made his own decisions" (72)

(Meade) **Ross** and Jane Grant at parties "passing a hat for a weekly magazine they wanted to pub. Everywhere they went they carried a dummy of the magazine until people were bored seeing and hearing about it" (133); **Woollcott** refuses to listen to his plea for money (Gaines) arranges for him to meet Fleischmann (Kunkel) "he carried a dummy of that magazine for 2 yrs., everywhere, and I'm afraid he was rather a bore with it"--**Kaufman** (89); Grant gets Fleischmann interested in NY-er. idea; eventually pitches it to him at Thanatopsis

(Nolan) Feb. 12, Beggar on Horseback, written by **Connelly** and **Kaufman**, opens in NYC; Deems music (Frewin) **Kaufman** collab. with **Parker** on Bus. Is Bus. for Paramount; "delivered the script within 6 weeks" (96) (Meade) curtain-raiser for Beggar; "he felt put off by her obscenities, which he considered unladylike and offensive. She thought he was 'a mess' and could see 'nothing in that talent at all,' altho she grudgingly admitted that he could be funny now and then" (132) (Goldstein) 224 perf.; **Woollcott's** rev. style--"treacly"--parodied in it; "there was no quarrel between the 2 men. Each 1 simply felt that he had things to do that he needed to do alone. [**Connelly**]...did not really plan for their separation to be permanent...a number of times in the yrs. that followed, they discussed writing another play together" (53); their break was "in no way rancorous, but irreparable...Even after the break, **Kaufman** kept chivvying **Connelly**, why did he not write more?" (102-3) "both men felt after Beggar that they had been together too long; that they were writing and rewriting the same play and both felt the other's next idea was too close to the ones they had written before...[**Kaufman** said **Connelly** was] playing harder than he was working. 'Margalo...always had a dead cat to bury'...[After leaving **Kaufman**, he] would buck the thea. system of turning out topical comedies and turn inward for future themes while remaining unreconstructedly playful in life" (138) (Gaines) **Kaufman's** work after **Connelly** "seems intensely self-critical. Reading the plays in the black and white of typescript, it is easy not to laugh, to see them in a documentary light" (138)

(Kunkel) Fall, "Announcing a New Weekly Magazine: The NY-er.: The NY-er. will be a reflection in word and picture of metropolitan life. It will be human. Its general tenor will be 1 of gaiety, wit and satire, but it will be more than a jester. It will not be what is commonly called radical or highbrow. It will be what is commonly called sophisticated, in that it will assume a reasonable degree of enlightenment on the part of its readers. It will hate bunk...The NY-er. will appear early in Feb./ The price will be: \$5 a year/ 15 cents a copy/ Address: 25 W. 45th Str., NYC/ Advisory Eds.,...Barton/ ...**Kaufman**/ ...**Broun**/ Alice Duer Miller/ ...**Connelly**/ ..**Parker**/..Ferber/ Laurence Stallings/ Rea Irvin/...**Woollcott**/ H W **Ross**, Ed." (439-41)

**1925** (Meade) All the ones on the World making \$30 (Meade) **Broun** and **FPA** "wrote about [each other] and their mutual friends on the World (to which they and **Woollcott** were eventually lured by higher pay)" (52)

(Kunkel) Feb. 17, 1st iss. of NY-er.; "the pallid, labored 1st iss."; dated the 21st; it "represented an almost magical confluence of an idea, a time and a place, arriving just after NY emerged as a world city, yet before the pervasive presence of tv; that brief window when an erudite little 'comic paper' could be a major cult. force in a way that is unthinkable now. It was also a time when young and gifted practitioners of the fictive, factual, comic and illus. arts seemed to be everywhere waiting only for a passer by to pluck them up...'I was the luckiest son of a bitch alive when I started it,' **Ross** told Geo...Nathan. 'Magazines are about 85% luck'" (24); "failed the...prospectus" (98); **Ross** "terrified" (101); gets Irvin (Corey Ford?) to do Eustace Tilley at last min. for cover; **Benchley**'s "Sex Is Out" in 1st iss.; **FPA** dismisses 1st iss. as "too frothy for my liking"; doesn't show up in his diary for 1 yr. or more; **Broun** taken off advisory board before launch; "contractually precluded" (104); **Parker** has drama rev. in 1st few iss.; was "the only readable material in the 1st 2 iss....[**Connelly** was] present at the creation...esp. diligent handmaiden to **Ross**, writing anon. pieces, ed., even mediating" (105) (Nolan) **Connelly** "credited with being 1 of the more 'enthusiastic supporters' ...during [the early] period" (73) (Gaines) **Kaufman** and **Woollcott** have nothing in that yr.; "coming at the time when other Round Tablers were nursing doubts about stepping out of class and character, the direction taken by **Ross** and The NY-er. thus signified a widening rift in the Alg. group; on the 1 side, those who ques. the wisdom of their social ascendance and its concomitant demands; on the other, those who turned blank stares to such questions" (150) (Acocella) "according to...Thurber, **Ross** was determined to give the magazine 'an offhand, chatty, informal quality. Nothing was to be labored or studied, arty, lit., or intellectual.' For a while he succeeded. In its 1st yr..., The NY-er. was full of tiresome, subcollegiate joshing. But **Ross**'s brains and good taste--and also, I think, his curiosity, his interest in the world, a trait in short supply at the Round Table--got the better of him, and he began prod. a magazine that, if light-spirited, was nevertheless serious and well written" (80-1) (Yagoda) "at the time...the humor in the typical humorous drawing, as seen in publications like Life and Judge, came from the protracted multicharacter dialogue that served as a caption" (9)

(Meade) May 9, **FPA** marries Esther Sayles in CT; **Parker** fights with Deems at wedding; turns to Ring who invites her to his house to write; goes to sleep at Elinor Wylie's house; Wylie and Arthur Davison Ficke wake her up to see the scars on her wrists (Kunkel) **Ross**, Fleischmann, Truax and Hanrahan change mind about killing NY-er. at wedding

**1926** (Meade) Feb., **Parker** collects verse for book, Sobbing in [FPA's] Conning Tower, to pay for her Eur. trip; Seward's idea; Horace Liveright likes it; assembles them, she doesn't like them; writes more; sends the verses to **Ross** and Sherwood; "slowly [she] could see a central theme of d. emerging" (170)

**1927** (Acocella) "By the time his friends from the Alg. began writing for him regularly (**Parker** and **Benchley** in '27, **Woollcott** in '29) **Ross** had in some measure outgrown them" (81) (Frewin) "now she was contributing to The NY-er. alongside **Benchley** and other of their literature friends, and she was writing well. Her Diary of a NY Lady was considered wise, contemporary, acerbic and mordantly funny" (94)

**1928** (Goldstein) Ring pub. piece "Dante & \_\_\_\_" in **Ross**' NY-er. about **Kaufman**'s wife Bea., in a parody of **Woollcott** style

(Goldstein) May 14, The Front Page opens in Atlantic City; **Kaufman**'s first directing; Bea. doesn't come to Atlantic City; "a small harem"--[Ben Hecht] does (148) **Ross** and **Woollcott** do (Nolan) **Connelly** to Atlantic City for opening

## EXIT

(Allen) "Sooner or later, something goes wrong. A car wreck, a pregnancy, a fistfight, graduation, a stock market crash, arrests, failure, success, reality. Something goes wrong because there's nothing to go right, no tradition, no religion, no family, no reality. A coterie is a social unit based on nothing more than the fact that it exists, and the sense that it will always exist. But hit it with the Depression, fascism and alcoholism of...**Parker's** sort, and even a Round Table can tip over...But sooner or later something goes right, or wrong, and it ends. 'It was quite a surprise to find a whole world full of human beings all around us,' **Parker** wrote. 'How long,' we asked, 'has this been going on? And why didn't somebody tell us about it before?'" (G6)

(Gaines) Winter, commuting to NYC for films; "most...in prof. ascendance and so...was the public stature of the privilege splintering group" (182); too many tourists; Case moves table back to the Pergola Rm.; "at this point...began to fall apart...Simple geography had much to do with [it]; like **Broun**, ...[FPA] by now had a home in Conn. to which they retreated with increasing frequency on weekends and even during the week. At the same time, the Thanatopsis game was becoming less attractive in proportion to its higher stakes and increased danger. Before the decade was out, Swope and **Kaufman** would begin bringing rich friends into the game who would finally outprice the original members. The incursion of econ. realities with the Crash probably did more to dampen their group spirit than any other single factor, and to the extent that they were drawn together by ties of mutual insecurity and the hope for success by assoc/ their very successes rendered the group obsolete. But there were more proximate causes in rifts in the Round Table of '28 as well: the delicate balance of certain marriages was thrown off by their gathering fortunes, and **Woolcott's** dark side was becoming increasingly insistent force in the group" (183-4); "ended, as it had began, in the daze following a cataclysm" (202); **Woolcott's** "lit. persona was...wearing thin" (214) "the last scenes of the Round Table were marked by sniping over political conscience or the lack of it" (224); **Connelly** said trying to remember when it ended is "like remembering falling asleep" (226)

(Meade) Dec., **Bench** to Hollywood to work on 3 Fox pictures, Treas.'s Report, and Sex Life of the Polyp, 1st sustained talking film; hates it; "whenever people asked...Case what had become of the Alg. Round Table, he shrugged and replied, 'What became of the reservoir at 5th Ave. and 42nd Str.? These things do not last forever'" (320)

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