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THE FUNCTIONS OF SELECTED AMERICAN PROPAGANDA NOVELS IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM AS IT IS CONCEIVED BY GABRIEL ALMOND.

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THE FUNCTIONS OF SELECTED AMERICAN PROPAGANDA NOVELS IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM AS IT IS CONCEIVED BY GABRIEL ALMOND

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY OF

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BY

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But man or woman who publishes writings inevitably assumes the office of teacher or influencer of the public mind. Let him protest as he will that he only seeks to amuse, and has no pretensions to do more than while away an hour or leisure or weariness--'the idle singer of an empty day'--he can no more escape influencing the moral taste, and with it the action of the intelligence, than a setter of fashions in furniture and dress can fill the shop with his designs and leave the garniture of persons and houses unaffected by his industry.

George Eliot. "Leaves from a Notebook: Authorship," The Impressions of Theophrastus Such (1879).

For

Warren Roberts, Jr.

with respect and appreciation

INTRODUCTION

In several works, most recently in Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach, which was written in collaboration with G. Bingham Powell, Jr., Gabriel A. Almond expresses his conviction that the behavioral approach to the study of politics gains depth and realism by the examination of every structure related to the function of policy-making. The result sought is the identification of "dynamic forces of politics wherever they exist."[1] Among these "dynamic forces" have been the political effects generated by a small but significant group of American novels. This study represents the first effort to bring together in one work a compilation of instances recording the political repercussions produced by reactions to the novels in this group. Until now such political references, with few exceptions, have been only incidentally included in works dominated by historical and literary foci. Those studies which have been made from a political point of view have rarely gone beyond descriptions of the novels as examples of literary interpretations of political life. Certainly no one has attempted to use a sophisticated systems model such as Almond's structural-functional schema. The chief contribution of this study will be to analyse the novels' effects in the systematic terms of Almond's structural-functional model of the political system.

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[1]Gabriel A. Almond and G. Bingham Powell, Jr., Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach (Boston: Little, Brown, 1966), p. 7. Hereinafter referred to as Comparative Politics.

In his Comparative Politics Almond has developed a schema which provides a useful ordering device for the empirical study of politically relevant data, including propaganda novels. The analytical model which Almond proposes is predicated upon three major levels of functions performed in every political system. Almond conceives of a political system as a network of interdependent roles performing within a given boundary and distinguished by its relationship to the legitimate exercise of force in the community. The first major function, capabilities, refers to "the performance of a political system in its domestic and foreign environments."[2] The types of inputs and outputs which may be used to describe the relationship of the political system to its environment are divided by Almond into the regulative, extractive, distributive, responsive, and symbolic capabilities subfunctions. The second major level of functions, conversion, which is internal to the political system, describes the process by which the input subfunctions of interest articulation and interest aggregation are transformed into the output subfunctions of rule-making, rule-application, and rule-adjudication. Communication, which Almond includes as one of the conversion processes, is also an important prerequisite to the system's functioning on the other two levels. The third and final major level of functions Almond calls system maintenance and adaptation. The adequate performance of this function enables

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[2]Ibid., p. 191.

the political system to persist over a period of time by maintaining and replacing its component roles. Each political system to be maintained is distinguished by its political culture--i.e., "the pattern of individual attitudes and orientations toward politics among the members of the political system."[3] The persistence of a political system calls for the continual adaptation of members to the demands of the political culture by means of socialization and by recruitment into participant roles. Participants are those who are "oriented to the imput structures and processes, and engage in, or view themselves as potentially engaging in, the articulation of demands and the making of decisions."[4] The three levels of functions just described above compose the political system as Almond conceives it. If this model is indeed as universal as Almond claims, it should be useful in dealing with all political phenomena including the propaganda novel. Moreover it should be useful in integrating studies done in other disciplines--e.g., sociology, psychology, history, American literature--which are significant in dealing with the propaganda novel. This paper will attempt such a cross-disciplinary integration.

In all types of art forms--e.g., music, painting, sculp-

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[3]Ibid., pp. 183-184; Gabriel A. Almond, "A Developmental Approach to Political Systems," World Politics, XVII (January, 1965), pp. 92-102. Hereinafter referred to as "Developmental Approach."

[4]Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics, p. 53.

ture, literature--one finds a lively political awareness. Probably the most explicit statements of political relevance are to be found in a group of novels which have served, with varying degrees of success or failure, as political instruments. These works, which will be typologized here as propaganda novels, are fictional prose narratives embodying a definite point of view toward a contemporary issue having political implications. Whether or not the novelist intended his work to be used as a political instrument, the content of his book has the capacity to sway readers' opinions on politically relevant issues--hence, the designation "propaganda."[5] In those cases where novelists intended for their work to be used as an instrument, the ultimate hope must be, of course, that readers would take action based on the opinions formed as a result of reading the novels. The ideal end sought by propagandists using any form of persuasion, including the novel, is not to achieve orthodoxy but is orthopraxy--i.e., an action which of itself contributes directly to the achievement of a goal.[6] Characteristics which the propaganda novel shares with other propaganda media (goals, audience, methods, etc.) will be discussed in order to reach an understanding of how fiction can serve as a politically persuasive medium.

What roles in the political system does the propaganda

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[5]Joseph L. Blotner, The Political Novel (New York: Doubleday, 1955), p. 10.

[6]Jacques Ellul, Propaganda (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), p. 27.

novel play? A political system, in Almond's terms, is distinguished by the legitimate use of coercion by government. The political role of the propaganda novel, then, stems from its effect upon that authoritative decision-making which gives the values sought compulsory status. As explained above, the term "political system" as used by Almond refers to an interdependent network of political roles within a type of boundary between the system itself and its environment. According to Almond, roles are the units out of which all social systems are composed. Individuals perform roles in many social systems, including the political. In order to exercise influence on decision-making, the author of a propaganda novel simultaneously fulfills the roles of artist and political advocate. Consequently, on the one hand his work may be judged in terms of his former role according to its literary merit--style, characterization, point of view, etc. On the other hand his work may also be evaluated by politically oriented questions suggested by Almond's three levels of functions: With which of the system's capabilities is the author concerned--distributive, regulative, symbolic, responsive, extractive? In the conversion process, what style of interest articulation does the author employ--manifest, latent, specific, diffuse? How do the author's opinions reflect or reject the political culture of the system either as a whole or in its subsystems? Thus, in his capacity as a public advocate an author performs a role carrying relevance for the political system. This paper will attempt to assess the role of the propaganda novel

in each of the three levels of functions proposed by Almond.

The order of presentation of the paper will depart somewhat from the pattern developed by Almond in Comparative Politics. The organization to be followed is better suited to the material being presented without altering the framework in a substantive way. In Chapter One, which concerns capabilities, the contributions of particular novels to the regulative, extractive, distributive, symbolic, and responsive subfunctions will be discussed. Chapter Two, dealing with the conversion function, will describe what roles novels have played in the input subfunctions (interest articulation, interest aggregation) and the output subfunctions (rule-making, rule-application, and rule-adjudication). In addition, the propaganda novels will be evaluated as a medium of communication. Chapter Three, which considers the system maintenance and adaptation function, demonstrates the ways in which the propaganda novels studied have performed socialization and recruitment subfunctions. The Conclusion will summarize the body of the paper and will evaluate the utility of Almond's framework for this type of study.

In making the study several American novels were selected. Although few in number the novels studied represent all the novels to which the author was able to trace various kinds of political effects capable of substantiation. The selection includes: White Jacket by Herman Melville (1850), Uncle Tom's Cabin by Harriet Beecher Stowe (1852), Looking Backward by Edward Bellamy (1888), Caesar's Column by Ignatius Donnelly

(1890), The Jungle by Upton Sinclair (1906), Philip Dru: Administrator by Edward Mandell House (1912), The Fakers by Samuel G. Blythe (1914), The Grapes of Wrath by John Steinbeck (1938), and The Ugly American by William Lederer and Eugene Burdick (1958).[7] Histories, biographies, autobiographies, letters, articles, newspaper accounts, the Congressional Record, and unpublished dissertations have been drawn upon to identify the political effects which the novels produced. These sources provided sufficient evidence to warrant the inclusion of the novels selected. Other novels which the author had planned to include were excluded because there was not sufficient evidence that they had generated significant political effects. An unintended but desirable dividend became apparent in that the novels are fairly evenly spaced through over one hundred years of American history. In addition, they deal with a variety of issues and have produced a variety of kinds of political effects. Thus, although the selection is limited in the number of novels studied, it is composed of novels whose political repercussions were quantitatively numerous and qualitatively diverse.

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[7] White Jacket, with an Introduction by William Plomer (New York: Grove Press, 1956); Uncle Tom's Cabin, with an Introduction by Raymond Weaver (New York: Modern Library, 1958); Caeser's Column, with an Introduction by Walter B. Rideout (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960); Looking Backward, with an Introduction by Sylvester Baxter (New York: Vanguard Press, 1927); The Jungle, with an Introduction by John Fischer and a Preface by Upton Sinclair (New York: Viking, 1946); Philip Dru: Administrator (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1912); The Fakers (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1914); The Grapes of Wrath (New York: Viking, 1938); The Ugly American (New York: W. W. Norton, 1958).

This study was completed at Tulane University under the supervision of Warren Roberts who contributed valuable advice and encouragement at every phase of its development. Additional comments and suggestions were contributed by Jean Danielson, James Cochrane, Henry Mason, and William Shaw. The author, of course, assumes full responsibility for any errors of fact and judgment which may have occurred.

CHAPTER ONE:
THE PROPAGANDA NOVEL AND THE CAPABILITIES FUNCTION

A political system's capabilities denote how the system performs in its domestic and international environments.[1] More specifically, capabilities describe the nature of the relationship between government and the human and material resources of the system. According to Almond, in every political system five types of capabilities operate: regulative, extractive, distributive, responsive, and symbolic. The configuration of each of these, he asserts, can be determined by methods of empirical analysis. The concern of the propaganda novel here is either to advocate changes or to affirm the desirability of existing capabilities. The roles of the propaganda novels studied in the performance of the capabilities function will be discussed in this chapter.

I. CAPABILITY TYPES

A. Regulative Capability

The central characteristic of any political system is its regulative capability for it is by means of this that the system controls individual and group behavior.[2] The types of regulation vary according to the political system. For instance, the legal--rather than the arbitrary or customary--style prevails in the United States. The influence of several

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[1] Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics, Chapter VIII.

[2] Ibid., pp. 196-197.

propaganda novels can be seen to have contributed to the regulative capability of the American government on national, state, and local levels. As an example of the kind of regulative capability being performed, Almond makes reference to the regulation of economic sectors of the system and mentions food handling in particular. According to the editor of Theodore Roosevelt's collected letters, The Jungle by Upton Sinclair was the primary force behind the ultimate passage of the 1906 Food and Drug Act in which federal standards were imposed on food processing methods and conditions.[3] For several months a bill intended to reform the practice of the meat industry had been pigeon-holed in the House Agriculture Committee chaired by an opponent of the measure, Representative James W. Wadsworth. Roosevelt previously had urged passage of the bill in his annual message to Congress on December 5, 1905. On advising Robert M. Allen that he would do so, he added, "'But it will take more than my recommendation to get the law passed, for I understand that there is some very stubborn opposition.'"[4] A biographer of Theodore Roosevelt, Henry F. Pringle, refers to the effect of Sinclair's novel on the public as spurring the president into a brisk fight with

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[3]Theodore Roosevelt, The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt, ed. by Elting E. Morrison, John Blum et al. (8 vols.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), V, p. 176. Hereinafter referred to as Letters.

[4]Mark Sullivan, Our Times (New York: Charles Scribner's and Sons, 1927), pp. 530-531.

Congress in defense of the measure.[5] In Roosevelt's collected letters the role of the novel in his actions becomes quite clear. A letter from Roosevelt to Upton Sinclair states:

> I have now read, if not all, yet a good deal of your book, and if you can come down here...I shall be particularly glad to see you.... The specific evils you point out shall, if their existence be proved, and if I have the power, be eradicated.[6]

After conferring with close associates and with Sinclair, Roosevelt dispatched an investigative team to Chicago to confirm or deny the existence of the abuses described in The Jungle. The Neill-Reynolds Report which ensued verified the Sinclair account with only one important exception: no proof was available that men occasionally disappeared into steaming vats only to emerge in the market-place packaged as pure leaf lard.[7] In an article reporting that The Jungle had been substantiated by the government report, a photo of Sinclair was captioned: "'He begged the President to act in the beef scan-

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[5]Henry F. Pringle, Theodore Roosevelt (New York: Blue Ribbon Books, 1931), pp.428-429; Claude G. Bowers, Beveridge and the Progressive Era (Cambridge: Houghton, Mifflin, 1932), p. 228. Hereinafter referred to as Beveridge.

[6]Theodore Roosevelt, Letters, V, pp. 178-180. The final sentence was added in a handwritten postscript.

[7]Sinclair, The Jungle, p. x. Sinclair explained that the families of the disappearing workers were returned to Europe by the companies in order to prevent their giving evidence. Cf.----, American Outpost (New York: Farrar and Rhinehart, 1932), p. 167; Theodore Roosevelt, Letters, V,pp. 208-209; U. S., Congressional Record, 59th Cong., 1st Sess., XL, Pt. 8, pp. 7800-7802.

dal, because, said he, "I cannot write another Jungle."'"[8] Roosevelt wrote to Wadsworth that the commission report had been "hideous" and demanded that the House committee not yield to the packers' pressures or the entire report would be made public to confirm the charges made in The Jungle. Roosevelt declared to Wadsworth that "enough has been developed in my judgment to call for immediate, thoroughgoing and radical enlargement of the powers of the Government in inspecting all meats which enter into interstate and foreign commerce."[9] The president's threat was made good and sections of the report were published. As a result the House committee, no longer able to withstand the presidential and public pressure, permitted the reform measure to reach the floor where it passed. This regulatory legislation established standards for the processing of food and drugs going into interstate and foreign commerce. When the federal protection was extended in 1967 to cover meat handling in intrastate commerce as well, it was indicative of his earlier role that Upton Sinclair was brought in a wheelchair to the White House to witness President Lyndon Johnson's signing of the new legislation. The New York Times took note of Sinclair's importance in the passage of the 1906 legislation "above all through his

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[8]"The Packers' Reply," Literary Digest, XXXII (June 16, 1906), p. 893. Cf. "Demand for Clean Meat," ibid., (June 9, 1906), p. 858.

[9]Theodore Roosevelt, Letters, V, pp. 282-283, 291-292, 298-299; cf. George E. Mowry, The Era of Theodore Roosevelt (New York: Harper's, 1958), p. 207. Hereinafter referred to as Roosevelt.

exposure of unsanitary conditions in the meat industry in a book The Jungle...."[10] At the ceremony the president paid special tribute to Sinclair's efforts.

A second novel whose influence contributed to the extension of the regulative capability was Herman Melville's White Jacket, published in the Spring of 1850. From its beginning the American Navy had counted flogging as an essential prerogative of officers for guaranteeing discipline aboard ships. White Jacket's portrayal of the brutality and abuse of that practice is widely acknowledged by Melville scholars in addition to literary and naval historians as a contributory influence to the abolition of flogging.[11] Admirals Samuel R. Franklin and Livingston Hunt, for example, give the Melville novel explicit credit for being a primary force behind the legislation enacted. One biographer, Charles Anderson, asserts that the novel's influence has been overestimated. He

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[10]"Johnson Welcomes Upton Sinclair, 89, at Meat Bill Signing," New York Times, December 16, 1967, p. 1. Hereinafter referred to as "Johnson Welcomes Sinclair."

[11]Raymond M. Weaver, Herman Melville (New York: George H. Doran, 1921), p. 234; Lewis Mumford, Herman Melville (New York: Literary Guild of America, 1929), pp. 117-118; John Freeman, Herman Melville (New York: Macmillan, 1926), p. 36; Herman Melville, White Jacket, edited by Carl Van Doren (London: Oxford World's Classics, 1924), p. vii; Robert E. Spiller, Willard Thorp, et al., eds., Literary History of the United States (2 vols.; New York: Macmillan, 1948), I, p. 447. Hereinafter referred to as Literary History. Cf. Percy H. Boynton, Literature and American Life (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1936), p. 467; Samuel R. Franklin, Memories of a Rear-Admiral Who Has Served for More than Half a Century in the Navy of the United States (New York: Harper's, 1898). Hereinafter referred to as Memories. Cf. Livington Hunt, "Herman Melville as Naval Historian," Harvard Graduate's Magazine, XXXIX (September, 1930), pp. 28-30; Charles Roberts Anderson, Melville in the South Seas (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), p. 431.

concedes, however, that it probably did to some extent increase the momentum of public pressure for change. This is reflected in the opinion of a journalist in 1850 who ventured that "'[White Jacket] must powerfully second the efforts now making to bring about a reform in our Navy.'"[12] Melville's novel thus played a creditable role in securing the regulatory legislation passed in September, 1850 which eliminated the use of flogging by officers of the American Navy.

B. Extractive Capability

Almond defines the extractive capability as "the range of system performance in drawing material and human resources from the domestic and international environments."[13] He states that the international extractive capability can refer, for example, to income derived from foreign trade. The impact of The Jungle abroad did indeed affect this country's trade position at that time.[14] Foreign correspondents reported that the domestic meat scandals had been perceptibly det-

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[12]Jan Leyda, The Melville Log (2 vols.; New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1951), p. 381; cf. Merrell R. Davis and William H. Gilman, eds., The Letters of Herman Melville (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), pp. 114-115. For a further description of the type of effect referred to here, see the section on rule-making in Chapter Two.

[13]Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics, pp. 195, 203.

[14]"The Beef Scandal Abroad," Literary Digest, XXXII (June 23, 1906), pp. 928-930; "Foreign Comment: The Witches' Caldron at Chicago," ibid., p. 947. Hereinafter referred to as "Witches' Caldron." Cf. Sinclair, The Jungle, p. x; Alfred Kazin, On Native Grounds (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1942), p. 19; Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1908 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909), pp. 446-447.

rimental to the interest of Europeans in the continuation of certain type of trade with the United States. In Germany the furor generated by a translation of The Jungle precipitated a rare attitude of agreement between Junkers and Socialists on the necessity for raising a tariff against American meat imports. Furthermore, members of an American trade delegation in Paris to negotiate a Franco-American treaty of commerce predicted that, in view of the meat scandals, those provisions dealing with imports of fresh meats from the United States would never be accepted by the French, who were alarmed by the descriptions of American methods given in The Jungle. The Americans stated that as a result of the French reaction the implications for future trade had become "disastrous." Foreign trade figures may in part demonstrate The Jungle's impact on the international extractive capability. By 1906 beef exports had risen to a level of 64,000,000 pounds. By 1907, however, when translations of the novel were creating considerable controversy abroad, the level of these exports plummeted to 16,000,000 pounds. By 1908 the level had only climbed to 23,000,000 pounds. While other types of meat exports also showed losses, none were so consistent as those of beef, the packing methods of which Sinclair had specifically described. The timing of the marked fluctuations in export levels when viewed in relationship to the reports of journalists in Europe offers interesting evidence that the reactions to The Jungle were probably responsible at least in part for the temporary decline in American beef exports. In this instance, then, a propaganda novel produced repercussions

which affected the international extractive capability of the American political system.

C. Distributive Capability

The distributive capability described by Almond refers to the political system's conferral of opportunities, goods, services, honors, or statuses upon groups or individuals.[15] During the Depression a sizeable number of propaganda novels contributed to the debate on the expanded role of government in the equitable distribution of goods and opportunities. Prominent among these was John Steinbeck's The Grapes of Wrath which was published in the Spring of 1939.[16] The novel's circulation set off with an advance sale of 50,000 copies and after a year sales continued to be about 4,000 copies a week. Steinbeck's novel was another of the rare novels able to compel public attention to be focused on a social issue needing correction. It described the plight of migrant farmers to hundreds of thousands of people who would never in their life-

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[15] Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics, pp. 198-199.

[16] Except as otherwise noted the information for the following paragraph is drawn from these sources: "Grapes of Wrath," Current History, LI (September, 1939), pp. 9-10; "First Lady Stresses Community Interests," New York Times, December 8, 1939, p. 16; "The Okies--A National Problem," Business Week, February 10, 1940, pp. 16-17; Lloyd Morris, Postscript to Yesterday (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), p. 169; Franklin D. Roosevelt, The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt (13 vols.; New York: Macmillan, 1941), VIII, pp. 574-575. Hereinafter referred to as Papers. Cf. Leo Gurko, Heroes, Highbrows and the Popular Mind (New York: Charter Books, 1962). Hereinafter referred to as Popular Mind.

times come into contact with these laborers. The public controversy about the plight of migratory workers aroused by The Grapes of Wrath was sufficient to attract the attention of President and Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt. In a public address Mrs. Roosevelt took her theme from the novel, stating that her experience verified the overall truthfulness of Steinbeck's account. The nation's Attorney General, a close associate of the president, was observed reading The Grapes of Wrath during this period even though he had once remarked, "'I seldom read novels because no novel could be so exciting as my life.'"[17] The public reactions to the novel, both favorable and unfavorable, as manifested, for example, by Chambers of Commerce and business groups, among others, combined with its impact on people close to him appear to have led Roosevelt to send an investigative committee to look into farming conditions. It was widely hoped by such groups as those just mentioned--i.e., the groups opposed to the Steinbecks--that the president's intervention would serve to forestall the irate employer groups who opposed legislation from committing rash acts "out of which the Steinbecks [could] make dramatic capital" and, so, justify Roosevelt in proposing even more extensive remedies. With this as background, then, Roosevelt made his November 15, 1939 "Statement of Relief Efforts for Drought Sufferers of 1939 in Several States." This policy statement expanded federal programs to meet the problems des-

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[17]"Lay Bishop," Time, XXXIV (August 28, 1939), p. 14.

cribed in The Grapes of Wrath.

This novel also provides an instance in which two capabilities are affected simultaneously--in this case the effort to alter the distributive capability led to a countereffort to expand the regulative capability. Because of the public sympathy aroused for the plight of migratory workers, propertied interests felt compelled to advocate regulative measures to obstruct further public exposure to the novel.[18] In Oklahoma local and state Chambers of Commerce attempted to dissuade potential producers of the movie version of The Grapes of Wrath. Some libraries were ordered by local governments not to circulate the novel. Similarly in California the Associated Farmers of Kern County made extensive efforts to obtain the support of all major organizations for the ban on the novel enacted by the Kern County Board of Supervisors. In addition they worked to extend the ban to cover schools and libraries on a statewide basis. In some cases the reason of obscenity was used to cover the underlying political motivations for the suppression. The Associated Farmers subse-

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[18]Except as otherwise noted the information for this paragraph is drawn from the following sources: Martin Staples Shockley, "The Reception of The Grapes of Wrath in Oklahoma," American Literature, XV (January, 1944), pp. 351-361. Hereinafter referred to as "Reception." Cf. Joseph Henry Jackson, "Why Steinbeck wrote The Grapes of Wrath," Booklets for Bookmen (No. 1; New York Limited Editions Club, 1940), pp. 11-12. Hereinafter referred to as "Why Steinbeck Wrote." Cf. "Literary Calendar," Wilson Library Bulletin, XIV (October, 1939), p. 104; "Attempts to Suppress Grapes of Wrath," Publisher's Weekly, CXXXVI (September 2, 1939), p. 777; "War on Steinbeck Book," New York Times, August 23, 1939, p. 7; "Library Bans Steinbeck Book," ibid., August 19, 1939, p. 8.

quently convened to issue their first official response "to the widely read book which stirred nation-wide interest in the plight" of migratory workers. Their resolution affected a selfless interest in the good name of migratory workers by stating that "'Mr. John Steinbeck in his novel The Grapes of Wrath has grossly libelled the migrants from Oklahoma.'"[19] In spite of efforts to diminish the effects of the novel by regulatory methods, the confirmation accorded Steinbeck's portrayal by Carey McWilliams' Factories in the Field provided an authoritative, factual reinforcement for the novel's charges and, hence, justification for the modification of the distributive capability.[20] Thus, The Grapes of Wrath precipitated activity in both the distributive and the regulative capability subfunctions.

D. Responsive Capability

Almond also discusses the responsive capability. Here he refers to a type of political demand in which the response yields particular immediate remedies and then institutionalizes the system's responsiveness in that area. "While the extractive, regulative, distributive, and symbolic capabilities are ways of describing the pattern of outputs of the po-

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[19]"Trampling Grapes of Wrath," Business Week, December 16, 1939, p. 38.

[20]"California Replies to Steinbeck," ibid., May 11, 1940, p. 17; "'The Grapes' Has First Birthday," Publisher's Weekly, CXXXVII (April 13, 1940), p. 1493; Carey McWilliams, Factories in the Field (Boston: Little, Brown, 1940), passim.

litical system into the internal and external environments, the responsive capability is a relationship between inputs and outputs."[21] Three of the novels studied are of particular interest here: The Jungle, The Grapes of Wrath, and The Ugly American. The 1906 legislation, in the passage of which The Jungle played an important part, erected authoritative structures to perpetuate the output of regulations governing meat-handling, thereby increasing the responsive capability of the system in the sense described by Almond. Interestingly enough, as an example of the institutionalized response, Almond himself refers to the use of Department of Agriculture food inspectors who maintain regulatory measures on a continuing basis. Likewise, The Grapes of Wrath set into motion a series of reactions that led to the establishment of specific relief programs intended to cope with both existing and future problems of the drought victims.[22] On the state level steps were taken by the newly-elected governor, Culbert L. Olson, to approach the migratory labor problem from a more humane standpoint. California policies were altered to cut down the amount of herding of workers from camp to camp and to eliminate the harassment of workers by state and local officials. A recent example of responsiveness was generated by The Ugly American which, by reinforcing an unfavorable image and sup-

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[21]Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics, pp. 201-203.

[22]Morris, Postscript to Yesterday, p. 169; Carey McWilliams, "What's Being Done About the Joads?" New Republic, C (September 20, 1963), pp. 178-180.

plying it with a catchy name, contributed to the controversy out of which a re-examination of certain aspects of American foreign policy developed.[23] The histories of the issues in which these novels played roles indicates that the American political system has been responsive to the reverberations set off by the novels both in elite circles and in the general public.

E. Symbolic Capability

Perhaps the most interesting contribution by the propaganda novels studied has been made to the symbolic capability. Almond defines this as "the effective symbol flow from the political system into the society and the international environment."[24] The symbolic capacility was affected by these novels as they functioned within the political system, producing symbols which communicated various political ideas and images to the public. Almond describes symbols as including value affirmations by elites, ceremonies, and policy statements. He does not exclude other types of vehicles for political symbolism which also communicate values while drawing upon popular hopes, attitudes, and beliefs. The symbols generated by the novels studied were able to stimulate the public responses Almond describes. White Jacket, Uncle Tom's Cabin,

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[23]John D. Montgomery, The Politics of Foreign Aid (New York: Praeger, 1962), p. 225. More detailed discussions of the impact of The Ugly American will be presented in Chapters Two and Three.

[24]Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics, pp. 199-201.

Looking Backward, Philip Dru, Caesar's Column, The Grapes of Wrath, and The Ugly American have all produced symbols which have provided meaningful political images.

Mrs. Stowe's abolitionist novel produced symbols politically relevant both in its own day and today when, one hundred years after abolition, its characters continue to provide potent political images that their originator could never have anticipated.[25] In the 1850's and 1860's Uncle Tom's Cabin furnished two striking images which revealed the geographical extent of its impact. In Georgia, slave owners when referring to an abusive owner used to call him a "real Legree," alluding to the brutal purchaser at whose hands Tom died. In the North, emigrants into Kansas seeking to exclude the practice of slavery from being established there were furnished with guns colloquially known as "Beecher Bibles."[26] In addition the popular belief in the accuracy of Mrs. Stowe's portrait of the Negro as imbued with a moral and spiritual superiority has since been credited with being in part responsible for the grant of political power to Negroes in the South under Reconstruction, at a time and in a situation where they were not yet able to exercise it properly.

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[25]J. C. Furnas, Goodby Uncle Tom (New York: William Sloane Associates, 1956), p. 26; Catherine Gilbertson, Harriet Beecher Stowe (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1937), p. 179; Elbert B. Smith, The Death of Slavery in the United States (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), p. 122. Hereinafter referred to as Death of Slavery.

[26]The name given those rifles probably was also drawn from Mrs. Stowe's abolitionist brother, Henry Ward Beecher.

The symbolism from Uncle Tom's Cabin continues to be politically relevant. Its most significant recent contribution has, of course, been in providing American political imagery with the symbol of "Uncle Tom" which has come to connote a Negro wittingly or unwittingly in the service of continued white domination. According to Time, Bayard Rustin "was attacked as an Uncle Tom merely for trying to calm people down. His reply was 'I'm prepared to be a Tom is it's the only way I can save [people] from being shot down....'"[27] The Uncle Tom image appears to be widely despised among present day Negroes. One woman was awarded $32,000 in a libel suit filed against a Cleveland newspaper that had called her an Uncle Tom.[28] Other images also persist. In 1968 it was reported that the American ambassador to Brazil, James Tuthill, designated his staff reduction plan as "Operation Topsy" because "like the little girl in Uncle Tom's Cabin the U. S. mission in Brazil had 'just growed.'"[29] Also in 1968 an article in the National Affairs section of Time, next to a copy of an etching entitled "Eliza Fleeing Across the Ice," was a description of the congressional consideration of the poverty program as comparable to an "annual re-enactment of Eliza crossing the ice. Each year the bloodhounds [i.e., Republi-

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[27]"The Other 97%," Time, XC (August 11, 1967), pp. 12-17.

[28]Furnas, Goodby Uncle Tom, pp. 8-9; Philip Van Doren Stern, The Annotated Uncle Tom's Cabin (New York: Bramhall House, 1964), p.10. Hereinafter referred to as Annotated Uncle Tom.

[29]"Operation Topsy," Newsweek, LXXI (January 29, 1968), p. 45.

cans and Southern Democrats] nip closer but each year Eliza stays an inch or two ahead."[30] Thus, Uncle Tom's Cabin provided a number of succinct but potent political images having both historical and modern political relevance.

According to prominent lexicographers, a number of Herman Melville's novels contain the earliest known records and definitions of words and idioms which have become part of the established political parlance.[31] Among these is the term "Old Guard" which denotes "the conservative, dependable element in an organization, the old stand-bys." Other idioms traced to Melville are "lame duck," "all in the family," "throw cold water on (something)," "play second fiddle," "save the pieces," and others which may be found both in political and in other social usages.

Edward Bellamy's novel, Looking Backward, created such an impact on the public mind that Bellamy's name became a new political invective. For instance, a New York Sun editorial de-

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[30]"Biting the Bloodhounds," Time, XC (November 24, 1967), p. 23. In the novel no bloodhounds pursued Eliza. The canine addition to the legend was established in theatrical performances.

[31]The terms given below are included even though they are found in works by Melville other than White Jacket. C. Merton Babcock, "Some Expressions from Herman Melville," Publication of the American Dialect Society, No. 31 (April, 1959), pp. 3-13; Sir William Craigie and James R. Hulbert, eds., A Dictionary of American English (4 vols.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), III, 1633; Mitford M. Matthews, ed., A Dictionary of Americanisms on Historical Principles (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), p. 1157.

scribed the Texas governor-elect as a "'blatant Bellamyite, a nationalist, and a corporation hater.'"[32] The novel had also coined the term "Nationalism" to represent the type of socialism expounded in Looking Backward.[33] "Nationalism," which became a sensation in its day, became the name of an intellectual movement and a political party. The significance of Bellamy's work was such that the books written by two presidents drew their titles from it: The New Nationalism by Theodore Roosevelt and Looking Forward by Franklin Roosevelt.[34] Bellamy's symbolism was important to another figure associated with the presidency. William Jennings Bryan excerpted from Looking Backward the assertion "I have seen humanity hanging from the cross," and immortalized that image in the famous address to the Democratic convention where he cried out: "You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold."[35] The electrifying impact of this particular imagery upon the con-

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[32]John Hope Franklin, "Edward Bellamy and the Nationalist Movement," New England Quarterly, XI (December, 1938), pp. 762-763. Hereinafter referred to as "Nationalist Movement."

[33]Bellamy's concept of "Nationalism" will be discussed in Chapter Two.

[34]Elizabeth Sadler, "One Book's Influence: Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward," New England Quarterly, XVII (December, 1944), pp. 553-554; hereinafter referred to as "One Book's Influence." Cf. Theodore Roosevelt, The New Nationalism (New York: Outlook Co., 1910); Franklin D. Roosevelt, Looking Forward (New York: John Day Co., 1933).

[35]Arthur E. Morgan, Edward Bellamy (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), p. 284; Ignatius Donnelly, The Bryan Campaign for the American People's Money (Chicago: Laird and Lee, 1896), p. xxv; Bellamy, Looking Backward, p. 327.

vention is considered to have played an important role in winning support for Bryant's nomination for the presidency the following day.

The symbolic function during Franklin Roosevelt's presidency was influenced by a second novel, Philip Dru.[36] Its author, Colonel Edward Mandell House, had been Woodrow Wilson's close associate and had also advised Roosevelt for over twenty years. The radio addresses by President Roosevelt to the American people came to be known as "fireside talks." Few people are aware that this descriptive term was taken from Philip Dru. In the novel, as chief executive Dru discussed political subjects in a number of such "fireside talks."

During the 1930's The Grapes of Wrath provided one symbolic image and intensified the currency of another. "Okies" is a word used to designate the migratory workers who swarmed to California, called "Grapes of Wrath" country, trying to escape the Oklahoma drought.[37] Steinbeck's vivid use of

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[36]Arthur D. Howden Smith, Mr. House of Texas (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1940), p. 370; Vernon Louis Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought (3 vols.; New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1930), III, p. 191. Hereinafter referred to as Main Currents. House, Philip Dru, p. 254.

[37]The information in this paragraph, except where otherwise noted, was drawn from the following: "Okies Interest Banks," Business Week, April 6, 1940, pp. 24-26; "Plight of the 'Okies' Heading Toward Congress for Solution," Newsweek, XV (March 25, 1940), pp. 15-16; Byron Darnton, "California Pulls in Her Adjectives," New York Times, May 12, 1940, p. 14; "Help for the Joads," Nation, CLI (December 21, 1940), p. 622; "'The Grapes' Has First Birthday," p. 1493; McWilliams, "What's Being Done About the Joads?," pp. 178-180; Frederick I. Carpenter, "The Philosophical Joads," College English, II (January, 1941), p. 315.

of the term made it widely known and used--and detested. Congressman Lyle Boren, for one, objected to being "labeled by John Steinbeck as an Okie."[38] Steinbeck's original contribution was the image of the down-trodden, well-intentioned Joad family whose vicissitudes in finding honorable employment provide the plot on which the novel is built. The term "the Joads" was used in 1939 and 1940--often without explanation--by a number of writers concerned with the problems of migrant labor. They designated similar dispossessed families as "the Joads." In a short time the term's meaning expanded to embrace other types of migrants elsewhere.

Caesar's Column by Ignatius Donnelly, with Looking Backward one of the influential proponents of radical reform, recounts a cataclysmic revolution by the American proletariat which far exceeds the violence of the Frence Revolution. At one point the leader of the revolt, Caesar Tomellini, orders a towering cement monument built to cover a pyre of dead victims. This was to be known as Caesar's Column. The image of this column was utilized by a labor leader implicated in the bombing of the Los Angeles Times in an address to the California Building Trades' Council. He warned that "'If labor should invoke a law, AN EYE FOR AN EYE AND A TOOTH FOR A TOOTH, the world would have a deluge of human blood...with numberless

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[38]Hon. Lyle Boren, "The Grapes of Wrath," in U. S., Congressional Record, 76th Cong., 2d Sess., LXXXVI, Pt. 13, p. 140. Since Boren was the son of an Oklahoma tenant farmer and these tenant farmers were considered "Okies," Boren fell in this category.

Caesar's Columns to mark the final landings.'"[39]

Finally, the impact of the propaganda novels studied on the international symbolic capability should be recognized. According to Almond, the examination of this capability describes the types of effects generated by the flow of symbols, images, and policies from one country to another.[40] He mentions the American concern for her prestige as an example. Earlier in this chapter reference was made to The Jungle's negative impact on European opinion of the United States. During World War II, when most of the best American literature was removed from circulation in some parts of Germany, The Grapes of Wrath continued to be available, ostensibly for the unfavorable light it cast on American labor conditions.[41] More recently The Ugly American implanted a highly unfavorable image of American technicians sent to Southeast Asia.[42] As a result Burmese officials who had been disturbed by the novel

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[39]Alexander Sexton, "Caesar's Column: The Dialogue of Utopia and Catastrophe," American Quarterly, XIX (Summer, 1967), p. 231.

[40]Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics, p. 204.

[41]Spiller et al., Literary History, I, p. 1382. Cf. Part II of Chapter Three in which this action is referred to in terms of its implications for socialization.

[42]The observations on The Ugly American presented below are drawn fr . the following sources: John D. Montgomery, The Politics of Foreign Aid (New York: Praeger, 1962), p. 43; Robert Finley Delaney, "The 'Ugly American' Myth," Catholic World, CLXXXIX (July, 1959), pp. 272-277; "How Representative is the 'Ugly American'," Senior Scholastic, LXXVII (January 25, 1961), p. 16; "Essay in English," C.B.S. telecast, March 19, 1968. Narrator, Harry Reasoner.

demanded that their government be allowed to approve each technician to be admitted in order to protect their country from men such as Lederer and Burdick portrayed. "The Ugly American," a term referring to Americans abroad as boisterous and blundering, became so familiar that it came to be used without reference to its source in a novel. The term has also come to be used independently to refer to the American who is unwilling or unable to master a foreign language. The Lederer and Burdick book certainly intensified the unfavorable image that had already marked the American abroad.

As can be seen from the foregoing the propaganda novels selected have had an impact both on the domestic and on the international symbolic capability levels. By and large, on the former level (as demonstrated above with reference to Uncle Tom's Cabin, Philip Dru, Looking Backward, The Grapes of Wrath and Caesar's Column) the novels have supplied particular terminology and images which proved to be politically salient. On the latter level (as was demonstrated with reference to The Jungle, The Grapes of Wrath, and The Ugly American) the overall images conveyed by the novels taken in their entireties were the significant factors in the negative evaluations made.

II. FACTORS AFFECTING CAPABILITIES

A. Elites

Almond defines three major factors affecting capabilities performance: (1) elites, (2) material resources, and (3)

the organizational structure.[43] The propaganda novel is directly involved in systems capabilities insofar as the novel itself may help to mold the ends and activities of reader elites who help to shape capability configurations. Using Almond's definition, elites will be considered here as members of decision-making bodies or independent persons with access to and influence on such bodies.[44] He explains that "political structures do not fluctuate blindly in response to pressures and demands.... Elite responses to societal and international inputs of demand and support are a major factor affecting levels and patterns of capability."[45] Furthermore, Joseph Klapper adds that the attitudes and behavior of these capability-shaping elites often provoke broad social effects on the part of the masses.[46] Almond describes the types of elite responses which yield such systemic and societal impacts, labeling the responses as accomodative, repressive, indifferent, and substitutive. Various influences, including particular novels, act upon elites to elicit one or another

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[43]Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics, pp. 205-207. The paper will consider elites and nonelites. It will not treat material resources and organizational structure because the novels of the sample bear no significant relationship to either of these.

[44]Ibid., p. 83.

[45]Ibid, p. 203.

[46]Joseph T. Klapper, "The Effects of Mass Communication," in Reader in Public Opinion and Communication, ed. by Bernard Berelson and Morris Janowitz (2d ed.; New York: Macmillan, 1966), p. 480. Hereinafter referred to as "Effects."

of these responses.

In systematically examining the effects of the propaganda novels studied on elites, two categories may be distinguished: (1) philosophical effects and (2) pragmatic effects. Novels which have been significant in shaping the broad political philosophies of elite members are subsumed under the former category. Under the latter grouping fall those novels whose major contribution has been to affect the disposition of a single immediate problem.

Those novels which have had an impact on the political philosophies of elite individuals include Looking Backward, The Jungle, and The Fakers. Of these three, as will be seen below, the Bellamy novel has been most widely acknowledged as influential. Aside from the specific tributes paid the above novels, it should also be noted that in general prominent members of the American elite have recognized the directive influence of novels upon their lives.[47] Theodore Roosevelt, for instance, revealed his regard for the importance of art forms by stating that "the work of the statesman ranks with that of the masters of art, literature and science...."[48] In his Autobiography he recommends the kinds of reading statesmen ought to endeavor to do:

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[47]Frank Luther Mott, Rewards of Reading (New York: Henry Holt, 1926), p. 121; David Gunston, "Books That Changed Men's Lives," South Atlantic Quarterly, LVI (Winter, 1958), pp. 55-57; Ralph Fox, The Novel and People (New York: International Publishers, 1945), p. 116.

[48]Theodore Roosevelt, Letters, V, p. 263.

> Poetry and novels--including short stories...because in the final event, the statesman and the publicist, and the reformer, and the agitator for new things, all need more than anything to know human nature, to know the needs of the human soul; and they will find this nature and these needs set forth as nowhere else by the great imaginative writers whether of prose or poetry.[49]

Although he thought that, as a rule, fiction was of greater value, he did concede that in some cases nonfiction may be "of as permanent value." Other political figures as well as writers in opinion-shaping media such as the press apparently share Roosevelt's respect for the persuasive powers of literature. Moreover, as will be shown in the next few paragraphs, they have in many cases named specific novels as having been significant in shaping their thought in politics and related areas.

Among the major American socialists who mention Looking Backward in this context have been several of the leaders of the late nineteenth as well as the twentieth century movement: Eugene V. Debs, Professor Daniel DeLeon, publisher John Lowell, and Upton Sinclair.[50] Others credit the Bellamy novel

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[49]Theodore Roosevelt, An Autobiography (New York: Macmillan, 1913), p. 362. Another president, Thomas Masaryk of Czechoslovakis, talking with an American scholar, pointed to a shelf of philosophy books and said:

> When I was young and stupid I read these books to find out the truth, but now I read novels which more exactly interpret the real things, the struggle of man for reality.

Quoted in Harlan Hatcher, "The Novel as an Educative Force," College English, II (October, 1940), p. 38.

[50]Morgan, Edward Bellamy, pp. xi-xii; Mark Starr, "American Labor and the Book," Saturday Review, XXVII (September 4, 1954), pp. 33-34; Sadler, "One Book's Influence," p. 553.

as their first compelling introduction to socialism. These include Norman Thomas, Heywood Broun, and Stephen Leacock.[51] According to the wife of Thorstein Veblen, the reading of Looking Backward was "the turning point in our lives."[52] It was then that Veblen turned from his translations of an obscure Icelandic saga to his life's work. Significantly, he developed a plan for marketing and distribution that is comparable to that in the Bellamy utopia. Adolph A. Berle, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State to Franklin Roosevelt, was a Bellamy admirer. He asserted that "It is unnecessary to say that anyone who ever followed Bellamy could never remain uninfluenced by his ideas."[53] William Allen White attributed to Looking Backward his youthful change from a thorough-going conservative attitude to an "'open-minded attitude about the political, social, and economic problems.'" He considered this effect

> the yeast of Edward Bellamy working in me. I have never been permanently cured. The book had a tremendous influence on my generation. Young men in high school and college, serious young men in those days, were talking about it.[54]

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[51] Ibid.

[52] Joseph Dorfman, Thorstein Veblen and His America (New York: Viking, 1934), p. 68. Hereinafter referred to as Veblen. Morgan, Edward Bellamy, pp. x-xi.

[53] Morgan, Edward Bellamy, p. xii.

[54] Ibid., p. xi.

This evaluation is confirmed by a study prepared for Columbia University in 1935. Philosopher John Dewey, historian Charles Beard, and editor Edward Weeks were each requested to prepare a list of twenty-five books which were most significant for thought and action over the past fifty years. Each of the three men placed Marx's Das Kapital first and Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward second.[55] More recently, American labor leaders David Dubinsky, John P. Burke, and others have stated that Looking Backward was important in shaping their views toward the role of labor in society.[56] Malcolm Starr, who made a study of books read by labor leaders, noted in his conclusion that so many labor leaders attributed influence to Looking Backward that more studies ought to be made of it.

The Jungle has been acknowledged by Walter Reuther as one of the books "which most influenced me in my youth."[57] A second labor leader, Jacob Potofsky, also placed it on his list. A founder of the Catholic Worker Movement, Dorothy Day, was motivated to take a radical position in part by The Jungle and by the fiction of Jack London.

The final novel to be considered as philosophically in-

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[55] Ibid., p. ix. The novel was also influential among the young Russian intellectuals in the early twentieth century, according to David Joffo, a member of the Kerensky regime. Ibid., p. xiv.

[56] Starr, "American Labor and the Book," p. 33.

[57] Ibid., p. 32; Walter B. Rideout, The Radical Novel in the United States (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), pp. 302, 111. Hereinafter referred to as Radical Novel. These are the sources for the data in this paragraph.

fluential is a "forgotten work," The Fakers by Samuel G. Blythe, which played a significant role in the political development of Huey P. Long of Louisiana. According to Joseph Blotner, "Rarely, if ever, has so indifferent a novel produced so turbulent an effect."[58] Throughout his youth Long was a voracious reader of nineteenth century romances which are characterized by their glorification of the roles of great men in shaping epochs. Because he was a devotee of fiction it is not odd that the Long collection in the Tulane University of Louisiana library includes The Fakers. A notation in the work by the collector, William B. Wisdom, describes it as "Huey P. Long's Bible of Politics--The Fakers [sic] by Blythe."[59] According to T. O. Harris, Long, speaking of Blythe, confided, "'The fellow that put those views and promises in the mouth of a political candidate...was writing something of immense value to the chap who wants to get somewhere in politics. The people want that kind of stuff. They eat it up. Why not give it to them.'"[60] The novel, which is a kind of up-dated version of Macchiavelli attached to a plot, is filled with cynical tips for winning the favor of the elec-

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[58]Joseph L. Blotner, The Modern American Political Novel (Austin: University of Texas, 1966), pp. 39-41. Hereinafter referred to as Modern Political Novel. Cf. Forest Davies, Huey Long (New York: Dodge Publishing Co., 1935), pp.54-55.

[59]This was confirmed by Mr. Wisdom in a conversation with the author on November 15, 1967.

[60]Thomas O. Harris, The Kingfish (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing Co., 1938), p. 18.

torate. The political career of Huey Long demonstrates how well he mastered the technique.

Those novels which have exercised a pragmatic effect on elite individuals include Uncle Tom's Cabin, The Jungle, The Grapes of Wrath, and The Ugly American. While each of these may have helped to shape the basic philosophical attitudes toward political issues of particular elite members--as did The Jungle--they played particularly prominent roles in calling the attention of elite members to the problems with which they were concerned. That the novels were able to do so is evident in that, as will be demonstrated below, the elite members felt compelled to make public their awareness of the novels as well as their reactions to the issues the novels presented.

The impact of The Jungle upon the meat-handling reform controversy has already been described. The efforts of Theodore Roosevelt in behalf of that legislation stem at least in part from his own reaction to the book as well as from his perception of the public stir created by its charges. Senator Albert Beveridge, who had been a proponent of reform, and Upton Sinclair each called Roosevelt's attention to the novel only to learn that he was not only aware of it but preparing to act upon it.[61]

The governing elites of the 1850's could not possibly ignore the strong public reaction generated by Uncle Tom's

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[61]Bowers, Beveridge, p. 228; Sinclair, American Outposts, p. 167.

Cabin.[62] The effect of this one novel was so deep and so extensive that few books of any type could begin to compare with it. The prominent scholar of literary history, Walter Rideout, asserts that this novel "did as much to change the face of the nation as, perhaps, all the proletarian novels put together."[63] Rideout errs only in that Uncle Tom, the only novel included in Robert Downs' Books That Changed the World, without question made more of an impact than all the proletarian novels many times over.[64] As an indication of this, a number of prominent elite members displayed firm positive reactions to the novel. Its initial impact set the emotional tone which colored its entire political history. The first copy was given by Calvin Stowe to Congressman Philip Greeley as he was departing by train for Washington. Greeley was so emotionally moved on reading it that he felt compelled to leave his train in order to complete the book in the privacy of a hotel room. The reaction by Greeley of the House was complemented in the Senate by one of the most ardent advocates of Uncle Tom's Cabin, Senator Charles Sumner, who, accom-

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[62]The incidents reported in this paragraph are drawn from the following sources except where otherwise noted: Ted Malone, American Pilgrimage (New York: Dodd, Meade, 1942), p. 92; Stern, Annotated Uncle Tom's Cabin, p. 33; Gilbertson, Harriet Beecher Stowe, p. 162; Smith, Death of Slavery, p. 121; Carl Van Doren, The American Novel (New York: Macmillan, 1921), p. 70.

[63]Rideout, Radical Novel, p. 289.

[64]Robert B. Downs, Books That Changed the World (Chicago: American Library Assn., 1956), pp. 76-84; Nicholas Halasz, The Rattling Chains (New York: David McKay Co., 1966), p. 320.

panied by Senator William H. Seward, enthusiastically circulated the novel among Southern senators, recommending it highly. Then in a major address in opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law Senator Sumner praised Mrs. Stowe as "another Joan of Arc,...[who]...with marvelous powers sweeps the chord of the popular heart...."[65] And he did not fail to add that "in a brief period, nearly one hundred thousand copies... have already circulated." When Mrs. Stowe began her next novel, Dred, Senator Sumner wrote to her:

> I am rejoiced to learn...that you are occupied with another tale exposing slavery. I feel that it will act directly upon pending questions, and help us in our struggle for Kansas, and also to overthrow the slave-oligarchy in the coming Presidential election. We need your help at once in our struggle.[66]

Here then was an elite member who recognized the impact one novel, Uncle Tom's Cabin, had made and who sought to duplicate its success through a second novel. Senator Sumner informed John P. Jewett, publisher of Mrs. Stowe's novel, that her novel was "'the greatest book of the times.'"[67] That its influence was recognized at even higher levels was indicated when Mrs. Stowe was escorted by Senator Henry Wilson to meet with President Lincoln who had kept a Library of Congress copy checked out for over a month. Another head of state, the

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[65]U. S., Congressional Globe, Appendix, 32nd Cong., 1st Sess., XXI (1852), p. 1112.

[66]Charles Edward Stowe, Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1891), p. 268. Hereinafter referred to as Stowe.

[67]Ibid., p. 162.

Russian czar, was so impressed by the anti-slavery argument of Uncle Tom's Cabin that he reportedly recommended it to his nobles in order to persuade them to adopt abolition. In several cases he succeeded, for a number of estate owners are credited with freeing their slaves at least in part as a result of reading the novel.

As has been mentioned Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt drew her theme for a New York speech from The Grapes of Wrath. In her syndicated column, "My Day," on June 5, 1939, Mrs. Roosevelt gave a strong endorsement of the novel and challenged its detractors.[68] Oklahoma political figures were highly disturbed by the reflections which that novel cast upon their state. Representative Lyle Boren acknowledged in a congressional speech that he had been hearing a great deal about it "in the cloakrooms."[69] Governor Leon C. Phillips publicly answered a Michigan doctor's inquiries about the truthfulness of the Steinbeck account by saying "'I have not read the thing. I do not permit myself to get excited about the works of any fiction writer.... I would suggest you go back to reading detective magazines.'"[70] Whether or not Governor Phillips "read the thing," he did not remain oblivious to the controversy

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[68]"The Grapes Has First Birthday," p. 1493.

[69]Boren, "Grapes of Wrath," p. 139.

[70]Shockley, "Reception," pp. 356-357.

generated by it in his state and in the nation.[71]

In 1959 Senator William Fulbright, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, spoke on the Senate floor giving The Ugly American a highly unfavorable review.[72] He made special reference to the novel's having "misled a number of gullible Americans, including a few Senators" into accepting as true the scathing portrayal of American foreign service personnel in Southeast Asia. He noted that the novel has come to be "'a minor polemic in many world capitals.'" The consternation of Burmese officials, for example, has already been mentioned. Thus, The Ugly American, The Jungle, Uncle Tom's Cabin, and The Grapes of Wrath were all propaganda novels having a pragmatic type of effect in that American political elites were conscious of the novels' existence and felt compelled to make public their reactions to the charges and portrayals presented.

B. Non-Elites

The political impact of propaganda novels also comes through the medium of non-elite readers who influence capabilities indirectly. The effect of the novel and reinforcing stimuli may persuade such readers to exert public pressure on political elites. These readers fall under Almond's defini-

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[71] This will be treated in the following section and in Chapter Two.

[72] "Fulbright Attacks The Ugly American," New York Times, May 20, 1959, p. 13. Hereinafter referred to as "Fulbright Attacks." That Fulbright's reaction was not totally negative will be demonstrated in the Interest Aggregation section of Chapter Two.

tion of "participants" in the political system--i.e., "they are oriented toward the input structures and processes, and ...view themselves as potentially engaging in, the articulating of demands and the making of decisions."[73] Almond notes that political leaders are highly sensitive to the "differing salience of political issues."[74] This being so, leaders are compelled to recognize and respond to the discernible public reactions to propaganda novels such as The Jungle or The Grapes of Wrath. In this section of the paper the indications of the various reactions manifested by the public in response to the novels studied will be considered. Readers will find it apparent in the descriptions to follow that one characteristic in particular is peculiar to these novels. That characteristic is the singular treatment of the novels in their political aspect not as fiction but rather as factual accounts to be opposed or defended. This generalization is proposed by the author on the basis of evidence which will be presented below. While a few of the novels have been of a literary quality warranting the attention of literary critics--e.g., White Jacket, The Grapes of Wrath--the general public appears from the beginning to have reacted to the novels not as they would ordinarily respond to interesting fiction but as if the novels purported to be eyewitness accounts of gross injustices.

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[73] Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics, p. 53.

[74] Ibid., 188.

As a result of this type of impact and the political reactions which ensued, Uncle Tom's Cabin has been regarded by historians as "a social document which influenced public opinion everywhere--even, in fact, in the South where it had a clandestine circulation because its sale was forbidden there."[75] Certainly Southern reviewers treated it as a deadly attack. In one case the reviewer felt it necessary to impress on readers the true nature of the work by using the term "fiction" six times in one initial sentence introducing a blistering counterattack. The publisher of The Southern Literary Messenger, in which the review appeared, had refused to allow his dying magazine to fold before he could issue "'as strong a review of Uncle Tom's Cabin as it is within the wit of man to contrive.'"[76] The reviewer asserted that if Mrs. Stowe were not subdued by pen then the South might one day have to repel by arms the forces she spearheaded. In a like manner the history of The Jungle prompted John Fischer to declare that this novel must not be evaluated as literature but as propaganda,

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[75]Stern, Annotated Uncle Tom, p. 7; cf. Robert B. Downs, Molders of the Modern Mind (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1961), p. 264. Hereinafter referred to as Molders.

[76]George Frederick Holmes, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," review of Uncle Tom's Cabin by Harriet Beecher Stowe, in Slavery Defended: the Views of the Old South, edited by Eric S. McKitrick (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), pp. 99-101; cf. Joseph V. Ridgely, "Woodcraft: Sim's First Answer to Uncle Tom's Cabin," American Literature, XXXI (January, 1960), p. 421; Severn Duvall, "Uncle Tom's Cabin: The Sinister Side of the Patriarchy," New England Quarterly, XXXVI (March, 1963), p. 3.

its true function.[77] The Ugly American prompted a similar reaction which ignored altogether the implications of its fictional narrative. The Chicago Tribune praised the authors for "'blowing the whistle on'" the "'fatheads'" the government sends to the Far East.[78] The Tribune's position received an unusual reinforcement in The New Republic which credited the novel with exposing the practice of employing the foreign service as a rest-station "for ignorant, fat-headed political heelers...."[79] Thus the novels' roles extended far beyond whatever significance they may have had as contributions to the craft of fiction and played a prominent role in arousing public opinion.

According to an article in The Times Literary Supplement, approximately a dozen English and American novels on social themes "have had an impact on public opinion greater than that produced by solemn treatises or parliamentary debates."[80] The article further states in particular that novelists such as Harriet Beecher Stowe, Upton Sinclair, and John Steinbeck have indeed "to some degree changed public opinion." This evaluation insofar as it refers to Uncle Tom's Cabin is

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[77]Fischer in Sinclair, The Jungle, p. xiv.

[78]"How Representative is the 'Ugly American'?," p. 16.

[79]Gerald W. Johnson, "Banana Peels," New Republic, CXIVLC (January 16, 1961), p. 18.

[80]"Uncle Tom's Message: The Book of War and Freedom," The Times Literary Supplement, October 4, 1963, p. 1. Hereinafter referred to as "Uncle Tom's Message."

shared by a prominent scholar of communications media, Carl I. Hovland, and by a historian, Robert Downs, who placed it among the one hundred eleven books of all types in the past century "whose influence can be clearly demonstrated and evaluated."[81] One of the men most familiar with the history of Uncle Tom's Cabin asserts that its role in forming the destiny of this country in the 1850's was far more significant than the other books of that period even though the others were superior in terms of literary and intellectual quality.[82] Prior to its publication leaders of the North and South had been relatively successful in muffling the slavery controversy. A "kind of conspiracy of silence" existed about the disparity between American ideals and the existence of slavery. Mrs. Stowe, who was moved to write her novel by the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, hoped her book would have a conciliatory effect. The villains were nearly all described as Northern scoundrels and the unavoidable problems of slavery as a system, regardless of slave-owners' honorable intentions, were stressed. Initially, Abolitionists rejected the book as too

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[81]Downs, Molders, p. xvi; Carl I. Hovland, "Effects of the Mass Media of Communication" in Mass Media and Communication, ed. by Ralph Steinberg (New York: Hastings House, 1966), p. 449. Hereinafter referred to as "Effects of Mass Media." Leonard Doob also affirms that Mrs. Stowe's novel was influential in shaping public opinion. Cf. Public Opinion and Propaganda (New York: Henry Holt, 1948), p. 455. Hereinafter referred to as Public Opinion.

[82]Stern, Annotated Uncle Tom, p. 10; cf. Frank Luther Mott, Golden Multitudes (New York: Macmillan, 1947), p. 114.

mild while Southerners showed no resentment.[83] Then the public impact began to manifest itself. Eight presses running day and night could not satisfy demand for the novel. Even so, the true circulation of Uncle Tom's Cabin remains unknown. Single copies were commonly read by several people. A. M. Kennedy of Union City, Indiana reported that he had bought two copies which he loaned "'until they was worn out. Many converts [to abolitionism] was the result.'" [sic][84] According to its sales record, in its day every "reasonably literate" person in this country must have read the novel. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's diary entry describes the reaction:

> How she is shaking the world with her Uncle Tom's Cabin! At one step she has reached the top of-the stair-case up which the rest of us climb on our knees year after year. Never was there such a coup de Main as this.[85]

The public reaction to Uncle Tom's Cabin was so intense that the novel was only rarely reviewed in terms of its literary merits. Its thesis drew almost total attention to the extent that "reviewing Uncle Tom's Cabin seemed almost literally another round in the vast regional debate which had begun with

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[83]"Uncle Tom's Message," p. 1.

[84]Spiller et al., Literary History, I, 583; Henrietta Buckmaster, Let My People Go (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959), p. 223.

[85]Furnas, Goodby Uncle Tom, p. 61; cf. Downs, Molders, p. 262.

the Missouri Compromise, if not earlier."[86] Thus, in effect Uncle Tom generated a fresh impetus in the extension of an old political argument. The ideas of Mrs. Stowe, a literary figure with no systematic political thought, became a prime focus for public debate.[87] Until the appearance of her novel Southern thinkers had rationalized that all types of capitalism require the exploitation of labor and that this was true of both the North and the South. In fact, they argued, slaves were assured better care and greater security than industrial workers. Support had been growing for a type of Greek democracy advocated by Calhoun. The high feeling that followed the publication of Uncle Tom's Cabin, however, changed all this by throwing the South into a defensive position. "The effect produced by the book was immense."[88] Abolitionists took every opportunity to fan the public emotions that had intensified after the novel gained currency, and, as a result, aroused in the South the necessity to take a militant counterposition. The popularity of Uncle Tom led many Southern defenders to use the same method--i.e., fiction--in their re-

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[86]Jay B. Hubbell, The South in American Literature (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1954), p. 389. Hereinafter referred to as The South.

[87]Duvall, "Uncle Tom's Cabin: The Sinister Side of the Patriarchy," p. 13; Parrington, Main Currents, II, p. 102.

[88]James Ford Rhodes, History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850 (8 vols., New York: Harper, 1893), I, p. 280. Hereinafter referred to as History.

buttals.[89] Imitation is indeed the "sincerest form of flattery." Prior to the Stowe novel there had been only one anti-slavery novel and this had been largely ignored. Within three years after Uncle Tom's Cabin fourteen novels had been written in defense of slavery and the number later jumped to twenty-five. They bore self-evident titles such as Aunt Phyllis's Cabin; or Southern Life as It Really Is by Mrs. Mary H. Eastman and J. W. Page's Uncle Robin in his Cabin in Virginia and Tom Without One in Boston. Leading abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison wrote to Mrs. Stowe: "'I estimate the value of anti-slavery writing by the abuse it brings. Now all the defenders of slavery have let me alone & are abusing you.'"[90] John H. Whittier, writing Garrison, uttered thanks for the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law in that, by inspiring the writing of Uncle Tom's Cabin, it had set into motion the forces that would destroy the slavery system.[91] Southern defenders were also able to find reason to be grateful. In an 1857 article in Russell's Magazine a philosophical discussion

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[89]Parrington, Main Currents, II, 102; Spiller et al., Literary History, I, 567; Mott, Golden Multitudes, p. 120; William H. Pease and Jane H. Pease, The Anti-Slavery Argument (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1965), p. 105; Claude Richard Flory, Economic Criticism in American Fiction (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation: University of Pennsylvania, 1936), p. 51. Hereinafter referred to as Economic Criticism.

[90]Boynton, Literature and American Life, pp. 399-400. Cf. Constance Mayfield Rourke, Trumpets of Jubilee (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1927), p. 109.

[91]Charles Stowe, Stowe, p. 161.

on Southern thought among secessionists in this period begins:

> So long as we regarded slavery as an evil, it was a prohibited subject.... Things have changed. There are few persons in the South who have not read Uncle Tom's Cabin.... We may well rejoice at the result. We can now respect ourselves.[92]

The anonymous author went on to state that so long as the South remained in the Union it would continue to be defensive against the North. Until Southerners took a position affirming the virtues of slavery rather than apologizing for its evils, the South would do itself great injustice.

The statement of Senator Charles Sumner that "'If Uncle Tom's Cabin had not been written, Abraham Lincoln could not have been elected President of the United States'"[93] initially appears both rash and presumptuous. However, considered in the context of the historical analysis given by James Ford Rhodes, the statement assumes at least a measure of credibility.

> The mothers' opinion was a potent factor in politics between 1852 and 1860, and the boys in their teens in the one year were voters in the other. It is often remarked that previous to the war the Republican party attracted the great majority of schoolboys, and that the first voters were an important factor in the final success.... The youth of America whose first ideas on slavery were formed by reading Uncle Tom's Cabin were ready to vote with the party whose existence was based on opposition to the extension of that evil.[94]

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[92]Quote and summary are in Ulrich B. Phillips, "The Literary Movement for Secession," Studies in Southern History or Politics (New York: Columbia University, 1914), pp. 54-55.

[93]Downs, Molders, p. 264.

[94]Rhodes, History, I, pp. 284-285.

Woodrow Wilson concurred with the Rhodes interpretation, stating that politicians' arguments opposing the extension of slavery into new territories could never have affected Northern sentiment so deeply as did the Stowe novel. He went on to say that "it was a subtle instrument of power [which] played no small part in creating the anti-slavery party...."[95] After the Kansas-Nebraska Act was passed to open up more land to slavery, the impact on public opinion of Uncle Tom's Cabin, in combination with other propaganda efforts, led to serious efforts to organize the Republican party in order to win support for abolition. The impact of this novel was, however, clearly basic. Again, Rhodes:

> One of the most important causes that led to this result was the publication of Uncle Tom's Cabin. Of the literary forces that aided in bringing about that immense revolution in public sentiment between 1852 and 1860, we may affirm with confidence that by far the most weighty was the influence spread by this book.[96]

Among the leaders in this political reorganization effort was Senator Sumner, Mrs. Stowe's vocal supporter. Reorganization efforts such as these produced the tangible political force which the literary advocates required in order to gain the effects they desired. Had both parties not reacted as they did, "Uncle Tom's Cabin and other anti-slavery literature

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[95]Woodrow Wilson, Division and Reunion (New York: Longmans, Green, 1902), p. 181.

[96]Rhodes, History, I, pp. 278-279.

might have made many abolitionists, but would not have made enough Republicans to elect Lincoln in 1860."[97]

Mrs. Stowe's meeting with President Lincoln elicited from him the gently chiding greeting, "'So you're the little woman who wrote the book that made this great war!'"[98] As Lincoln recognized, despite this facetious remark, Mrs. Stowe's novel did not produce the Civil War. But one can venture to say that her work did hasten the sequence of events. The moral and social ideas found in Uncle Tom's Cabin became instruments that molded the attitudes of hundreds of thousands of readers toward the Fugitive Slave Law and the squatter sovreignty controversy. "What Mrs. Stowe did was not to create forces that would free the slave but to make it unavoidable that North and South went into their [inevitable] crisis in the least promising state of mind."[99] Whereas the slavery issue had long smoldered, Uncle Tom's Cabin set it to blazing.

Succeeding authors, recognizing Mrs. Stowe's success in reaching and affecting the public, also wrote novels as advocates for causes.[100] In Britain Charles Reade's Never Too Late to Mend, an effort to publicize the need for prison reforms, was influenced by Uncle Tom's Cabin which has since

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[97] Ibid., p. 285.

[98] Spiller et al., Literary History, I, 563; Fred Lewis Pattee, The Feminine Fifties (New York: Appleton-Century, 1940), Chapter X.

[99] Furnas, Goodby Uncle Tom, pp. 31-32.

[100] Franklin, "Nationalist Movement," p. 760.

served as the prototype of the propaganda novel.[101] For instance, contemporaries feared that Looking Backward would incite people to rebel against abusive industrial labor practices just as Uncle Tom's Cabin had aroused them against slavery.[102] And Life predicted that The Grapes of Wrath would be the equivalent of Uncle Tom's Cabin in the extent of its public impact.[103]

The first novel after that of Mrs. Stowe to which a sizeable political influence may be traced is Looking Backward.[104] As noted above, its impact has been compared in several places to its powerful predecessor. While it may not have merited the attribution given it as one of the twenty-six books in the past four hundred years which have shaped the modern world, it did contribute significantly to the political thought and action of its day. Looking Backward precipitated

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[101] Wayne Burns and Emerson Grant Sutcliffe, "Uncle Tom and Charles Read," American Literature, XVII (March, 1945), pp. 66-74.

[102] Morgan, Edward Bellamy, p. 247.

[103] "Migrants--A Major U. S. Problem is Subject of Major U. S. Novel," Life, VI (June 5, 1939), p. 65.

[104] The information for this paragraph is drawn from the following sources unless otherwise noted: Morgan, Edward Bellamy, pp. x, 247; Spiller et al., Literary History, I, p. 989; Walter Taylor, The Economic Novel in America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942), pp. 58-59, 205-206. Hereinafter referred to as Economic Novel. Cf. Mott, Golden Multitudes, p. 169; John Scott Bowman, The Proletarian Novel in America (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation: Pennsylvania State College, 1939), p. 129. Hereinafter referred to as Proletarian Novel. Cf. Allan Seager, They Worked for a Better World (New York: Macmillan, 1939), p. 108.

an intellectual movement that was the focal point of late - nineteenth century American liberalism. This movement was organizationally manifested in a network of proselytizing Bellamy Clubs in addition to a "Nationalist" Party formed to act within the political arena. Both of these will be discussed in greater depth in Chapters Two and Three. Suffice to state here that in its first ten years it sold nearly one million copies, making it one of the most widely distributed of all American novels. According to Granville Hicks, several hundreds of thousands of readers received their first introduction to socialism from its pages, including a number of later socialist and labor leaders mentioned earlier: "Readers picked up the book as seekers of amusement and laid it down converts."[105] Its impact is in part to be discovered by the plethora of replies and by the ensuing production of over sixty utopian novels many of which were obvious imitations in theme, style, and even in title. Additional evidence of its influence is visible in novels written as repudiations such as Looking Further Backward and Looking Within. The lingering intellectual effect of the Bellamy novel is described by Merle Curti as the gradual incorporation of the novels' ideas

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[105] Granville Hicks, The Great Tradition (New York: Macmillan, 1933), p. 169. Cf. Charles Edward Merriam, American Political Ideas (New York: Macmillan, 1920), p. 436; Frank B. Tracy, "Menacing Socialism in the Western States," Forum, XV (May, 1893), p. 332.

into middle-class utopian ideals.[106] It was not as important in the laboring class as it was in the middle class where it contributed to the weakening of established concepts of individualism which had been enmeshed in the laissez faire framework. Ten years after its first publication Sylvester Baxter credited it with having helped to kindle a lingering undercurrent of agitation and for giving direction to political action as well as to economic thought.[107]

An unexceptional piece of literature, The Jungle proved to be an extraordinary stroke of propaganda. As was true of Looking Backward, analysts fall back upon comparisons to Uncle Tom's Cabin when attempting to describe The Jungle's public impact.[108] In 1906 Norman Bentwich asserted that in the cases of Uncle Tom's Cabin and The Jungle only the impact of a vividly written novel was sufficient to awaken people to the wrongs being perpetrated.[109] Bentwich theorized by way of explanation that the flow of sensationalism in newspapers is so incessant that people cannot develop a sustained interest.

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[106] Merle Curti, The Growth of American Thought (New York: Harper, 1943), pp. 628-629. Cf. Flory, Economic Criticism, p. 233; Parrington, Main Currents, III, p. 77; Franklin, "Nationalist Movement," pp. 754-755.

[107] Baxter in Bellamy, Looking Backward, p. viii.

[108] According to Jack London, it was the "'Uncle Tom's Cabin of wage slavery.'" Quoted by Rideout in Radical Novel, p. 30.

[109] Norman Bentwich, "The Novel as a Political Force," Living Age, CCLI (December 29, 1906), pp. 771-772.

When this is the case the criticism of conditions is a function which may be assumed by prose stories which describe in personal terms the injustices actually occurring in full public view. Without the emphasis of the novel men are often unable to single out particular problems from the countless images that bombard their senses. Thus, in the perspective afforded him in 1906 by the successive impacts generated by Uncle Tom's Cabin, Looking Backward, and The Jungle, Bentwich was not without grounds in asserting that

> the novel indeed in America...is not merely the most important form of literature; it is also a political power of incalculable force, being one of the main factors in the formation

of public opinion in a democracy.[110] As a result of exposure to The Jungle, the best-selling book of 1906, the public had become "highly sensitized" to the meat-packing issue and began to manifest its interest by buying all available supplementary articles on the subject of needed reforms.[111] Contemporary newspaper comments reflected the novel's public impact. In the Hearst American (May 31, 1906) gratitude was expressed to Sinclair for having written "' a work that HAS FORCED NATIONAL ATTENTION, including the attention of the

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[110] Ibid.

[111] Sullivan, Our Times, p. 471; Louis Filler, Crusaders for American Liberalism (Yellow Springs, Ohio: Antioch Press, 1939), p. 167. Hereinafter referred to as Crusaders.

President of the United States.'" The Evening Journal (May 29, 1906) commented that "'as a result of this book, of the horror and shame it has aroused, there is a good prospect that the Beef Trust deviltries will be CHECKED....'"[112] The "Beef Trust" was so aroused by the public reaction that it placed a defensive article in The Saturday Evening Post under the name of J. Ogden Armour. A Chicago newspaper reflected sympathy with the meat packers' plight and editorially advised that "'Melodrama has nothing to do with meat-inspection. Neither does novel-writing.'"[113] Meanwhile President Roosevelt's office staff was attempting to cope with a daily deluge of mail from irate readers of The Jungle.[114] Aside from his strenuous efforts to correct the abuses described by Sinclair, he was privately concerned about the strong public reaction the muckrakers had aroused. Roosevelt wrote a "confidential" letter to William Howard Taft in which he said:

> Nothing effective, because nothing at once honest and intelligent, is being done to combat the great amount of evil which, mixed with a little good, is contained in the outpourings of...McClure's, of Collier's, of David Graham Phillips, of Upton Sinclair. Some of these are Socialists; some of them merely lurid sensationalists; but they are all building up a revolutionary feeling which will most probably take the form of a political campaign.[115]

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[112] Upton Sinclair, The Brass Check (Pasadena, Calif.: Upton Sinclair, 1920), p. 44.

[113] Quoted in "Demand for Clean Meat," p. 859; "Latest Phase of the Socialist Novel," Literary Digest, XXXII (May 5, 1906), p. 680.

[114] Sinclair, The Brass Check, p. 39; Filler, Crusaders, pp. 165-166.

[115] Theodore Roosevelt, Letters, V, pp. 183-184.

And in a similar vein he wrote to his close friend, novelist Owen Wister, that, while The Jungle had "produced a great effect," it was not a "healthy effect."[116] Thus, "the most potent propaganda piece" in the campaign for meat-handling reform generated a public pressure upon members of the political elite at the very highest level of policy-making.[117]

The Grapes of Wrath, best-seller in 1939 and eighth in sales in 1940, was the next propaganda novel to set off a significant public reaction.[118] The controversy occasioned by Steinbeck's novel in California and Oklahoma soon became nationwide as people debated whether the Joads were typical and whether the two states named were really so harsh. Relatively little space was afforded the novel as fiction for it was read from the first as a document based on fact. Drawing attention to the problems of the "dust bowl" and the "Okies" in a more compelling way than had any government reports, this novel made migratory labor "the most vital, the most discussed domestic problem of 1939 and 1940."[119] In Oklahoma thirty-six unemployed laborers picketed the Capitol Building

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[116] Ibid., p. 329. Roosevelt considered the effect of The Jungle unhealthy in that he believed it aroused interest in socialism and not because it was instrumental in the reform of meat processing.

[117] Curtis MacDougall, Understanding Public Opinion (Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown, 1966), p. 462.

[118] Mott, Golden Multitudes, p. 259.

[119] Jackson, "Why Steinbeck Wrote," p. 9.

for two hours petitioning Governor Phillips to rectify "'conditions portrayed in John Steinbeck's novel, The Grapes of Wrath.'"[120] One of their signs read "'Steinbeck told the truth.'" The governor refused to see the group, saying that the book was an exaggeration. The Daily Oklahoman's lead editorial denied that the mechanization of farms leads to conditions Steinbeck described. The paper asserted instead that the A.A.A. and the W.P.A. were responsible for producing "Okies." Eventually Representative Lyle Boren felt compelled by the public reaction to defend Oklahoma on the floor of Congress:

> Mr. Speaker, my colleagues, considerable has been said in the cloakrooms, in the press and in various reviews about a book entitled The Grapes of Wrath. I cannot find it possible to let this dirty, lying, filthy manuscript go heralded before the public without a word of challenge or protest.... I resent, for the great State of Oklahoma, the implications in that book.... Today I stand before this body as a son of a tenant farmer, labeled by John Steinbeck as an Okie.... I arise to say to you...that the painting Steinbeck made in his book is a lie, a damnable lie, a black infernal creation of a twisted, distorted mind.[121]

The speech elicited response at home such as a letter to the editor suggesting that so long as Boren was bringing up the matter on the floor of Congress he might have urged improved living conditions for tenant farmers since this would provide

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[120]This and the following quotes are from Shockley, "Reception," pp. 356-357.

[121]Boren, "Grapes of Wrath," pp. 139-140.

"'a better platform for a politician than the book.'"[122] A number of Californians also responded irately to the novel.[123] Articles were published in reply, including one entitled Grapes of Gladness: California's Refreshing and Inspiring Answer to John Steinbeck's Grapes of Wrath. A public burning of copies of the novel was hushed because opposers of the novel on political grounds feared that news of such an attempt at suppression would give force to already growing accusations of fascist tactics. The most prominent organized opponents of the novel were the Associated Farmers. As mentioned earlier, this group attempted to prevent public distribution of the novel in California. The effort, of course, did not succeed and, consequently, both in California and in the nation as a whole "Steinbeck's Grapes of Wrath...made millions of people care about the people who follow the crops."[124] As evidence of this, President Roosevelt received a sizeable amount of mail from readers demanding federal action to assist dispossessed farmers. The president's response, and that of California, to the public reaction was referred to in dealing with the distributive capacity and will be further elaborated in Chapter Two.

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[122] Shockley, "Reception," pp. 351-352. Cf. "Attempts to Suppress Grapes of Wrath," p. 777.

[123] The remainder of this paragraph is drawn from the following sources except where otherwise noted: Peter Lisca, The Wide World of John Steinbeck (Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1958), pp. 149-150. Hereinafter referred to as Steinbeck. Cf. Taylor, Economic Novel, p. 232; Jackson, "Why Steinbeck Wrote," pp. 11-12.

[124] Richard L. Neuberger, "Who Are the Associated Farmers?," Survey Graphic, XXVIII (September, 1939), pp. 520-521.

Despite reviews panning it as an awkward, misleading piece of propaganda, The Ugly American was bought by over one million readers of the book as well as by 5,700,000 readers of it in its Saturday Evening Post serial version.[125] Its authors, William Lederer and Eugene Burdick, received over eight thousand letters from persons of nearly every occupation asking, in effect, how the "average man" can act to prevent future mismanagement of foreign aid. Lederer, in response to this interest, then authored A Nation of Sheep in which he described various courses of action.[126] Interest had been sustained at a high level for over a year after publication of The Ugly American. As the Washington Daily News commented: "You would think--after the angry reaction to publication of The Ugly American nearly a year ago--that by now vigorous efforts would be made to rectify the wrongs in our official presentations abroad...."[127]

Senator Fulbright was disturbed that the novel had "misled a number of gullible Americans" into believing that it presented a true picture of foreign service personnel.[128]

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[125]Blotner, Modern Political Novel, p. 351.

[126]William J. Lederer, A Nation of Sheep (New York: W. W. Norton, 1961), p. 7.

[127]Quoted in Current Situation in the Far East, Hearings before a subcommittee of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, 86th Cong., 1st Sess., August 14, 1959, p. 288.

[128]"Fulbright Attacks," p. 13.

The public reaction to The Ugly American and similar attacks that followed it (particularly the reports of Scripps-Howard reporter Albert Colegrove) resulted in hearings before Senate and House subcommittees which probed the conduct of American foreign service operations in Southeast Asia.[129]

As will be explained in the next chapter the novels just considered and White Jacket all took advantage of issues that had already received various degrees of attention on other fronts. The distinctive function of the novels was to raise the level of pressure on elites to take real steps toward resolving the problems. This was accomplished either by a novel directly influencing an elite individual or by a novel indirectly influencing the elite via the application of public pressure. For the most part the impacts of the novels studied occurred where a public response compelled elites to recognize the issues to which the novels called public attention. In addition several of the novels examined exercised a personal influence on the philosophical positions of elite individuals. Thus, each novel, whether directly or indirectly or both, influenced the exercise of the capabilities function in the American system.

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[129]This will be discussed more fully in Chapter Two.

CHAPTER TWO:
THE PROPAGANDA NOVEL AND THE CONVERSION FUNCTION

According to Almond, the conversion function is performed within the political system itself.[1] Each political system has developed political structures which convert inputs into outputs. The transformation process in all political systems is the same in that inputs or demands are articulated and aggregated before they are made into rules which are then applied and enforced. The roles, structures, and institutions which carry out these functions vary according to the complexity of the political system and the political culture. Almond offers a classification of six conversion subfunctions: (1) articulation of demands and interests, (2) aggregation of interests into policy alternatives, (3) conversion of proposed policy into authoritative rules, (4) application of rules to individual circumstances, (5) adjudication of rules in particular cases, and (6) the communication of information about these developments among the structures of the political system.[2] The relationship of the conversion function to the capabilities function is one of interdependence. Changes in the capability level are determined by the quantity and quality of inputs and outputs processed within the political system. The output flow of extractions, regulations, allocations, and communications inevitably determines the capabilities configura-

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[1]Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics, p. 29; Almond, "A Developmental Approach," pp. 194-195.

[2]Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics, Chapters IV-VII.

tion. In this chapter we shall be concerned with how the propaganda novels studied have performed the various conversion subfunctions stipulated by Gabriel Almond.

I. INTEREST ARTICULATION

A. The Novel as Propaganda

Almond defines the articulation of interests as the making of demands upon political decision-makers by individuals and groups.[3] He describes this phase as the initial step in the conversion process during which the demands of these individuals and groups in a society are inserted into the political system, thereby relieving tensions while initiating the processes of change that are required to keep the system in a kind of flexible equilibrium. For the examination of the propaganda novels studied in their roles as interest articulators, substantive material on which the interpretations are made will be drawn from studies of propaganda, psychology, sociology, communications media, history, and literary theory. To attain the required depth of analysis it is necessary to depart from the sequence of Almond's interest articulation discussion. All of the characteristics of interest articulation which Almond presents in Chapter Four of Comparative Politics will be discussed here at various points, however, in their relationship to the novels studied.

In considering the novel as a propaganda vehicle, the definition of propaganda supplied by a leading scholar,

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[3] Ibid., p.73.

Leonard Doob, is applicable--i.e., intentional propaganda "is a systematic attempt by an interested individual...to control the attitudes of groups of individuals through the use of suggestion and, consequently, to control their actions."[4] Doob's use of the word "control" is a bit strong for our purposes here. The substitution of the word "influence" is desirable in that it suits the more moderate impact which it is feasible for a novel to have; moreover, it permits the use of Doob's explanations of propaganda methods and effects in discussing the role of the novel in the conversion function. All the novels selected, with one exception, fall under the intentional propaganda designation because the author of each novel hoped to use suggestion to affect the attitudes of groups of individuals in order to influence their actions on a particular issue. The single exception is The Fakers which conforms to Doob's definition of unintentional propaganda according to which the propagandist does not anticipate the effect his work will create on those who are exposed to it. Blythe, author of The Fakers, intended his novel as a satirical treatment of the political methods employed by populist demagogues. He did not, of course, anticipate that a nascent political genius such as Huey P. Long would find in it the "foundation stone... for a great political temple" in Louisiana.[5] The Fakers led

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[4]Leonard W. Doob, Propaganda: Its Psychology and Technique (New York: Holt, 1935), p. 89. Hereinafter referred to as Propaganda.

[5]Harris, Kingfish, p. 18. The socialization function of The Fakers as it affected Long's life will be referred to again in Chapter Three.

to Long's reevaluation of his understanding of campaign methodology and, in the end, he keyed his strategies of interest articulation to that reevaluation. In the cases of the intentional propaganda novelists, their interest articulation efforts, according to Leo Lowenthal, are probably traceable to their self-conceptions of their roles.[6] Among the categories of writers' self-conceptions outlined by Lowenthal, the propaganda novelists would fall between the missionary and political types in that, while the object of their interest articulation takes a political direction, their single-minded attitudes take on the "missionary" zeal evident in their writing. Thus, the authors of the novels studied influenced the interest articulation function of the political system by writing novels which intentionally or unintentionally influenced the attitudes and the actions of people who either read or were cognizant of their work.

The advocates of various interests attempt to exercise influence on elites either directly or indirectly through cultivating public support. The means they employ to do so draw upon any of the ways by which people effectively commu-

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[6]Leo Lowenthal, Literature, Popular Culture and Society (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1961), p. 142. Hereinafter referred to as Literature and Society.

nicate ideas.[7] Art forms supply one channel for interest articulation. While many members of the arts community deplore the use of their media for political advocacy, few would deny that they are capable of and have produced significant vehicles for political expression. Literary art forms have explicitly attempted to exert a social influence in the West from the times of the Hebrew prophets to the present. Certainly the Renaissance accepted literature as an instructive device and that succeeding periods have done so as well can be seen in Sidney's Defense of Poetry and Tolstoy's What Is Art?. Throughout all these periods the literary propagandists have consistently exhibited a characteristic intent to convince people of the validity of a certain social direction or redirection whether political, religious, or whatever.

The use of the novel as an instrument for interest articulation may be discerned from its earliest history in Britain where in Fielding's day novels pointed to the inadequacies and injustices of established institutions while at the same time they implicitly or explicitly suggested to the public

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[7]The following information is drawn from: Edward L. Bernays, Propaganda (New York: Liveright Publishing, 1928), p. 150; D. W. Gotschalk, Art and the Social Order (New York: Dover Publications, 1962), p. 104. Referred to hereinafter as Art and Order. Joseph Wood Krutch, "Literature and Propaganda," English Journal, XXII (December, 1933), pp. 795-796. Cf. Sir Philip Sidney, Defense of Poesy, ed. with an Introduction by Albert S. Cook (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1890); Leo Tolstoy, What Is Art?, trans. by Aylmer Maude and with an Introduction by Vincent Thomas (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1960).

that other and better ways were possible.[8] Indeed for a time the didactic tendencies of novels appeared ready to overwhelm their other qualities, transforming them into elaborate tracts closely related to outright journalism. The thought of Locke, Hobbes, Rousseau, and Condorcet was

> developed, distorted and emotionalized in crude works of fiction, written to arouse the feelings of people who had not the capacity or desire to make a study of political science but who could be worked on by imaginative literature to accept or agitate for ideas that they only half comprehended.[9]

While in America Uncle Tom's Cabin is the first novel to have had significant political effects, the nature of the novel's development in this country had prepared the way for such an eventuality. Before the Revolution no American novels were written. Even though novels did begin to appear here in the late eighteenth century, novel-reading was a practice frowned upon and conducted in private for the most part until close to the middle of the nineteenth century. Novels were denounced as "cordials not conducive to the health of our minds"--as a morally dangerous phenomenon. In order to sidetrack criticism and to put guilty consciences at rest, most novelists during this period wrote in a highly moralistic, sermon-

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[8]The following information, except where otherwise noted, is drawn from: Pattee, Feminine Fifties, pp. 81-93; Spiller et al., Literary History, I, p.986; Irving Howe, Politics and the Novel (London: Stevens and Sons, Ltd., 1961), pp. 18-19. Cf. Morris E. Speare, The Political Novel in Its Development in England and America (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1924), passim.

[9]Bentwich, "Novel as a Political Force," p. 743.

izing fashion. Consistent with this approach, the novels were almost without exception purveyed as true accounts intended to provide moral instruction rather than as simple entertainment. Thus, the novel was accepted in American literature by subterfuge in the guise of history, as in Cooper and Simms, or as the humanistic propaganda of Uncle Tom's Cabin. The didactic, hortatory tenor of that novel dedicated to the exposure of a moral evil was, therefore, nothing new in its format and intent. What was new was that never before had an American novel become a prime factor in a major national political issue. This phenomenon in itself enraged one of Uncle Tom's Cabin's reviewers who deplored its "engaging in the coarse conflicts of life, and mixing in the fumes and gross odours of political or polemical dissenssion...."[10] [sic] With the development of the Industrial Revolution in this country an adverse reaction was stimulated such as had taken place in England. In the United States Edward Bellamy, Ignatius Donnelly, Upton Sinclair, and others performed the same critical functions Carlyle and Dickens had carried out in Britain. Industrialization brought with it the types of unsettling human problems which are most receptive to being treated by the stark illumination possible in fiction. As we have just made apparent, then, the novel is an art form that has been used as a propaganda instrument from its beginning. In the United States the initial acceptance of fiction depended upon

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[10] Holmes, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," p. 100.

qualities of morality and the aura of truthfulness which laid the groundwork for the positive reception accorded Uncle Tom's Cabin and succeeding propaganda novels. All of these dealt with politically viable issues that, given a vivid presentation, were not only able to capture the public's interest but, as has been pointed out in Chapter One, were accepted by the general public almost without exception as the accounts of real injustices awaiting attention. That the propaganda novels studied can have been effective interest articulation instruments is implicit in the nature of their history.

Propaganda novels provide excellent channels of public expression for interested individuals having a measure of writing talent. Certainly several of the novels, such as Philip Dru and Caesar's Column, demonstrate that only a minimal amount of creative ability is required. In many cases, students of communications media agree, the large-scale mass media facilities deliberately attempt to eliminate unorthodox political commentary from receiving public exposure via their facilities.[11] The entertainment monopoly of the content of these media serves to perpetuate established attitudes and values as part of the companies' attempts to maintain their profits by pleasing and declining to offend the largest possible audiences. Publishers of books, however, appear to be

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[11]Klapper, "Effects," p. 425; ----, The Effects of Mass Media (New York: Columbia University, 1949), Chapter IV. Hereinafter referred to as Effects of Media. Douglas Waples, Bernard Berelson, and Franklyn R. Bradshaw, What Reading Does to People (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1940), p. 43. Hereinafter referred to as Reading.

more receptive to the publication of controversial material. Perhaps this is because their public's exposure to the ideas presented happens as the result of deliberate choice by readers. Other media are so pervasive that members of the public are relatively unable to be selective in their exposure to them. In any case, the nature of the propaganda novels studied as public expressions of positions on politically relevant issues made by individuals hoping to influence the political system permits these novels to be considered as structures for interest articulation in terms of Almond's analysis.

Almond discusses structures which perform the interest articulation function, first, by identifying the types of groups and individuals which exercise that function, and, second, by discussing the types of access channels which they employ to transmit their demands.[12] He states that in general the most powerful interest articulation structures are the associational interest groups maintained by substantial organizations. While he does not make reference to the novel as an interest articulation structure, his schema does make provision for the novel's performance of that function since he recognizes that not only groups but also individuals are important advocates of interests. He designates this as "self-representation" because commonly in such cases individuals are acting in behalf of their own interests in the name of larger group or societal interests. Significantly for our

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[12]Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics, pp. 74-76, 92.

purposes, however, he adds that articulation by individuals may be for more "noble" purposes. Here he evidently means to define "noble" as action in behalf of persons or groups apart from one's own immediate interests. The authors of the novels studied may be seen in a broad sense as individuals acting on the basis of such "noble" ends even though, of course, they no doubt expected that their lives would improve just as would those of everyone if the vital issues about which they wrote were resolved. Because Almond does not provide a name for this category of interest articulation, the designation "self-less-representation" will be supplied here. Almond describes the self-representation--and, by implication, selfless-repre-sentation--categories as distinguished by limited organization. The propaganda novels selected conform to this description in that they are interest articulation structures which were not at the outset of their publication in novel form--as opposed to serial publication--associated with a supporting organiza-tion.[13] The novelists were, therefore, presenting their own interpretations of the positions they espoused and they were not serving as passive "mouthpieces" for supporting organiza-tions or interested individuals pulling strings in the back-ground. In addition, Almond describes self-representation--and, so, selfless-representation--as being characterized by the absence of a constantly maintained effort in behalf of the cause advocated. Obviously the propaganda novels considered

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[13] *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, *The Jungle*, and *The Fakers* were first published in serial form.

here are not comparable to other types of interest articulation structures which can be revised and updated on a continual basis in order to accomodate changed conditions or new charges. In this sense the novels did not exert the kind of constant effort which Almond describes as characteristic of interest groups. However, in another sense, the novels are able to continue to stand as perpetual advocates of their causes because permanence is one of the principal advantages of print as a medium for propaganda.[14] In every case but one the propaganda novels of the sample constituted their authors' principal contributions to the debates on the issues in question.[15] While several of the authors--e.g., Edward Bellamy and Upton Sinclair--exerted efforts beyond their novel-writing in behalf of their positions, none of these supplementary activities can be regarded as comparable in impact to the effects precipitated by the novel itself. In this respect the role of the propaganda novels studied does, as John Fischer says of The Jungle, "interest everyone who wants to see what a single angry man can accomplish with the naked word."[16]

While Almond asserts that the most powerful interest ar-

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[14]Frederick C. Irion, Public Opinion and Propaganda (New York: Thos. Y. Crowell Co., 1950), pp. 209-210. Hereinafter referred to as Public Opinion.

[15]The exception was Ignatius Donnelly who devoted his life to furthering his beliefs through political means. Cf. Martin Ridge, Ignatius Donnelly (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

[16]Sinclair, The Jungle, p. xiv.

ticulation structures are associational interest groups, a propaganda novel has succeeded on at least one occasion where a major interest group failed.[17] The example of The Jungle provides substantiation for the observation by Daniel Lerner that a propagandist may prevail even though he does not hold a major power position.[18] Sinclair's attitude was clearly one of challenge. Impatient with uncorrected wrongs, he asserted, "'You don't have to be satisfied with America as you find it.... You can change it.'"[19] Thus, "The Jungle was written as a weapon."[20] Sinclair did not write his novel as a work of art --as a carefully wrought product of "the craft of fiction"-- but he took great satisfaction in his book's role as an instrument for reform. Prior to The Jungle's publication the pressure of the American Medical Association on Senator Aldrich persuaded him to alter his opposition and to permit the passage of a meat-packing reform bill in the Senate.[21] However, in the House Agriculture Committee, as has been described in Chapter One, the bill had been securely pigeon-holed be-

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[17]Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics, p. 78.

[18]Daniel Lerner, ed. Propaganda in War and Crisis (New York: George W. Stuart, Inc., 1951), p. 1.

[19]"Johnson Welcomes Sinclair," p. 1.

[20]Fischer in Sinclair, The Jungle, p. xiii.

[21]The information on the roles of the A.M.A. and The Jungle are from the following: Sullivan, Our Times, pp. 530-535; Mowry, Roosevelt, p. 207.

cause, as a prominent member explained to Henry Beech Needham, it affected too many powerful interests. The A.M.A. lobbyists promoting the bill had just resigned themselves to failure and were leaving Washington when the repercussions of The Jungle on the public captured President Roosevelt's attention. The pressure which he applied on the Wadsworth committee was responsible for the reform bill being brought to a floor vote, and hence passage. In this case, then, the hard-hitting nationwide impact created by a propaganda novel, The Jungle, proved to be a more effective interest articulation structure than a respected, powerful associational interest group, the A.M.A., which worked directly upon key decision-makers.

Interest articulation is an input process at the border between the social and political systems.[22] In order for groups to communicate their demands to decision makers, a number of access channels are available in the political system: (1) physical demonstrations, violence; (2) personal connections as provided by face-to-face contact; (3) elite representation in the decision-making structure or sympathy from independent elites; and (4) formal and institutional channels. In the latter category are included political parties, legislatures, bureaucracies and cabinets, and mass media--i.e., newspapers, television, radio, magazines, and books. Almond also discusses mass media as a major autonomous institutional channel of communications which serves in a democracy to trans-

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[22]Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics, pp. 84-85, 73.

mit the demands, proposals, and impulses of society into the political process thereby shaping supports and demands.[23] As a type of book the propaganda novel, of course, is a member of the mass media which are engaged in the articulation of interests. The efficiency of mass media as channels of access to elites carries an inherent uncertainty in that "only the most prominent and powerful groups can afford to cast their demands upon the public airways and trust that the appropriate response will be forthcoming."[24] The majority of messages will be submerged. This being so, it follows that the persuasive efficiency of types of media varies. The propaganda novel as a printed medium is characterized by a number of advantages.[25] In the first place, Lenin observed that, while agitators seek to convey a single notion, propagandists are presented with the problem of conveying a whole complex of ideas in one work. To perform his function the agitator finds speech efficient but the propagandist is required by the extent of his task to use print. For one thing print is suited to the handling of complex issues because writers have a fuller opportunity to develop their arguments in a number of dif-

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[23] Ibid., pp. 164-166, 47.

[24] Ibid., p. 88.

[25] The discussion below is drawn from the following: Klapper, Effects of Media, Chapter IV; Irion, Public Opinion, pp. 209-210; James T. Farrell, Note on Literary Criticism (New York: Vanguard Press, 1936), pp. 134-135. Hereinafter referred to as Criticism.

ferent but complementary directions. Print also permits writers to use extensive repetition and rephrasing by means of which they are able to intensify their arguments. In addition, as mentioned earlier, a written argument is the best medium for expressing an unpopular view. This is especially true of books because they need not be homogenized to suit the level of mass tastes as other media are required to do. Finally, print is a more thorough and permanent medium of communication than are the electronic media which are swifter and more widespread. These advantages of print in general for propaganda purposes are intensified when print takes the form of books. In this way arguments can be presented in their fullest form. The book as an important type of print presents further advantages which will now be elaborated.

Readers are often particularly receptive to ideas they find in books.[26] For a sizeable number of people books and "culture" are traditionally related; thus books carry for these people a definite aura of prestige. The simple publication of print between hard covers is often sufficient to impress people that a book conveys authoritative information. Books carry psychological advantages in persuading readers. The prestige value in itself is inclined to make some readers

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[26]The sources on which this paragraph and the next are based are as follows, except where otherwise noted: Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Radio and the Printed Page (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pierce, 1940), p. 172. Hereinafter referred to as Printed Page. Klapper, Effects of Media, Chapter II; Waples, Reading, p. 29; James N. Rosenau, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy (New York: Random House, 1967), pp. 80-81. Hereinafter referred to as Foreign Policy.

feel ready to acquiesce in favor of the arguments presented. According to Leonard Doob, books may do more than instill knowledge for "readers spend so much energy and time in reading a book [that it] may lead to the arousal of central rather than segmental response," leaving a potential for strong "pre-action responses."[27] Thus, books--and novels are not excepted here--may, in part at least, furnish the motivational urges which must be present for the performance of any act. The process of reading and the conditions under which it is carried out contribute to an understanding of this. In the first place re-reading is always possible for those who may be confused. Moreover, one may re-read for pleasure or to intensify a reaction. Furthermore, a book is able to make a deeper impact than a newspaper article or a broadcast because a reader only takes up a book when he is in a mentally receptive mood. And, of course, reading as opposed to films, lectures, and broadcasts is conducted at the pace the reader sets in order to comprehend the material most fully. His pauses for reflection on the content are taken at will and add to his comprehension. It is clear then that the process of reading in itself provides a number of advantages for the propaganda novelist in attempting to persuade readers to share his concern.

The advantages which the writer finds in the propaganda novel over certain other types of media as an articulator of interests are evident particularly with respect to the news-

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[27]Doob, Public Opinion, pp. 458-459. Cf. ----, Propaganda, pp. 26-27.

paper. Two cases which demonstrate the superiority of the novel under certain conditions include Uncle Tom's Cabin and The Jungle. Both of these novels received their initial public exposure as newspaper serials. While they each gained their initial impact by presentation in this form, neither novel assumed the status of a definite political force until it was published in book form. One may venture a number of explanations for this. For one thing even a major newspaper has a relatively limited public. In addition individual issues are easily perishable. Newspaper serialization is inconvenient in that portions of the narrative may be missed, thereby frustrating the reader's interest. A related handicap of serialization arises as the serialized format serves to dilute the impact of the novel by restricting the amount of material that any reader can consume in one sitting and, as a result, placing an artificial limitation on the extent to which the reader is able to become involved in the narrative. When the novel appears in full length book form distribution to all the major areas of the country is generally assured and readers are free to consume the novel and its argument strictly according to their own interest. As serials running in 1851 and in 1906 respectively Uncle Tom's Cabin and The Jungle did not receive even a fraction of the attention which each of them attracted when they were published as books. Both immediately became volume sellers. In the case of Uncle Tom's Cabin interest expanded so readily that a second edition was issued in ten weeks and ten authorized edi-

tions appeared in its first year.[28] Sinclair had deliberately chosen the novel as the vehicle for his protest because he was disappointed in the ability of the muckraking magazines and newspapers to handle the scandalous conditions in a truly vivid manner. At one point he rushed into the office of Lincoln Steffens whom he challenged: "'What you report is enough to make a complete picture of the system, but you seem not to see it. Don't you see it? Don't you see what you are showing?'"[29] The novel appeared to Sinclair to be the most vivid means to make people realize the human implications of the cold facts Steffens and others were finding. Likewise Mrs. Stowe, whose primary respect for books rested on their roles as conveyers of ideas rather than as literary works of art, set out to write Uncle Tom's Cabin in order to "exhibit [slavery] as a living dramatic reality."[30] Both Mrs. Stowe and Upton Sinclair no doubt would have agreed with novelist James Farrell that the function of the novelist is "to try to make

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[28]Percy H. Boynton, Literature and American Life, p. 398; Arthur Hobson Quinn, American Fiction (New York: Appleton-Century, 1936), p. 160.

[29]Lincoln Steffens, Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1931), p. 434.

[30]Stowe, Uncle Tom's Cabin, p. 344; Edmund Wilson, Patriotic Gore (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 33; Quinn, American Fiction, p. 160.

that truth march."[31] Perhaps these observations contribute an additional insight to the statements offered above with regard to the reasons for the novel's apparent advantages over the newspaper medium in the cases of the two novels mentioned.

The interest articulation efforts of the propaganda novels studied can also be viewed as they were reinforced by other mass media and by word of mouth.[32] Clearly these other means of communication have served to reinforce the novels' impacts for, as Waples asserts, the social utility of reading must be understood as it is related to other types of activities wielding social influences. Even though White Jacket, Uncle Tom's Cabin, Looking Backward, The Jungle, The Grapes of Wrath, and The Ugly American have all been best-sellers in terms of the standards of their periods and, as such, reached sizeable quantities of the reading public, their effects spread beyond their actual readership levels. Novel readers, who are fairly well-educated on the whole, informally transmit the arguments and points of view expressed in the novels to those who, for one reason or another, do not read them. Waples cites Uncle Tom's Cabin as one of the books whose initial impact on its readers was widely diffused as its emotional pleas captured the interest of the general public, includ-

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[31]James T. Farrell, The Fate of Writing in America (New York: New Directions, 1946), final page. Hereinafter referred to as Writing in America.

[32]The following information is drawn from: Douglas Waples, People and Print (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), p. 28; MacDougall, Public Opinion, p. 463; Terence H. Qualter, Propaganda and Psychological Warfare (New York: Random House, 1962).

ing non-readers who were made aware of the novel. That the other media have widened the extent of the novels' influence has been apparent in the reporting on the effects of the novels of the sample by a wide variety of popular magazines such as Time, Newsweek, Life, Senior Scholastic, and The New Republic. In addition, of course, newspaper commentaries have performed the same function. It is interesting to note that the political impacts of the propaganda novels often come from what a book is believed to say--as derived from intermediary interpreters--rather than what it does in fact say. A recent example of this is The Ugly American from which the titular image--which has negative connotations on the surface--was extracted for use as a political symbol by readers and non-readers of the novel. The image conveyed, of course, is that of an unilingual, provincial, pleasure seeking, work shirking foreign service officer based abroad. In fact the "ugly American" in the novel was portrayed as the most desirable American representative in Sarkhan, the plain, dedicated, and industrious Homer Atkins. Here, however, the confusion in the reference of the title furnished a symbol which ultimately assisted an essential object of the novel which was the exposure of personnel deficiencies in the foreign service system.[33]

Before the advent of electronic mass media the reinforcement service was provided in important part by magazine and

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[33]Cf. Chapter One and the Rule Application Section of this Chapter.

newspaper reviewers. Reviewers are, of course, still valuable reinforcement factors in that they continue to create or depress interest in a propaganda novel as well as to devote attention to the arguments of the novels reviewed. The substances of the novels treated are thereby brought to the public's attention. This was the case in 1850 when White Jacket was reviewed, for example, in the New York Daily Tribune in such a manner that readers of the review who did not go on to read the novel must have been dsiposed to accept its position.

> Mr. Melville has performed an excellent service in revealing secrets of his prison-house, and calling public attention to the indescribable abominations of naval life.... A man of Melville's brain and pen is a dangerous character in the presence of a gigantic humbug; and those who are interested in the preservation of rotten abuses had better stop that "chiel[d] [sic] from taking notes."[34]

Reviewers in five important magazines of the day used over half of their space in reviews of White Jacket to express support for Melville's stand against flogging. The Southern Literary Messenger reviewer cited all of Chapter XXIII as authority on the issue and advised that Melville's position merited "'strong pretensions to consideration.'"[35] The most recent novel in the sample also found reinforcements in other mass media forms. The publication of The Ugly American created a stir which led to a series of newspaper articles by

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[34]Leyda, Melville Log, I, pp. 371-372, 382. "Chield" is an antiquated word meaning "chap" or "fellow," according to The Oxford Universal Dictionary on Historical Principles, edited by C. T. Onions (3rd ed. rev., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), p. 301.

[35]Leyda, Melville Log, I, pp. 396-397; cf. Anderson, Herman Melville, p. 429.

Scripps-Howard reporter Albert M. Colegrove on the operation of the American foreign service in Southeast Asia.[36] The Colegrove articles confirmed and expanded upon the Burdick and Lederer charges. It becomes understandable then that, when the Senate and House committees became concerned about the foreign service issue, the areas they set out to consider were precisely those emphasized by the novel and reemphasized by the newspaper.[37] These included the questions: (1) Does American aid have a clear sense of purpose and direction?; (2) Is there inefficient, wasteful administration in Washington that affects the field?; (3) Are the programs carelessly formulated and corruptly managed?; (4) Do American personnel lead lives of conspicuous luxury in isolation from the native populations?

Both The Ugly American and The Grapes of Wrath were best-seller propaganda novels which were made into popular movies that capitalized on the novels' popularity and, by doing so, reinforced their interest articulation efforts. In explaining how media interpenetrate one another, Marshall MacLuhan asserts that film media owners view a best seller book as a clear indication that "some massive new gestalt or pattern

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[36]Montgomery, Politics of Foreign Aid, p. 225.

[37]Situation in Vietnam, Hearings before a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 86th Cong., 1st Sess., Pt. 1, July 30, 1959, pp. 3-4. Cf. the following sections on Interest Aggregation and Rule-Making.

has been isolated in the public psyche."[38] If this is so, the movie versions of the two novels attested to their grasp upon the public's attention while at the same time they broadened the novels' impacts. Whatever the reason, the latter was indeed the effect as the movies made the arguments of the novels familiar to nonreaders and attracted new readers. Publishers' Weekly reported that the primary stimulus to a continuing big sale of The Grapes of Wrath would come from the movie based on it.[39] In California the movie reinforced the novel's effects by increasing resentment against Steinbeck for his "'gross libel'" against that state.[40]

Before the advent of movies the propaganda novels considered here were reinforced by presentation in the form of plays. Uncle Tom's Cabin was first dramatized in 1852. The result was such an enthusiastic response that six versions of it appeared before the Civil War.[41] The immediate effect was

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[38]Marshall MacLuhan, Understanding Media (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965), p. 54.

[39]"The Grapes of Wrath Gets New Sales Stimulus," Publishers' Weekly, CXXXVI (December 30, 1939), 2320.

[40]"The Okies--A National Problem," p. 16. Other media, such as radio and television, are also, of course, capable of generating similar reinforcement effects; however, specific examples of their having done so with regard to the novels studied were not found.

[41]Gilbertson, Harriet Beecher Stowe, p. 163; MacDougall, Public Opinion, pp. 461-462; Charles Stowe, Stowe, p. 192; Sullivan, Our Times, pp. 233-235; Boynton, Literature and American Life, p. 398. The Jungle was also produced as a play but it closed after six weeks. Sinclair, American Outpost, p. 175.

a propaganda boost to abolitionism while the long-range effect was to instill in the minds of audiences the characters and situations which have become part of American political symbolism. The latter function was carried out through the 1920's as travelling troupes known as "Tommers" travelled about the country. The plays, dramatic readings, and songs--"Eva's Parting" and "Uncle Tom's Grave"--all served to reinforce Mrs. Stowe's initial effort. As is evident, therefore, these propaganda novels articulated their messages to the public directly through their readers who were influenced by the novels and who communicated information about the novels to others. The interest ariculation function of the novels was also indirectly affected through the reinforcing publicity accorded the novels by other media.

Looking Backward was particularly remarkable in its stimulation of reinforcement efforts.[42] It inspired a rash of utopian novels similar to it in purpose and in content. More significant politically, however, was the development of a network of Bellamy Clubs and "Nationalist" Societies organized to promote a crusade to spread Bellamy's ideas by various propaganda channels. This propaganda phase dominated the "Nationalist" movement roughly from 1888 to 1891. A second, political activist, phase which followed and lasted until about 1896 will be discussed later. Bellamy was approached

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[42]The information on "Nationalism" given here is drawn from: Franklin, "Nationalist Movement," pp. 740-755; Mott, Golden Multitudes, p. 169; Bowman, Proletarian Novel, p. 136; Rideout, Radical Novel, p. 4; Morgan, Edward Bellamy, p. 270; Dorfman, Veblen, p. 73.

by readers suggesting the formation of clubs to promote his views. With his encouragement about one hundred-fifty clubs were scattered throughout the country by 1892. In addition the Nationalist Education Association and the Bureau of Nationalist Literature were formed to spread the Bellamy doctrine by distributing copies of Looking Backward, Bellamy's speeches and tracts. During this period the propaganda activities carried over into other forms of politics occasionally such as when Bellamy followers circulated petitions seeking legislative authorization by the federal government of national telephone and telegraph facilities. In addition two newspapers, The Nationalist and The New Nation, were founded by Bellamy and supported by his royalties from Looking Backward. A labor press association was also founded to articulate a unified Bellamyite position. We might note here as an aside that on labor questions "Nationalism" exercised a broader appeal than that of the Knights of Labor and a less vitriolic approach than that of the Single Tax proponents. It was one of the few movements at that time striving to find a peaceful meeting ground between bitter workingmen and rigid capitalists. "Nationalism" was a middle-class movement opposed to the great concentrations of wealth and in favor of a state socialism based on expanding the middle class notions of democracy into economic areas. As evidence of the impact of Looking Backward and the reinforcing propaganda efforts accompanying it, the reaction voiced by the president of the American Economic Association may be cited. General Francis

A. Walker, in his address to that group, bitterly denounced the influence of Bellamy and his "Nationalists" because they had brought into serious question institutions which had enjoyed almost unanimous support just a short time ago.

Looking Backward was not only reinforced by additional efforts but it was itself used by a number of groups as a means to substantiate their positions on various questions.[43] The Theosophists, the National Council of Women, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Christian Socialists, Grangers, numerous religious and labor groups, and, of course, the Populists distributed the novel. The Farmer's Alliance newspaper offered its subscription with a copy of Bellamy's novel as did other newspapers and magazines of the time. The Christian Socialist movement grew parallel to "Nationalism," springing largely from interest created by Looking Backward. Like the novel it stressed the dual importance of individual character and the social order. Bellamy served as an editor of its publication, Dawn. Both Christian Socialism and "Nationalism" faded out in 1896 for reasons which will be presented in the section of this chapter treating interest aggregation.

Even after the demise of "Nationalism" as a viable movement the tenets of Looking Backward continued to exercise effects. In the early 1900's an Austrian, Dr. Rudolph Broda, read the Bellamy novel and this launched his lifelong effort

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[43] Dorfman, Veblen, p. 70; Bowman, Proletarian Novel, p. 134; Morgan, Edward Bellamy, p. 285.

to secure a better economic order.[44] In 1906 he joined with a group of young liberals to found "The League for the Organization of Progress" based on the principles found in Looking Backward. Its members included Edward Benes (later president of Czechoslovakia), Emile Vandervelde (the most prominent Belgian liberal of the day), Ramsay MacDonald (a British M. P. at the time of his membership and later the Labor Prime Minister), Aristide Briand (then a member of the French parliament and later Premier), and others. Later, during the Depression of the 1930's, the Bellamy Clubs reappeared both in Europe and in the United States.[45] They formed the basis of the International Bellamy League. In the United States one network of clubs covered seventeen states but was mainly concentrated in California (as had been true during the 1890's). By early 1934 the Los Angeles meeting drew enough people to fill the Hollywood Bowl. A separate organization of Bellamyites had a membership list spanning twenty-four states. For the most part all of these groups were primarily concerned with interest articulation activities. Some other types of political participation were organized, however, as in the Long Beach Bellamy Society which worked in behalf of Upton Sinclair's End Poverty campaign for the governorship. Thus, as can be seen, the political viability of Looking Backward extended to another continent and another time.

More recent studies confirm the early observation of Nor-

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[44]Morgan, Edward Bellamy, p. x.

[45]Sadler, "One Book's Influence," p. 548.

man Bentwich that "the novel is essentially the democratic form of literature."[46] They demonstrate that prose fiction is the only literary art form regularly read by great numbers of people. Several studies confirm that fiction is the most popular form of book reading done by members of both sexes at all occupational and educational levels. In fact three-quarters of all adults who read at least one book a year read fiction either exclusively or predominantly. Moreover, the heaviest book readers--i.e., those having higher educations and incomes--are located in the socioeconomic sector of the population wielding both potential and actual political power. These readers, like all others, prefer fiction to other types of reading. The college educated, significantly, spend twice as much time doing all types of reading as the grade school educated and nearly a third more time than the high school educated. The predilection of these actually or potentially influential groups for fiction may be understood as part of their overall preference for reading in general. Reading is the preferred communications medium for such people because they find it the most efficient way to assimilate material and because for the most part they respect reading matter as

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[46]Bentwich, "Novel as a Political Force," p. 773. A reviewer of John Kenneth Galbraith's novel, The Triumph, predicted that "fiction will at least carry Dr. Galbraith's ideas into many homes where the attention paid to his articles and lectures has been slight." Kurt Vonnegut, Jr., "Deadhead Among the Diplomats," Life, LXIV (May 3, 1968), 14. The following material is drawn from these sources: Waples, People and Print, p. 190; Irion, Public Opinion, p. 211; Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, Civic Culture (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 204; Henry C. Link, People and Books (New York: Book Manufacturers' Institute, 1946), pp.58-71; Lazarsfeld, Printed Page, pp. 135-138.

a more reliable source of information than most other forms of communication.[47] Because, then, reading is a source of information heavily relied upon by the politically influential segments of the population and because fiction is the favorite type of reading of these people as well as of the population at large, the utility of the propaganda novels studied as interest articulation instruments is further understandable.

While education and propaganda function in dissimilar sociological frameworks, they elicit similar psychological reactions, which help to explain the susceptibility of educated people to various types of propaganda, including the novel.[48] The object of both education and propaganda is to communicate a specific set of contents and to attempt to produce particular reactions on the part of the public, or, in this case, novel readers. Education, of course, has long been vaunted as the major safeguard against indiscriminate susceptibility to propaganda, the latter being implicitly defined in this context as an evil type of subversive influence. When viewed from a different perspective, however, a certain level of education is a prerequisite for propaganda--as de-

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[47]Link, People and Books, p. 115; Lazarsfeld, Printed Page, pp. 39, 43.

[48]Paul Lazarsfeld in his Introduction to Klapper, Effects of Media, p. 7; cf. Joseph Klapper, "The Engineering of Consent," American Scholar, XVII (Autumn, 1948), pp. 419-420.

fined for this paper--to be effective.[49] For one thing, education fills men's minds with quantities of isolated pieces of information which give them a deceptive feeling of confidence in their ability to separate out untruths. Not only the general public but the educated and involved segments of the population are vulnerable to subtle propaganda forms for three reasons: (1) the educated and involved people are exposed to and assimilate more secondhand, unverifiable material than others; (2) they feel compelled to form an opinion on all the major questions of the day and, so, they tend unwittingly to submit to ready-made opinions offered through various propaganda media; and (3) they feel confident of their ability to evaluate and make judgments. Moreover, effective propaganda requires that propagandees have a certain grasp of ideas as well as conditioned responses to certain values and images. These characteristics are generally found in people who have a fair measure of affluence, of education, and of security. Many fall under this description and all are apparently caught between a desire to participate in politics and a recognition of their inability to grasp all the choices which must be made in order to do so. As a result they often do not seek information objectively but instead they tend, often without being aware of it, to assimilate

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[49] Konrad Kellen in his Introduction to Ellul, Propaganda, p. vi; Irving L. Janis, "Personality Correlates of Susceptibility to Persuasion," Journal of Personality, XXII (June, 1954), pp. 514-518; Waples, People and Print, pp. 94, 146.

prefabricated positions.[50] The role of the propaganda novel lies here. As the literary art most read by all levels of the population the novel is able to inculcate ideas while at the same time it entertains. A member of the elite, Theodore Roosevelt, stated that he gained most from those books

> in which profit was a by-product of the pleasure; that is, I read them because I enjoyed them, because I liked reading them, and the profit came in as part of the enjoyment.[51]

The preceding discussion may explain at least in part why the novels considered here appealed to various members of the intellectual community and political opinion-makers as well as to the general public.

Almond refers to several styles of interest articulation employed by interest groups: manifest or latent, specific or diffuse, general or particular, instrumental or affective.[52] The same descriptions may be utilized in analyzing the styles presented in the propaganda novels. The manifest style, for instance, according to Almond, is "the explicit formulation of a claim or demand...." An advocate using this approach makes direct demands with little or no subtlety. On the other hand, the latent style is characterized by "behavioral or mood cues." The object here is to shape readers' attitudes

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[50] Ellul, Propaganda, pp. 137-140. Cf. Walter Lippmann, Public Opinion (New York: Macmillan, 1927), pp. 166-167.

[51] Roosevelt, Autobiography, p. 360.

[52] Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics, pp. 86-88. The definitions given below are taken from these pages.

unobtrusively. The manifest and latent interest articulation styles have particular relevance for the propaganda novels studied. The novelists initially shared the problem confronted by all propagandists--i.e., how to capture and retain the attention of their audiences. The difficulty here is that the span of an individual's attention is limited by the extent of his interest. The more ideas he is presented with at one sitting, the more difficult it is for him to comprehend the message.[53] The device employed by the propaganda novelist--indeed, the essential characteristic of his strategy--is not only to sustain but to build the reader's interest by the development of a plot in which a difficult problem is presented and resolved. The propaganda method of most of the novelists selected is latent as opposed to manifest because the thesis is revealed through character and action. H. G. Merriam, Newton Arvin, Mark Van Doren, and John Scott Bowman have all agreed that the most effective literary propaganda utilizes a latent style.[54] The latent nature of the novel's advocacy is important to the success of the propaganda novel because the most effective propaganda works on the subconscious "to release the mechanism ... which will provide the appropriate

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[53]Doob, Public Opinion, p. 332; Daniel Katz and Richard L. Schanck, Social Psychology (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1938), pp. 600-601.

[54]Bowman uses the terms "explicative" and "implicative" in his discussion in Proletarian Novel, pp. 127-128; Lowenthal, Literature and Society, p. 158; Gotschalk, Art and Order, p. 208.

action."[55] The reader ought not to know that his sensibilities are being played upon for an external purpose.[56] When the reader becomes involved in the convincing narrative of a novel, he is not aware of being confronted by an argument but feels that he is being diverted by an intriguing tale. Should the author be so clumsy that the reader recognizes the tale for a straight propaganda vehicle, he will no longer consider that he is being entertained but will perceive an attack. His instinctive response is to weigh the argument critically, thereby penetrating the key strategy of the novelist which is to work effects primarily through the reader's emotional responses rather than through his intellectual responses alone.[57] To accomplish this an important ingredient is subtlety, which is a particular attribute of the latent style of articulation. The novels studied all primarily utilize the latent style in that the point of view being broached is disguised by a prose narrative tale describing the personal experiences of a given number of fictitious characters. Each of the novels lapses into a manifest plea occasionally, however. At one point, for instance, Melville abandoned his latent narrative to make a direct appeal: "Mr. Secretary of the Navy, in the name of

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[55]Ellul, Propaganda, p. 27. Cf. Bowman, Proletarian Novel, p. 128.

[56]Carl I. Hovland, Irving L. Janis, and Harold H. Kelley, Communication and Persuasion (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), p. 25; Ian Harvey, The Technique of Persuasion (London: Falcon Press, 1951), p. 64; Bowman, Proletarian Novel, p. 129.

[57]The point just made will be further developed below.

the people you should interpose in this matter.... We beg of you, Mr. Secretary, not to be swayed in this matter by the Honorable Board of Commodores...."[58] Indeed the authors who use the latent style least skilfully are those of the nineteenth century (Melville, Stowe, Donnelly, and Bellamy) who wrote for less sophisticated readers than the others. Steinbeck and Lederer and Burdick could count on a reasonably educated audience schooled in the symbolic system used by modern fiction writers. They could, therefore, expect to provoke certain types of reactions without having to break the web of the story by indulging in the hortatory exhortations supplied by Mrs. Stowe and Melville. Thus, they did not need to betray explicitly their persuasive purpose.

One novel which managed to be persuasive even though it was in large part manifest in style was Philip Dru. The leading character in the novel, Philip Dru, served as such a direct mouthpiece for his author that art was largely lost to social doctrine. The readers of this novel were probably convinced, not because the thesis emerged naturally from the interaction of situation and character, but because readers were intellectually unable to resist the telling nature of the argument. Thus, "recognizing argument, he judges as argument" and succumbs when his defenses fail.[59] By and large, however, the advantages of the latent method appear far greater in that, as has been described, the readers' defenses

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[58]Melville, White Jacket, p. 40.

[59]Bowman, Proletarian Novel, p. 127.

against overt persuasion are circumvented.

Related to the utility of the latent style of interest articulation is an additional unobtrusive method by which the propaganda novels of the sample may have exerted effects on their readers. One of the most reliable findings of communications studies is that people pay attention for the most part to information that corresponds to their own preferences.[60] Yet public opinion does change because, despite this tendency, men cannot avoid being confronted by contrary information. The unobtrusive method of the propaganda novels studied, which was a product of their latent style, was to confront readers with situations of "accidental exposure." Thus, when socialistic ideas were given a humane and sympathetic treatment, as in Looking Backward and The Jungle, the readers' initial antagonism to "foreign ideas" of this type was broken down to some extent. Uncle Tom's Cabin exposed its readers to fictionalized refutations of all the major arguments for the perpetuation of slavery. The utility of this type of appeal for propaganda purposes is succinctly explained by Jacques Ellul: "Modern man does not think about current problems; he feels them."[61] Almond states that American energies are so absorbed by private activities that the usual response to public problems is indifference. Thus, because mood

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[60]Raymond A. Bauer and Alice H. Bauer, "America, Mass Society and Mass Media," Journal of Social Issues, XV (No. 3, 1960), pp. 26-28. Hereinafter referred to as "Society and Mass Media."

[61]Ellul, Propaganda, p. 47.

is so important, the latent style of interest articulation which is characterized by "behavioral or mood cues" takes on added significance as a principal attribute of the propaganda novels studied.

The degree of specificity is the second type of style characteristic included by Almond who categorizes demands as diffuse or specific. The objective is "diffuse" if, as in Uncle Tom's Cabin or Looking Backward, a broad indictment--as of a social or economic system--is made. In a novel to which the specific label may be applied, a narrow problem is identified, having a readily apparent, and usually legislative, solution. Melville's attack on flogging and Sinclair's attack on meat-handling come to mind as examples of problems which might be resolved by simple legislation. In the novels examined the distinction between specific and diffuse styles is not always clear. The Grapes of Wrath, for example, is specific in that it is concerned with a single well-defined problem--the inability of migrant labor to find fair employment and just treatment. The novel is diffuse, however, in that Steinbeck does not suggest that a single solution such as a legislative act, or even several, would automatically erase the social implications of the problem.

The third style characteristic--i.e., general or particular--also applies, at least partially, to the propaganda novels considered here as agents of interest articulation. Almond describes a general style as one in which demands are made in behalf of a class or a group. Almost all of the

novels appear to do this; witness White Jacket speaking for seamen, Uncle Tom's Cabin for slaves, Caesar's Column, Looking Backward, The Jungle, Philip Dru, and The Grapes of Wrath speaking for the economically underprivileged and The Fakers speaking for the American public "duped" by crafty demagogues. An exception to this may be The Ugly American which attempts to promote an administrative concept independent of identification with a particular group. Even so, however, it is possible to interpret the Lederer and Burdick novel as speaking for the abused and over-burdened American taxpayer whose money purportedly is wasted by bureaucrats. A "particular" style in Almond's terms refers to demands made in behalf of an individual or a family. None of the novels of the sample fall under this category.

The final style suggested by Almond is the instrumental-affective dichotomy. The former refers to the use of a bargaining approach. The latter indicates appeals directed at people's emotional responses. The propaganda novel, as an inanimate articulator of interests, is not a bargaining instrument. In the novels studied, and, one may assume by its nature as an advocate, in general, it is the enthusiastic exponent of views expressed in fairly absolute, non-bargaining terms. Almond expresses respect for the power of affective interest articulation. He describes "emotionally charged expressions of desires" as contributing to the intractability with which opinions are held, thus rendering more difficult

the reconciliation of diverse interests.[62] The affective style of interest articulation, when it is manifested in the novel, serves also as a subtle means to channel men's interest from their predominantly private and domestic focus to a concern for public issues both domestic and foreign. According to Almond, American energies are largely spent in private activities so that indifference is the prevailing attitude toward foreign policy questions.[63] One may venture that The Ugly American, even though it is concerned with foreign affairs, was able to arouse interest in a foreign policy issue because it is written in a manner and directed at matters that appeal to the emotions of people whose primary concern is domestic. Almond observes that the generosity of Americans is counterbalanced by a hypersensitivity to being "taken." The distribution of aid funds abroad generally requires reassurance at home that American good intentions are not being exploited by the waste of aid. The Lederer and Burdick novel is a commentary upon the efficiency--i.e., return on investments of effort and money--of American operations abroad and suggests that the root of the problem is not the inadequacy of funds so much as the attitudes of bureaucrats. As Senator Mansfield cogently put it during the Senate hearings:

> The question...is whether or not...the people of this Nation and the people of Vietnam are getting a reasonable return in terms of the objectives.

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[62]Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics, p. 89.

[63]Gabriel A. Almond, The American People and Foreign Policy (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1950), pp. 46, 54. Hereinafter referred to as Foreign Policy.

> To put it bluntly, are we getting our money's worth? Are they?[64]

The Ugly American, then, appealed to the emotions of a people whose primary concern is domestic and who, as will be explained in Chapter Three, are innately wary of persons in government employment. The novel succeeded in arousing resentment and increased suspicion on the part of Congressmen who were moved to hold open hearings. The affective style of the propaganda novel is perhaps its primary weapon and certainly goes far in explaining the impact which various novels have wielded. The major portion of the remainder of this section will attempt to explain how and the extent to which men's attitudes can be affected by propaganda novels such as those considered here. Considerable attention will also be devoted to the methods used by propaganda novelists to gain the attention and sympathy of their readers.

A consideration of the process entailed in reading a novel may aid in understanding how fiction can affect readers' attitudes in general. A novelist skilled in the exercise of his craft can create a confidence-inspiring rapport with readers during the solitary meditational state induced by reading.[65] This aura of trust is enhanced by the intimate nature

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[64] Situation in Vietnam, pp. 2-3.

[65] The following information, except where otherwise noted, is drawn from: Waples, Reading, pp. 28-29; Gordon Hall Gerould, How to Read Fiction (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1937), p. 110; Katherine Lever, The Novel and The Reader (London: Methuen, 1961), p. 43; Joyce Cary, Art and Reality (New York: Harper, 1958), pp. 119-120.

of novel reading which demands at least ideally that the reader dispense with his disbelief and give over his credence to the story--i.e., to the story-teller, the novelist. This is largely a subconscious process in which meaning is extracted by the action of imagination upon symbols. The ability of the novelist is reflected in the subtlety with which he can cultivate or retain the sympathies of the reader with his own point of view. Evidently these characteristics of fiction were taken into account by Lederer and Burdick. They wrote The Ugly American as a novel because "people believe fiction more than nonfiction" and, as a result, "they will commit themselves more to it."[66] The power of reading is also seen in the experience of Richard Wright when, in Black Boy, he describes how reading fiction and other types of literature "created a vast distance" between himself and his environment. He began to see how he might use words as weapons in order to change his conditions.[67] This solitary confrontation between a reader and a novelist through his book contains interesting qualities relevant to Almond's analysis. Almond states that, despite the importance of mass media, face-to-face communications channels have retained their vital role in the formation of political opinions.[68] We may conjecture here that

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[66]Letter, William J. Lederer to author, April 15, 1968. Evidently John Kenneth Galbraith agrees for he stated to Kurt Vonnegut, Jr.: "'It has occurred to me that maybe there are truths that best emerge in fiction.'" "Deadhead Among Diplomats," p. 14.

[67]Richard Wright, Black Boy (New York: Signet, 1945), p. 272.

[68]Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics, p. 33.

the reading of a propaganda novel has qualities of face-to-face contact. In the first place, the ideas of the novelist are transmitted directly to the reader with no intermediary interpretations or superadded images. A novel is directed toward an individual, speaking to the reader "in the privacy of his closet." In fact the novel could not survive if intermediaries were interposed between the author and the reader.[69] In addition, as described above, the attitude of the reader toward the book is ordinarily one of relaxation of defenses, of confidence in the written word and acceptance of the honesty of the image, at least for the duration of the reading. No doubt having these qualities in mind, a naval officer in 1850 who was alarmed by the charges in White Jacket attempted to break the spell of the book for succeeding readers by making this marginal comment: "The reader is warned that the contents of this book, is [sic] without merit--and not possessing the merit of truth."[70]

The seaman's alarm was not without merit for studies show that attitudes can be changed by reading.[71] Indeed,

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[69]Howe, Politics and the Novel, p. 24; Alex Comfort, The Novel and Our Time (London: Phoenix House, Ltd., 1948), pp. 27-28.

[70]Leyda, Melville Log, I, p. 375.

[71]The following information, except where otherwise noted, is drawn from: Waples, Reading, pp. 90, 108-110; Klapper, "Effects," p. 481; ----, Effects of Media, Chapter IV; Howe, Politics and the Novel, p. 22; N. Elizabeth Monroe, The Novel and Society (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941), p. 253. Cf. Rhodes, History, I, pp. 284-285; Rosenau, Foreign Policy, pp. 71-73.

Waples reports that the liberal-conservative attitudes of readers are most deeply affected by the attitudes of their parents and by reading. A study of people who normally read an above average number of books showed an increasing radicalness evident over a five year period. The greatest changes come where readers know least about the subject. In this case or where the reader is neutral the attitude shift generally is in the direction of the writer's position. Shifts are least evident where an opinion has been formed prior to reading. Even in cases where a strong opinion on the part of the reader is present, however, reading may moderate his views. When an attitude shift has taken place after reading, there is a tendency after a period of time for opinion to lapse toward the previous position. Yet only fifteen minutes of reading has been found to elicit attitude changes still in effect and measurable after eight months. In these studies there may be clues as to how propaganda novels influence political attitudes. Klapper cites the Lang and Lang study of 1959 which showed that sizeable shifts in opinions slowly develop between campaigns. The issues on which these changes are based are made cogent to the public by mass communications media in the interim. An example of this process is the effect of Uncle Tom's Cabin cited by the historian James Ford Rhodes, who stated that the novel's effect built gradually between 1852 and 1860. The election of 1852 was not affected nor was the Fugitive Slave Law repealed. But the impressionable boys of the earlier date had become ardent abolitionists

and Lincoln supporters by 1860, made so in part by the advocacy of the Stowe novel and its reinforcements. James Rosenau confirms the functions of novelists as among the 1 to 2% of the population who are opinion-makers. Each segment of the opinion-making public is relatively independent of any other segment in the conduct of its interest articulation. From their competitive interaction decision-makers seek ideas to form a basis for their daily deliberations. Opinion-holders seek guidance for the allocation of their favor or opposition. When opinion-makers are not inspired by a particular issue there is little public discussion and decision-makers are free to act within the limits set by special interests. However, when opinion-makers utilize their access to the opinion shaping process then widespread public discussion ensues and the roles of special interest groups are diminished. Evidence of this was present in the success of The Jungle in supplanting the influence of the meat industry on the House Agriculture Committee with that of the reform groups as described in Chapter One.

In a sense the propaganda novel, as it directly or indirectly affects attitudes, illustrates a tenet of the nondirective school of psychotherapy--i.e., that the learning process which best instills knowledge is not rote memorization but is one in which the subject's powers of understanding are brought to grasp the material.[72] By appealing to the empathic

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[72]Theodore Reik, The Third Ear (New York: Grove Press, 1948), Chapter One; C.R. Rogers, "Some Observations on the Organization of Personality," American Psychologist, II (September, 1947), pp. 358-368.

capacity of readers, novelists can reach the emotional core of an individual's values.[73] In doing so, a novelist may reinforce a latent hostility or sympathy or in some cases help to produce what Douglas Waples calls "conversion." Granted that in most cases reading a novel serves largely to modify aspects of commitments, novels do have the capacity to alter the commitments themselves in some instances. Indeed the object of Mrs. Stowe's efforts appears to have been outright conversion of her readers into abolitionists. Her novel is filled with conversion episodes. When, for instance, the young slave-holder comes upon Tom dying at the hands of Simon Legree he cries out: "Witness, eternal God...that from this hour, I will do what one man can to drive out the curse of slavery from my land."[74] Later Jack London predicted that The Jungle "'will plough the soil for our [Socialist] propaganda. It will make thousands of converts to our cause.'"[75]

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[73]The way in which the novels act upon both the "understanding" and the "emotions" of readers is best illustrated by drawing upon an example utilized by Carl Friedrich in Man and His Government (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963), p. 9. Here Friedrich uses the term "verstehen" which denotes sympathetic or empathic understanding. This goes beyond "vernunft" which denotes a purely rational type of understanding independent of emotions, such as that involved in the recognition of facts and information. When novelists succeed in arousing an empathic response they have stimulated their readers to go beyond "vernunft." Instead, their readers will have achieved "verstehen" which constitutes, in effect, a synthesis of their emotional and rational understanding.

[74]Stowe, Uncle Tom's Cabin, Chapter XLI.

[75]Sinclair, The Jungle, p. ix. Cf. Rideout, Radical Novel, p. 302; Filler, Crusaders, p. 162; Hicks, Great Tradition, p. 201.

During that period conversion was a major theme of socialist novels. Upton Sinclair frequently wrote from the point of view of a middle-class man converted to a radical position (in Looking Backward Bellamy used a comparable device.) Because Sinclair was himself such a convert, he particularly understood the mental processes involved.

Seeking the effect of converting readers and actually achieving it are, of course, different matters. Yet conversion is possible, though difficult, even where a prior-held contrary position has been established in the reader's mind.[76] Klapper describes how positive appeals suggest positive methods and are, hence, more persuasive. The primary method eschews a direct attack on existing opinion and substitutes instead the introduction of new issues which may lead to a redefined position, thereby enabling the person psychologically to dispense with the support afforded by his previous views. This is particularly feasible in times of social upheaval when people are released from their loyalty to old positions and are open to new ideas. For instance, by introducing a favorable image of what the average person's life would be without social, economic, or political problems, Bellamy utilized a reliable propaganda technique--i.e., inducing people to desire change before actually urging them to get rid of existing institutions.[77] Americans may be better adapted than

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[76]Klapper, Effects, Chapter IV; Waples, Reading, pp. 119-122; Doob, Propaganda, p. 54.

[77]Bowman, Proletarian Novel, p. 26.

most other peoples to experiencing conversion. According to Almond, the American individual is amenable to experimenting with new methods and ideas so long as they do not make him appear odd.[78] Changes are facilitated because judgments of right and wrong are excerpted from a constantly changing environment in which everyone is kept abreast by the mass media. This is similarly explained by Daniel Lerner who, like Almond, characterizes American society as participant--i.e., one in which people are disposed to take part in political and social activities.[79] He describes empathy as a characteristic of people in developed countries. By means of this quality they are able to project themselves into a situation beyond their personal experience. Such a capability fully disposes them to be open to persuasion by a propaganda novel for after all, as Farrell observes,

> the effect of living literature on its reader is not the same as the effect of an advertising slogan upon the prospective customer. It cuts much deeper into the human consciousness. It cuts beneath the stereotyped feelings and crystallized thoughts, furnishing the material from which extended feelings and added thought are developed.... It destroys old faith and ideals, and creates new ones, or at least lays the basis for their creation.[80]

Thus, we can understand how propaganda novels might contribute to a conversion effect under certain conditions.

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[78]Almond, Foreign Policy, p. 59.

[79]Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958), p. 49.

[80]Farrell, Criticism, p. 215.

In a sense the importance of literature, including all types of novels, lies in its ability to give insights into human truths in such a manner that the understanding of the reader is deepened.[81] Thus, a key test of a novelist's merit is his ability to convince. Viewed in this way each novel may be seen as "a working hypothesis" in which the data is provided by the subject matter and is revealed in situation, character, and order of events.[82] The task of the author is to work all of these into a convincing format. His medium, of course, is language, a type of channel through which the perceptions of readers are enriched by the experiences portrayed in the novels.[83] His tools are words which are essentially symbols capable of stirring those latent attitudes at the basis of all suggestion. While scientific language is precise and denotative in always striving for an exact match between referent and sign, literary language is connotative or expressive, attempting to reveal the tone and attitude of the novelist. Rather than simply recording what is said, literary language attempts to shape the reader's attitude, "to persuade him and ultimately change him." In order to do so,

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[81] Guerard, Literature and Society, pp. 345-347.

[82] Ibid. Cf. Blotner, Modern Political Novel, p. 6.

[83] The remainder of this paragraph draws from the following sources: Clyde Kluckhohn, "Culture and Behavior," in Handbook of Social Psychology, ed. by Gardner Lindzey (Cambridge, Mass: Addison-Wellesley Publishing Co., 1954), pp. 938-939; Rene Wellek and Warren Austin, Theory of Literature (3rd ed.; New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1956), pp. 22-23; Doob, Propaganda, p. 60.

the process of suggestion is initiated by novelists--and most propaganda novelists by virtue of their object must be quite conscious on this point--by using words having "feeling-tones" and "secondary meanings" which are key elements in suggestion. Not only fiction as a technique but the very words a writer selects play an important part in his ability to convince his readers that he is giving them a valid insight.

In order for people to adopt an idea they must develop an empathic response to it. Yet it is difficult for men to to have such a deep feeling without directly participating in the experiences about which the idea is centered. As Almond explains, many vital issues are of only remote interest to people who have firm opinions only about events that directly touch their everyday lives.[84] Most men think concretely and pragmatically so that issues of an abstract nature are likely to escape their notice. In the end only by means of one's imagination can one have a feeling about an event not experienced first-hand.

> We cannot be much interested in, or much moved by, the things we do not see. Of public affairs each of us sees very little, and therefore, they remain dull and unappetizing, until somebody with the makings of an artist, has translated them into a moving picture.... Being flesh and blood we will not feed on words or names and gray theory.[85]

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[84]Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics, p. 188. In Lederer's letter to the author he states that he and Burdick chose the technique of fiction because it is "more lifelike than nonfiction" and permits authors to "get into characters' minds."

[85]Lippmann, Public Opinion, p. 161.

As Lippmann's words suggest, the link between literature and politics is an immediate one. The reason for this is probably in large part explained by the close bond between ideas and sentiment. According to Charles Peguy, "'Tout commence en mystique et finit en politique.'"[86] That the novel can function as an interest articulation instrument is possible because men's actions are not based upon direct and definite knowledge but derive instead from "pictures made by himself or given to him."[87] Literature is obviously suited to be an effective source of such images precisely because novelists are distinguished by their ability to grasp and to express emotions which all may feel but to which only they are able to give a clear form. The instructive quality of literature is exercised through its ability to move people in a way "which is as effective as it is subtle and which no research or systematic method can ever rival."[88] For one thing men more readily accept ideas if they are organized in an understandable system and if they appeal to men's hearts as well

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[86] Ibid., p. 13.

[87] Ibid., pp. 26-27.

[88] Hugh D. Duncan, Language and Literature in Society (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1953), p. 5. Hereinafter referred to as Language and Literature. Cf. Woodrow Wilson, Mere Literature and Other Essays (New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1897), pp. 9-10; Ellul, Propaganda, p. 250; Gotschalk, Art and Order, p. 204; Harry Slochower, "Literature and Society," New Masses, XXXI (April 25, 1939), p. 23. The following, except where otherwise noted is drawn from: Howe, Politics and the Novel, pp. 20-22; Duncan, Language and Literature, p. 9; Freeman, Herman Melville, p. 13.

as their intelligences. Novels, including the propaganda novels studied, draw upon the same senses, intellect, imagination, and feelings that are at the base of all social action. They are capable of stimulating in readers an understanding which is not merely rational but which assumes the emotional qualities of empathy as discussed earlier. In a true sense, by working upon men's feelings, by giving them a sense of involvement or identity, the novels studied were able to concretize ideas into a tangible form. As Melville asserted, "It is next to idle, at the present day, merely to denounce an iniquity. Be ours then a different task."[89] In the novels selected public issues are abstracted and then animated so that the ideas and the appeal to readers' own experiences are closely meshed. These novels all deal in terms of particular experiences, stimulating particular emotions so that the reader who has undergone comparable experiences and and felt similar emotions will be able to identify sympathetically with the characters of the novel. This serves to underscore the point that the propaganda novels studied primarily exercised influence upon men's sympathetic understanding or "verstehen" by means of creating empathy.

The real power of the novel as a propaganda instrument able to create such responses lies in its use of the affective style to move men's feelings. Looking Backward provides an example illustrating the strength which the emotional conclu-

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[89]Melville, White Jacket, p. 171.

siveness of a novel may have over the intellectual conclusivity of a treatise as vehicles for interest articulation. After Bellamy had succeed in making "Nationalism" emotionally appealing to a broad audience, he set out to make it intellectually conclusive in his systematic study, Equality.[90] However, the latter work, lacking the art and emotional impact of the novel, was never capable of moving the imagination or exciting the interest of readers as Looking Backward had done. The superiority of the novel as an interest articulation instrument was recognized by Laurence Gronlund whose theoretical explication, The Cooperative Commonwealth, was a primary source for Bellamy's ideas.[91] Gronlund instructed his agents to stop selling his own book and instructed them to sell Looking Backward in its place because he recognized that the novel had become the more influential of the two works. He expressed hope that Looking Backward would be as successful in promoting socialism as Uncle Tom's Cabin had been in calling for abolition. Ignatius Donnelly underwent an almost identical experience.[92] Thus, the ability of the propaganda novels examined to serve as instruments of persuasion is attributable in great part to their ability to affect men's emotional responses.

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[90]Spiller et al., Literary History, I, pp. 989-992.

[91]Bowman, Proletarian Novel, p. 119.

[92]Ridge, Ignatius Donnelly, p. 346.

The novels considered here gain an affective response in several ways. One of the most prominent of these is a fairly heavy-handed use of sentiment and pathos. In every one of the novels selfless, valiant men and stoic women endure unspeakable misery or doggedly oppose implacable evils. White Jacket, Caesar's Column, The Jungle, The Grapes of Wrath, and others are replete with virtuous characters who are the hapless victims of whichever system the author is interested in opposing. Uncle Tom's Cabin is an "Appeal to Sentiment" par excellence.[93] Mrs. Stowe was especially preoccupied with exploiting the emotions involved in mother-love. A number of babies are taken from their mother's arms to be sold; heartless slavers coolly assess the physical attributes of Negro children as if they were livestock; a slave mother commits suicide when her child is taken away. Mrs. Stowe was herself so overcome by her inspired description of "little Eva's" death that she took to her bed distraught for a week. She skillfully used scenes of cruel punishment to offend her reader's sensibilities. In addition she was careful to choose as her characters Negroes of above average intelligence and deportment in contrast to a number of whites who were decidedly subnormal in every respect. Even though she understood that slavery was also an economic problem, she made her argument strictly on moral terms which are more readily adapted to fic-

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[93]Pease and Pease, Antislavery Argument, p. 105; Pattee, Feminine Fifties, pp. 570-572; Quinn, American Fiction, p. 160; Flory, Economic Criticism, p. 45; Mott, Golden Multitudes, p. 121.

tion. Mrs. Stowe's analysis was correct for she was accorded the type of response she sought. One effusive reader out of the many who wrote to her gushed:

> I thought I was a thorough-going abolitionist before, but your book has awakened so strong a feeling of indignation and of compassion that I never seem to have had any feeling on this subject until now.[94]

As far away as Siam, a wife of the king was so moved that she freed all her slaves and permanently added Mrs. Stowe's full name to her own.[95] Looking Backward, Philip Dru, and Caesar's Column all play upon the reader's fear of anarchy and his desire for security. In the latter novel, for instance, Donnelly announced as his purpose a warning to "the able and rich and powerful" that continued indifference to the economic and social problems of the underprivileged "must--given time and pressure enough--eventuate in the overthrow of society and the destruction of civilization."[96] The novelists studied also courted reader involvement by playing upon the universal appeals of romantic love and struggle or conflict.[97] In all

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[94]Charles Stowe, Stowe, pp. 160-161.

[95]Harriet Beecher Stowe, "The Story of Uncle Tom's Cabin," Old South Leaflets, IV (Boston: Directors of Old South Work, n.d.), p. 26.

[96]Donnelly, Caesar's Column, p. 3.

[97]Cf. Doob, Propaganda, p. 110; Lippmann, Public Opinion, pp. 162-164; Katz, Social Psychology, pp. 600-604; Doris E. Fleischman and Howard Walden Cutler, "Themes and Symbols," in The Engineering of Consent, ed. by Edward L. Bernays (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955); Harold Lasswell, Psychopathology and Politics (New York: Viking, 1960), p. 190. Hereinafter referred to as Psychopathology.

but two of the novels the development of at least one romantic relationship provides a subplot. In the two exceptions, White Jacket and The Ugly American, the thesis is presented in terms of the absorbing struggle of good to prevail in situations where wrong has official protection. Even so, in these two novels there are occasional romantic references. The reactions evoked by the novels using the affective appeals just described serve to confirm studies which show that emotionally oriented appeals are the most effective in cultivating positive responses.[98]

In order to influence a society propaganda must first gain acceptance by reflecting that society's "collective sociological presuppositions, its spontaneous myths and its broad ideologies."[99] These are shared by all members of society, including men of opposing political and class allegiances. To reflect these is necessary because in man's perception he instinctively looks for symbols in accord with the values established as acceptable by his culture. In other words, men do not see and next define but first they define

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[98]Hovland, "Effects of Mass Media," pp. 447-489.

[99]Ellul, Propaganda, pp. 38-39. This is also discussed in Part I of Chapter Three. Except where otherwise noted the information on which this present paragraph is based is drawn from the following: Lippmann, Public Opinion, pp. 81, 95; Katz, Social Psychology, p. 86; Lerner, Propaganda, pp. 346-347; Lasswell, Psychopathology, p. 203; Fleischman and Cutler, "Themes and Symbols," pp. 138-139; Doob, Propaganda, pp. 35-36; Blotner, Modern Political Novel, pp. 11-13; Spiller et al., Literary History, I, p. 991; Patrick Johns-Heine and Hans H. Gerthe, "Values in Mass Periodical Fiction," Public Opinion Quarterly, XIII (Spring, 1949), 105.

and then they see. When attempts are made to affect attitudes by means of propaganda then a manipulation of the "symbolic environment" is required. Symbols are used to elicit a reflexive attitude or mood related to a previously established referent. These symbols would, for instance, create a sense of fear, awe, compassion, respect, etc. Such reactions are able to be evoked because heroes and villains are meaningful figures for men even though such fictional characters are only employed in the symbolic spheres of life. In effect the function of symbols is to arouse stereotypes which are usually associated with value judgments, acquired by membership in a group, not demanding intellectual exertion in their acquisition and automatically self-producing with each specific stimulation. The composite of a society's stereotypes represents the world as its members understand it. Hence, a direct attack upon stereotypes often is reacted to as if it were an attack on the basis of men's universe. For these reasons the propaganda novelists studied did not attempt to repudiate prevalent stereotypes outright but instead employed them--and perhaps embroidered on them, as in the case of Uncle Tom's Cabin--in their efforts to reorient the attitudes of readers. In literature a mythology exists in which the same characters and situations continually recur. These mythic patterns are filled out with archetypal figures such as mother, father, wise elder, divine maiden, anima and so forth. The primary archetypal figure is, of course, the hero. In

almost all of the novels examined the hero is a strong, young male who possesses the qualities Americans admire: natural intelligence, sincerity, a capacity for hard work, and a sense of honor. The exception here is Uncle Tom, a venerable old man, who is in a sense both hero and wise elder. Divine maidens abound: Eliza in Uncle Tom's Cabin, Edith Leete in Looking Backward, Estella in Caesar's Column, Ana in The Jungle, and Rose of Sharon in The Grapes of Wrath, to name a few. In all of the novels the sympathetic archetypal figures represent those who bear the brunt of the problems presented. They are made to act under virtually impossible conditions, fraught with question, uncertainty, and self-doubt. Action is centered upon the quest for acceptable solutions. "The general and specific literary type does not question the ends of his society, but how to overcome obstacles in the achievement of these ends."[100] Significantly, this is true of all of the novels studied. While they are critical of important institutions of society (as in White Jacket and The Jungle)--or even of the entire economic system as in Looking Backward--all seek changes which, once realized, are expected to permit society to realize its existing ideals. In the Bellamy novel, in Caesar's Column, and in Philip Dru the ideal states described are represented as the realization of cherished values which could not survive under the old system. We may venture to assert, on the basis of our own experience, that the

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[100]Duncan, Language and Literature, p. 14.

effect upon the reader as he becomes involved in the struggles of the novels' characters to resolve these great public problems is the gradual increase of sympathy. Almost imperceptibly the reader's instinctive regard for these trial-ridden but virtue-laden characters appears to be transferred from the characters themselves to the ideas they represent. This subtle manipulation of stereotypes in the humanization of abstract ideas must be one of the most powerful advantages which propaganda novelists have over the techniques of other propagandists in the articulation of interests.

Of the authors whose work is considered here only Edward Bellamy has made known his thoughts on the methodology suited to propaganda novels.[101] He carefully considered how best to attract a receptive audience for his ideas. In doing so he endeavored to discover what factors go into popular literature. Consistent with what has been said above, he deliberately toned down his extensive vocabulary, eliminating words and phrases that would offend established prejudices. He believed that people do not object to new ideas so much as to ideas in disrepute. To that end, since "socialism" was in disrepute, he chose the term "Nationalism" to denote the type of socialism he espoused. He admitted to William Dean Howells that his radical ideas go even beyond those of most socialists. But the term "socialism" "'smells to the average American of

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[101]Morgan, Edward Bellamy, pp. 192-193; cf. Bowman, Proletarian Novel, p. 114.

petroleum, suggests the red flag and all manner of sexual novelties and an abusive tone about God and religion.'" Hence, the substitute, "Nationalism." In addition:

> The best effect on reasoning requires that it proceed from a basis of ideas already in the minds of those addressed, rather than from an artificial basis of definitions, however correct, to which the mind is not accustomed; and that, too, although the pre-existing basis be imperfect or indistinct. This course is the one followed by the mind itself in reasoning from old to new conclusions, and it seems to me should therefore be the model studied in seeking to lead other minds to similar conclusions.[102]

Overall, he observed that to be popular, one must appeal to those "'somewhere on the side of the hill'" rather than to the "'eminent'" but "'solitary'" eagles on the mountain tops.

Seen from one perspective, the interest articulation function of propaganda novels is submitted to rather rigorous tests which the more usual interest articulation channels need not undergo.[103] The novel submits social and political experience to a type of empirical analysis that would reveal the frequent casuistry of political speeches or editorials if they were to be inserted into the context of viable experience such as is found in the novel. It is just such experience that fiction attempts to portray. Abstract reasoning is more easily manipulated to fit one's ends than is the experiential evidence used in creating a novel.

The receptions accorded by readers to the novels as in-

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[102]Quoted by Morgan in Edward Bellamy from an unpublished paper by Bellamy.

[103]Philip Rahv, "Proletarian Literature: A Political Autopsy," Southern Review, IV (Winter, 1939), 627.

terest articulation instruments were probably to a significant extent attributable to the timing of their appearances. It is important to provoke the public when it is psychologically most receptive.[104] Uncle Tom's Cabin was perfectly timed so that as time passed it ignited the increasingly highly charged atmosphere surrounding the slavery question. Congress was split in half and a deep, though largely quiet, uneasiness was spreading over the nation. The novel's publication released the issue into broad, public debate and, so, was instrumental in precipitating the early coming of its ultimate resolution.[105] Looking Backward was another novel which pushed a simmering issue into the open. The late nineteenth century in America was a period of deep discontent which was widely attributed to class conflicts and the influence wielded by special interests in government. The Panic of 1873 had resulted in a rash of strikes and unemployment while the disruptive process of transition from a decentralized rural to a more centralized industrial society was proceeding in full gear. The Haymarket incident had seriously damaged the appeal of socialism until Looking Backward served to re-establish its reputation. The Bellamy novel captured the general atmosphere of discontent and proposed a plausible

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[104]Harvey, Technique of Persuasion, p. 194.

[105]Pattee, Feminine Fifties, pp. 137-138; Downs, Molders, p. 262; Van Doren, American Novel, p. 71.

solution for it.[106] Bellamy himself asserted that the book had been given such attention and the "Nationalist" Movement such support as a result of the existing ferment permeating the population. Caesar's Column, published during the same period, was a similar response to conditions. Its popularity may be presumed, therefore, to be based on comparable reactions by readers. Likewise The Jungle produced a great climax to a number of less effective efforts to call attention to abuses in the meat industry.[107] Earlier some interest was taken in the suspicion that soldiers in the Spanish-American War had been shipped "embalmed" beef. Muckrakers such as Charles Edward Russell had written on the Chicago packing plants and had been successful in provoking federal inspection. The report, which President Roosevelt had accepted, had cleared the "Beef Trust" until the publication of The Jungle made impossible the further evasion of the issue of reform. In 1939, the New York Times reported that the resentment against migrant labor had been steadily intensifying in California so that when The Grapes of Wrath focussed national publicity on the problem, Californians were brought "close to the boiling point."[108] And, finally, to take one more example,

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[106]Dorfman, Veblen, p. 70; Morgan, Edward Bellamy, Chapter 9; Edward Bellamy, "Looking Backward Again," North American Review, CL (March, 1890), pp. 351-353.

[107]Matthew Josephson, The President-Makers: 1896-1919 (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1940), pp. 111-112; Filler, Crusaders, pp. 161-162; Parrington, Main Currents, III, pp. 185-186; Fischer in Sinclair, The Jungle, p. xv.

[108]"The Okies Search for a Lost Frontier," New York Times, VII, August 27, 1939, p. 10; Bart Sheridan, "Steinbeck's Book

before the publication of The Ugly American foreign aid was undergoing scrutiny. The tempo of this increased after the novel became prominent and the direction of the inquiry shifted to emphasize problems featured in the novel such as the direction in American foreign policy, the waste in administration, the corruptness of management, and the isolated luxury in which Americans abroad were portrayed as living.[109] The roles played by these novels illustrate Jacques Ellul's assertion that propaganda may function in place of a leader.[110] In situations where no leader emerges but in which there is exposure to propaganda, the psychological and sociological results may sometimes be the same as if a leader were present. The novels here performed as leaders in that they verbalized and manifested underlying mass feelings and even drew up courses of action.

When propagandists have created a situation in which the desired responses might be expected, they generally attempt to impress on the public the connection between the goal they seek and the course of action advocated by means of which the goal is to be realized.[111] This is true of the novels examined. In White Jacket Melville describes how the traditional

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Irks California," ibid., IV, p. 10.

[109]Blotner, Modern Political Novel, p. 354; cf. Current Situation in the Far East; Situation in Vietnam, passim.

[110]Ellul, Propaganda, p. 211.

[111]Doob, Propaganda, p. 135.

relationships between officers and men operate to obfuscate or destroy the rights of sailors as human beings. In addition to his aforementioned supplication to the Secretary of the Navy, he devotes entire chapters to examinations of legislative precedent which appeal to lawmakers. In Uncle Tom's Cabin Mrs. Stowe waits until near the end before suggesting that this country could rid itself of its racial problem by promoting and subsidizing the return of Negroes to Africa. This solution is portrayed as being attractive to the freed slave, George, and his family even after reaching Canada. Looking Backward is almost totally devoted to a portrayal of the "Nationalist" solution to the problems of the day. Caesar's Column concentrates mostly upon showing the devastating consequences of taking no action and devotes only a brief final portion to depicting the utopian socialist haven established in Africa. The Jungle, The Fakers, Philip Dru, The Grapes of Wrath, and The Ugly American also take care to explain the problems and then to present a desirable solution. The fact that the solutions suggested in the novels were by and large ignored in the resolutions made, points up the role of the propaganda novels in the interest articulation subfunction primarily as instruments able to call attention to problems rather than as instruments providing solutions to these problems.

B. The Propaganda Novel "Institutionalized"

Any discussion of the interest articulation functions

performed by propaganda novels ought not to neglect the brief but significant phenomenon of the proletarian novel in the United States during the 1930's.[112] In order to treat the proletarian novel it is necessary to depart from our selection of novels because none of the proletarian novels appear to have generated political effects which the author could find evidence of in her research. However, it is worthwhile in this section to devote at least brief attention to the proletarian novel as a species of the propaganda novel since the literary-political movement of which these fifty or so novels were the visible product did make explicit its intent to use literature as a conscious instrument of interest articulation.

While the definition of the term, "proletarian literature," generated considerable dispute in the thirties, prominent critics were able to agree that the essential characteristic of all the novels was their conscientious use of the Marxist position in interpreting all the facets of life about which they were concerned.[113] A definite relationship between Marxism and art forms had been acknowledged by early leaders of the Communist Party: Lenin, Trotsky, and, in the United States, Earl Browder. Lenin had urged his followers to estab-

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[112] In addition to sources specifically noted, the discussion of the proletarian novel in this section is based upon Walter Rideout's full-scale treatment of the subject in The Radical Novel. Cf. V. F. Calverton, "Literature as a Revolutionary Force," Canadian Forum, XV (March, 1935), pp. 221-227.

[113] Krutch, "Literature and Propaganda," pp. 793-794.

lish the principle of Party literature according to which literary works would be accepted and evaluated in terms of their contribution to the objectives of the Party. In communist doctrine art, like all other areas of life, is determined by the interaction of economic forces which are manifested through the class struggle. Accordingly, any writers who attempt to be neutral toward the nature of the struggle suffer from bourgeois delusions. Hence, the value of any work of art depends upon its effectiveness in inculcating the importance of class struggle. Trotsky elaborated upon this, adding that writers and other artists who would come over to the Revolution would be permitted "complete self-determination in the field of art, after putting before them the categorical standard" of supporting the Party.[114] Browder explained that culture provides a unifying focus important in consolidating socialist forces.[115] Hence, writers whose deviations break party solidarity in the name of freedom in effect contributed to the destruction of "true" freedom. Such writers cannot be tolerated by the Party.

The American climate of the 1920's was not propitious for proletarian novels. The social conflicts of the Depression in the following decade, however, created an environment

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[114]Leon Trotsky, "Art and Politics," Partisan Review, V (August-September, 1938), p. 14. Cf. ----, Literature and Revolution (New York: Russell and Russell, 1937).

[115]Earl Browder, "The Writer in Politics," in The Writer in a Changing World, ed. by Henry Hart (New York: Equinox Corp., 1937), p. 54.

in which many writers were receptive to the explanations and solutions offered in communist doctrine. The failure of capitalism and the ensuing period of fear and doubt provided Communists here with an opportunity to test their theories. For the Party in the thirties "art was a form of politics; it was a weapon in the class war."[116] This was the role of the proletarian novels which, although they were described in sympathetic circles as class literature, were in practice Party literature in the sense described by Lenin, Trotsky, and Browder. The proletarian novels produced as part of the movement were distinguished by sharing in an international uniformity in which the integrating idea was that novelists were to write as the allies of workers, interpreting class struggle as the motive force behind modern conditions. Two important indications of the singular political nature of the Party's interest were that no aesthetic principle was established and that no boundaries were proposed to delimit separate spheres of interest for politics and art. Clearly the proletarian novels performed roles as agents of interest articulation for the programs and policies of the Communist Party.

The efforts of the proletarian novelists of the thirties may be seen as the American Marxists' reply to the question posed by Edward and Eleanor Marx Aveling in 1891: With such

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[116] Rideout, Radical Novel, p. 170. Cf. Bowman, Proletarian Novel, p. 65; Philip Rahv, "Proletarian Literature: A Political Autopsy," Southern Review, IV (Winter, 1939), pp. 616-620; Kazin, On Native Grounds, p. 378.

a powerful subject as class struggle at hand "where are the American writers of fiction? ... There are no studies of factory-hands and of dwellers in tenement houses.... Yet these types will be, must be dealt with; and one of these days the Uncle Tom's Cabin of Capitalism will be written."[117] The Avelings would have approved when in 1935 a Party-sponsored American Writers' Congress was called because, as its announcement proclaimed, hundreds of writers realized that they had a responsibility to help "accelerate the destruction of capitalism and the establishment of a workers' government."[118] The sloganeering of the proletarian literary movement underscores the novelists' understanding of their role: "Art is propaganda" and "Literature is a weapon." Accordingly, the proletarian novels written by these "artists in uniform" served as instruments for accusation, blame-casting and sanction in an effort to move people to take action. The Party took the position that in the end people must recognize that literature is in itself only significant insofar as it is able to induce people to act.[119] The long-range intent was, of course, to call upon writers again once a new regime had been installed in order to give it an aura of legitimacy by portraying the government as acting in the public interest.

The Communist Party attempted an "institutionalization

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[117] Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx Aveling, The Working-Class Movement in America (London: Swann Sonnenschein, 1891), pp. 17-18.

[118] "Call for an American Writers' Congress," New Masses, IX (January 22, 1935), p. 20.

[119] Duncan, Language and Literature, pp. 7-8.

of the proletarian novel" by means of successive organizations made up of writers who were party members and sympathizers.[120] In the early thirties a network of John Reed Clubs composed of writers and a culturally oriented publication, The New Masses, were effective arms of the Party. Actually the John Reed Clubs stemmed directly from a short-lived group, the Proletarian Artists and Writers League, which had been founded earlier in Moscow for American Writers. In 1930 representatives of the John Reed Clubs and The New Masses staff attended the Second World Conference of the International Union of Revolutionary Writers, which met in the Ukraine. In order to join the International Bureau the American representatives accepted provisions pledging loyalty to and willingness to fight in defense of the U.S.S.R. In this country the Clubs expanded until in 1934 there were about twelve hundred members in thirty chapters across the country. The Clubs served a dual purpose in that they provided a center for the planning of action and a number of them published little magazines which were a training ground for future novelists. The League of American Writers which was created to replace the John Reed Clubs differed in being centrally organized by the Party and in admitting nonproletarian writers. The League's policy reflected the Popular Front strategy adopted by the Party in combating the growth of fascism. The

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[120] Richard Wright, "I Tried to Be a Communist," Atlantic Monthly, CLXXIV (August, 1944), pp. 60-70; "The John Reed Club Convention," New Masses, VIII (July, 1932), pp. 14-15.

new members were to "'pledge themselves in their professional capacity, to support (the) fight against imperialist war and fascism; defend the Soviet Union...; for the development and strengthening of the revolutionary labor movement.'"[121] By formally organizing its propaganda efforts, therefore, the Party attempted to unify and to oversee the works of individual propaganda novelists.

The content of the proletarian novels of the thirties was marked by a high degree of uniformity.[122] This was not because coercion was applied since most of the novelists were fellow travelers rather than Party members. As a result, of course, they did not fall under its direct discipline. The similarity in their novels probably stemmed from the personal desire of authors to adhere to correct doctrine as a demonstration of their loyalty. The central theme found in them all was the inevitability of working class advances under the Communist Party leadership. The limited variations on this theme were found in four types of fiction: (1) strike novels, (2) development of class consciousness and conversion to communism novels, (3) middle-class decay novels, and (4) novels dealing with the lower classes. The proletarian novels adhered to Party doctrine and propaganda strategy by rejecting

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[121]Rideout, Radical Novel, pp. 239-242.

[122]Bowman, Proletarian Novel, p. 70; Eugene Holmes, "A Writer's Social Obligations," in The Writer in a Changing World, p. 176; Louis Adamic, "What the Proletariat Reads," Saturday Review, XI (December 1, 1934), p. 2.

the traditional literary emphasis on individual struggle and also precluded any other than the working classes from being sympathetically portrayed. The workers were invariably described as noble victims of an unjust system while the members of all the other classes were represented as ignoble pawns of reactionary forces. In effect the characters drawn were "mouthpieces" for political concepts rather than fully-developed fictional human beings whose characters were clarified by the insights provided by such concepts. Consistent with communist theory the novels reflect a deterministic philosophy of history. For instance, in them capitalism inevitably fails as a result of its inherent contradictions and its antithesis is created out of the great power of the masses. This created problems of a literary-political nature for the novelists, however, in that suitable endings were difficult to contrive. The development of the conclusions was considered an especially important matter in view of the accepted notion of art as a weapon. Novelists resolved the difficulty in many cases by describing the revolution in the midst of becoming. Such "revolutionary optimism" needed to be expressed, writers believed, in order not to lessen the impact of their argument by intruding suggestions of doubt or pessimism. As a consequence the present always had to be interpreted in terms of what was imminently about to appear. While it is impossible to know for certain, one may venture that the small number of sales (the average being between 1200 and 2700 books) and the limited library borrowing of proletarian novels on the whole

is in part attributable to the dogmatism and uniform lack of imagination or creativity of these novels.

The methodological weaknesses of the proletarian novels were not recognized by the movement's favorable literary critics who, to borrow Walter Rideout's analogy, tended to consider the novel and the strike bulletin as the same kinds of propagands weapons.[123] These critics, led by Granville Hicks and Michael Gold, bestowed enthusiastic approval upon obviously stilted prose and actively discouraged the writing of imaginative fiction. Hence, literary works were evaluated strictly in terms of their utility as propaganda and without regard for aesthetic standards. Granville Hicks, for example, judged "artistic" achievement according to a strictly mechanical Marxism in which literature and economics were directly related. He expected that character development in the novels should be described in terms of socioeconomic situations and that the working classes be treated with a total lack of objectivity. Support for Hicks' position is found in the conclusions drawn from a symposium on Marxist criticism. The justification given for the prevailing critical standard was that "'After all, revolutionary criticism, quite as much as revolutionary fiction, is a weapon in the class struggle.'"[124]

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[123]Farrell, Criticism, p. 46; Howard Fast, "Art and Politics," New Masses, LVIII (February 26, 1946), pp. 6-8; Joseph North, "No Retreat for Writers," ibid., pp. 8-10; Howard Lawson, "Art is a Weapon," ibid. (March 19, 1946), pp. 18-20.

[124]Rideout, Radical Novel, p. 225.

One incident in particular illustrating the power of this authoritative position involved the reaction to a statement in The New Masses by writer Albert Maltz who asserted that the central problem of Leftist writers stems from "'the vulgarization of the theory of art which lies behind left-wing thinking: namely, "art is a weapon."'"[125] The replies to the article so thoroughly blasted Maltz for his deviationism that he completely retrenched his position, even rebuking those who had risen to his defense. He entitled his capitulation, "Moving Forward."

From 1930 until 1935 the proletarian novel was an integral part of the Communist Party's revolutionary policy. Led by the unifying voice of The New Masses and the John Reed Clubs, novelists believed they were solidifying efforts to carry on the class struggle. All this changed, however, when the Popular Front policy demanded that Communist writers automatically align themselves with their heretofore antagonists in the New Deal, in capitalist circles, and in social reform movements. Literature ceased to be regarded as a class weapon against capitalism as an oppressor of the proletariat. It became instead, for the Party, a weapon against fascism as an oppressor of all classes. Although there had been some defections, a wholesale flight from the League of American Writers (the Popular Front successor to the John Reed Clubs) did not occur until the 1939 Nazi-Soviet

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[125] Ibid., p. 290.

Nonaggression Pact. At this point even Granville Hicks resigned from the Party with the poignant observation that the political experiences of the thirties taught literary men one important lesson: "'Politics is no game for a person whose attention is mostly directed elsewhere.'"[126] Under these disruptive circumstances the proletarian literature of the thirties died. Since that time the Party has redirected the interest it takes in writers. While art is no longer emphasized as a weapon, writers themselves are being used for this purpose. The Party actively seeks to use the names of writers as endorsements of policy. Thus, the dissolution of proletarian literature as a unified political force came in part by the desertion of writers but also from "political orders to commit suicide."[127] The brief history of this period, however, presents a clearcut instance wherein a major political movement utilized propaganda novels in an unsuccessful effort to serve the interest articulation function.

II. INTEREST AGGREGATION

The role of the propaganda novels studied in interest aggregation is next in importance to their interest articulation function and is closely related to their influence upon capabilities. Indeed the fact that the novels have contributed to the interest aggregation process is an indication

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[126] Ibid., p. 352.

[127] Rahv, "Proletarian Literature: A Political Autopsy," p. 625.

that they were able to wield an impact as interest articulators and, as a result, had to be taken into account in policy-making. Almond describes the function of interest aggregation as the conversion of "demands into general policy alternatives...."[128] This function is performed at a number of locations on all levels in the political system. Thus, on the lowest level, an individual considers a variety of ideas and circumstances before placing the demands before the political system. Within the system itself the interest aggregation system is recognized as so important that it warrants certain structures devoted either wholly or in significant part to its performance. Almond refers in particular to the political party as "the specialized aggregation structure of modern societies." However, he describes other structures--such as legislative committees conducting hearings--which perform the function as well. This portion of the paper will demonstrate how the novels studied have contributed to the interest aggregation process.

Almond asserts that interest aggregation may be conducted by all the kinds of structures carrying out interest articulation. He includes individuals here as structures and gives an example of a traditional society in which a king's minister would hear grievances and assemble them into some type of proposed policy. In our quite modern society the propaganda

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[128]Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics, Chapter V.

novelist may likewise absorb various analyses and criticisms of issues before incorporating them into his instrument of interest articulation--the novel. There is clear evidence that the authors studied did undergo such an aggregation process. Mrs. Stowe, for example, devotes an entire book to a detailed presentation of the exact factual sources out of which Uncle Tom's Cabin was created.[129] In particular she drew upon Theodore Weld's Slavery As It Is as well as upon the experience of the fugitive slave, Frederick Douglass, with whom she was acquainted. Among the socialist writers whose ideas were assimilated by Edward Bellamy none was more important than Laurence Gronlund from whose Cooperative Commonwealth Bellamy drew heavily.[130] Ironically the significance of Gronlund's work as viewed in retrospect has been assessed not only in terms of its own merit, but in terms of its having contributed to the more influential advocate of socialism, Looking Backward. The system proposed by Bellamy was itself an aggregate of Marxist socialism and Christian values interpreted in a setting of American democratic ideals. The class struggle was eschewed in favor of a unanimous resolution to extend democracy into economic spheres.

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[129]Harriet Beecher Stowe, A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin (London: Thomas Bosworth, 1853), passim; Furnas, Goodby Uncle Tom, p. 24; cf. Theodore Weld, Slavery As It Is (New York: American Anti-Slavery Society, 1839).

[130]Spiller et al., p. 990; P.E. Maher, "Laurence Gronlund: Contributions to American Socialism," Western Political Quarterly, XV (December, 1962), pp. 618-621; Taylor, Economic Novel, pp. 193-194; cf. Harold V. Rhodes for a discussion of the philosophical underpinnings of Bellamy's thought: Utopia in American Political Thought (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1967).

The philosophy of Upton Sinclair expressed in The Jungle was an aggregate of the Christian ethic and Marxism.[131] His factual understanding of packing-house operations and conditions drew heavily on the information supplied him by a British expert, Adolph Smith. From these sources the novelists themselves aggregated the ideas and facts incorporated in their propaganda novels.

The novels studied were not only the products emerging from the aggregative processes of their authors but they also contributed to the aggregation of ideas by readers when forming their opinions. For instance, the profound impact of Uncle Tom's Cabin upon European public opinion is said to have contributed to the refusal of their governments to grant the Confederacy complete recognition as an independent state.[132] While the slavery issue was not by any means all that prevented intervention by the British and the French it was a "major factor." The Europeans did not question Mrs. Stowe's interpretation of the issue, thinking that as an American she was qualified to know. A novel contributes to the aggregation processes of individuals by setting ideas to be considered and by offering a judgment as well. The reader's awareness of problems and possibilities is intensified. According to James Farrell, "It provides its audience with additional

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[131]Sinclair, Brass Check, p. 28; Fischer in Sinclair, The Jungle, p. xv.

[132]Stern, Annotated Uncle Tom's Cabin, pp. 7-8; cf. Pattee, Feminine Fifties, p. 134.

equipment in proceeding with their own lives, and in the outward extension of their interests."[133]

The major roles of aggregating articulated interests into policy choices are performed by the bureaucracy and the political party.[134] These structures not only furnish links between decision makers and interest groups but also are themselves able to aggregate, to articulate, and then to transmit interests.

As previously mentioned, in modern societies the political party is considered to be "the specialized aggregation structure."[135] Parties develop where the interests articulated in society are too various or too numerous to be resolved informally. In a two-party system new parties may be said to form where interests emerge which cannot immediately be absorbed by the existing party alignment. This was apparently the case in the birth of the "Nationalist" Party and the active participation of "Nationalists" in the People's Party during the 1890's. Looking Backward was begun by Bellamy as "'a social fantasy, a fairy tale of social felicity.'"[136] It

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[133]Farrell, Criticism, p. 177.

[134]Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics, pp. 100-102. The bureaucracy will be considered in the section on rule application.

[135]Ibid., p. 102.

[136]Information on the 'Nationalist' Party is drawn from: Parrington, Main Currents, III, p.303; Mott, Golden Multitudes, p. 169; Taylor, Economic Novel, p.188; Morgan, Edward Bellamy, pp. 246-297; Franklin, "Nationalist Movement," pp. 739-772; Bowman, Proletarian Novel, pp. 121-133; Van Wyck Brooks, New England Indian Summer (New York: E. F. Dutton, 1940), p. 385.

was completed as a definite program for economic reorganization which came to be "the textbook of Nationalism." The novel stimulated the social gospel and Christian Socialist movements but the major political parties were not immediately receptive. In order to realize their program the "Nationalists" moved beyond their propaganda phase described in the section on interest articulation. Roughly from 1891 to 1896 they entered more fully into the political arena by means of political action channeled through the "Nationalist" Party. Their platforms were defined on the basis of policies suggested by Looking Backward and they included civil service reform, referendum and recall, compulsory education, and government ownership of various public utilities and basic industries. In Massachusetts "Nationalists" succeeded in gaining passage for a bill to allow municipal ownership of gas and electric facilities. Sixteen towns began to adopt such an arrangement. Before the appearance of Looking Backward the consideration of such a plan was virtually unknown. But by the late 1890's large governmental units across the country were considering the possibility. It would be difficult to avoid paying tribute to the role of Looking Backward, which sold over 500,000 copies during that period and which was the source of a fund of ideas the spread of which was reinforced by the activities of the "Nationalists." When a "Nationalist" state ticket was drawn up in 1891 in Rhode Island Bellamy declared that "'the Nationalist party is the legitimate heir to the principles and spirit of the patriots of 1776.'" Tickets were also put for-

ward in Cleveland where the Rhode Island "Nationalist" platform was adopted. In Chicago "Nationalists" combined with Socialists to present a slate. Candidates for legislative seats in a number of states as well as Congressional candidates in Michigan and California were voted upon although none appear to have won election.

The "Nationalists" were also important contributors to the establishment of the People's Party. In 1891 the platform drawn up at the founding meeting of this Party consisted largely of "Nationalist policies." Significantly Looking Backward had been most popular in the areas responsive to populism: the Pacific, the Middle West, and the trans-Mississippi states. Even so the People's Party was active in other states such as in Massachusetts where "Nationalists" dominated its ranks. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch commented on this, stating that the principles of the two parties were almost identical. It went on to say that

> this is not wholly the result of accidental parallelism of thought. It is largely due to the study of Bellamy's Looking Backward by the farmers. He has sown the seeds of socialism in the rich soil of discontent, and the first practical manifestation of the socialistic spirit is the platform of the People's party.[137]

In effect, according to observers, the Populists were carrying the "Nationalist" banner except for their advocacy of free silver which Bellamy rejected as a false issue. The movement grew strong enough to poll over a million votes for its presi-

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[137]Morgan, Edward Bellamy, p. 280; cf. ibid., pp. 275-276. The Populist Party was occasionally referred to as the People's Party.

dential candidate while electing several Congressmen and Senators. After this the major political parties began to take into account the appeal of the Populists. The Democratic Party met the challenge by absorbing the key Populist and "Nationalist" programs. The Populists and "Nationalists" were not well enough established to survive this raiding process. But as a result such ideas as the recall and referendum and municipal ownership which gained prominence through the movement associated with Looking Backward were absorbed into the political mainstream where many were eventually enacted into law. Thus, the political system was forced to readjust and to absorb the dysfunctional influences created by the presence of a threatening third political party.

The Grapes of Wrath contributed indirectly to the aggregation process chiefly as manifested in legislative consideration of the migrant labor problem. According to one journal the Steinbeck novel has "posed a question which has caused countless thousands who were moved by The Grapes of Wrath" to want to know what solutions were being pursued.[138] They learned that action was initiated on both state and federal levels. In California the state government was barraged with pressure to act.[139] The new governor, Culbert L. Olson, was

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[138]"Okie Remedies," Newsweek, XV (February 12, 1940), p. 18. Cf. McWilliams, "What's Being Done About the Joads?," pp. 178-179; Morris, Postscript to Yesterday, p. 169.

[139]"California Replies to Steinbeck," p. 17.

eager to remove the slur on his state's reputation. To that end he submitted a number of legislative proposals specifically directed at bettering the labor camp conditions. However, little of his program survived a legislature under pressure from the Associated Farmers. The governor then had to turn to federal action. This was favored by such groups as the Chamber of Commerce which drew up a study as its "answer to John Steinbeck's Grapes of Wrath." This was a program calling for increased federal aid including action by the National Resources Planning Board to return migrants to their places of origin. President Roosevelt responded initially by appointing a committee to look into the conditions of agricultural laborers--a state coordinating committee was called to deal with this--and later by programs described in the section on rule-making.

On the federal level the House committee of John R. Tolan commenced an investigation which was in part conducted in Tulsa and created considerable resentment there.[140] The Oklahoma governor had a report prepared in advance which was to refute the 'Okies' tale for the Congressmen. As the hearing progressed local newspapers kept readers "alert to Steinbeck's guilt." The Daily Oklahoman charged that "'the fictional Joad family of The Grapes of Wrath could be matched in any state of the union, according to testimony.'"[141] During the

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[140]"Help for the Joads," p. 622; "Migration," Survey, LXXVII (February, 1941), pp. 59-60.

[141]Quoted in Shockley, "Reception," pp. 355-356.

committee's Washington hearings the Secretary of Labor criticized federal labor laws for failing to cover farm workers. The Committee concluded that the problem was a national one and as such required a broad scale attack.

Meanwhile, not to be outdone, the Senate's Civil Liberties Committee headed by Robert La Follette was given $50,000 to extend its investigation to cover the activities of the Associated Farmers, the group that had attempted to suppress distribution of The Grapes of Wrath in California.[142] The Committee specifically dealt with the treatment of "Okies" by members of that group, as well as by sheriffs and other public officials. Pundits expected that the committee would be "'tramping out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored.'"[143] While Governor Olson forthrightly testified that the civil liberties of California farm workers had been violated by both public officials and the Associated Farmers members, governors Robert T. Jones of Arizona and Charles A. Sprague of Oregon declined to appear before the Committee, asserting that no civil liberties had been infringed in their states. Testimony was taken, in addition, from the federal Secretaries of Labor and Agriculture. The former advised the

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[142]Cf. Chapter One in the discussion of the regulative capability. "Liberties Inquiry to Add Senator," New York Times, August 12, 1939, p.13; "C.I.O. Entry Fought in Building Field," ibid., August 8, 1939, p. 7; "Sideshows," Time, XXXIV (August 21, 1939), p. 10; "Trampling Grapes of Wrath," pp. 40-41; "California Replies to Steinbeck," p. 17.

[143]"Grapes of Wrath," Current History, p. 10.

extension of both the Wage-Hour Law and social security legislation. The latter sought increased appropriations for rural rehabilitation.

When The Ugly American appeared its potential in the aggregation function was predicted by The New Republic in an article which referred to both it and Listen, Yankee:

> It is fortunate that these two books appeared close to the time of a change of Administrations, for they could be of great assistance to Mr. Kennedy in fighting off the spoilsmen in the Democratic Party.... So the jolt that the books have administered just as [the Democrats] are taking office again may have a salutary effect.[144]

The disturbance created in the press by the novel was echoed in Congress. Senator Fulbright was moved to defend the Foreign Service. He advised his fellow senators who had been praising such novels that their encouragement might well produce another example of that genre entitled The Ugly Senator. Fulbright protested that The Ugly American, which had grown into "'a minor polemic in many world capitals,'" greatly exaggerated the weaknesses of the Service.[145] Subsequent to this, however, Fulbright wrote a letter to Secretary of State Dulles insisting that the Senate would hereafter expect only "first-rate Ambassadors in every post."[146] He specifically

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[144]Johnson, "Banana Peels," p. 8.

[145]"Fulbright Attacks," p. 13.

[146]"Text of Letter from Fulbright to Dulles," New York Times, February, 10, 1959, p. 5.

suggested that the Administration resist the political pressures for ambassadorial appointments. The incompetence of ambassadorial appointees had been a particular target of The Ugly American. The novel portrayed the ambassador to sensitive Sarkhan as being given his appointment as a political sop after his incompetence had led to his loss of public office. He not only did not speak Sarkhanese but had never heard of the country before being assigned to represent the United States there. The difficulties which the novel describes as resulting from the ambassador's inability to speak or to understand the language of his assigned country raised questions in the minds of readers, including, it appears, the mind of the novel's critic, Senator Fulbright. In his letter to Dulles, Fulbright specified several factors, all dealt with in the novel, to be given weight in ambassadorial appointments: (1) linguistic ability, (2) administrative ability, (3) ability to make friends, and (4) the depth and nature of the candidate's interest both in foreign affairs and in the country to which he would be assigned. Subcommittees of both the Senate and the House were moved to initiate hearings on the Foreign Service operation in Southeast Asia after a blistering series of articles in the Scripps-Howard newspapers which appeared to give a factual endorsement to the Lederer and Burdick presentation.[147] Both committees conducted hearings in Washington and in Saigon. On announcing his commit-

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[147]Cf. Current Situation in the Far East and Situation in Vietnam, passim.

tee's intention to go into the field, Rep. Wayne Hays said that they would check every person in overseas Foreign Service positions "'to see what kind of Americans this country is sending abroad.'"[148] During the course of the hearings Rep. Hays urged the State Department to avoid compound housing for personnel, recommending instead that Americans living throughout the city would achieve better social relations with the people of the country.[149] In the course of the hearings State Department personnel presented a strong defense so that the final reports of both hearings noted faults but paid tribute to the general operation policies of the Foreign Service. Specific changes which did come out of this public exposure of problems will de described in the section on rule-making.

The styles of interest aggregation Almond describes may to some extent be applied to the propaganda novels studied.[150] The novels do not reflect a pragmatic-bargaining approach seeking compromise but are absolute-value oriented--i.e., they reflect the conviction that compromise is unacceptable where their particular values are at stake. The Jungle and The Grapes of Wrath devote no sympathy to their characterizations of the employer classes. Even in Uncle Tom's Cabin where a

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[148]"Study of Overseas Aides Set," New York Times, July 15, 1959, p. 7.

[149]"Envoys' Housing Hit," ibid., July 15, 1959, p. 7.

[150]Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics, pp. 108-109.

few slave-owners are depicted as being of honorable intent the system itself is presented as being so thoroughly evil that no such good intentions can ameliorate its operation.

As is evident from the foregoing, several propaganda novels have played roles in the interest aggregation function. The authors of the novels themselves were influenced by a number of sources in formulating their arguments. The novels created public effects which resulted in consideration of issues by aggregation structures such as legislative committees. In addition one novel, Looking Backward, was the primary impetus behind the erection of a political party, which Almond considers the specialized aggregation structure. The roles played by the novels in interest aggregation supplemented and complemented their performances of the interest articulation function.

III. RULE-MAKING

In the rule-making function the propaganda novels examined have played three roles. The first is that of public advocate in behalf of proposed rules. The role of The Jungle in securing the legislation enacting the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 was described in Chapter One. The response which met the public outcry stimulated by The Grapes of Wrath was an executive order that several relief efforts be expanded.[151]

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[151]Franklin Roosevelt, Papers, VIII, pp. 574-576; Morris, Postscript to Yesterday, p. 169; Gurko, Popular Mind, p. 283.

For instance the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation was assigned to purchase food for distribution to drought victims. The W.P.A. was to give special attention "to projects where there are many needy families because of drought." In addition the enrollment quotas of the C.C.C. were refigured to allow for the relief needs of drought-stricken states and federal camps were set up to house migratory laborers. These and other programs constituted the federal executive rule-making response to meet the problems of the migratory workers as spotlighted by The Grapes of Wrath. A more recent example is The Ugly American which President Kennedy acknowledged in his Los Angeles speech and to its authors as the stimulus behind his launching of the Peace Corps.[152]

The second rule-making role performed by a propaganda novel occurred when White Jacket acted as a private prod upon the consciences of elite members. As such the novel exercised influence on the elites in Congress who exercised rule-making power to remedy the problems dealt with in the novel. As evidence of this, Admiral Samuel R. Franklin states:

> Melville wrote a book, well known in its day, called White Jacket, which had more influence in abolishing corporal punishment in the Navy than anything else. This book was placed on the desk of every member of Congress, and was a most eloquent appeal.... As an evidence of the good it did, a law was passed soon after the book appeared abolishing flogging in the Navy absolutely...and this was exactly in accord with Melville's appeal.[153]

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[152] Lederer letter to author.

[153] Franklin, Memories, p. 64; cf. Hunt, "Herman Melville as Naval Historian," pp. 28-30; Louis Untermeyer, Makers of the Modern World (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1955), p. 52.

The third role in rule-making is confined to one novel considered here: Philip Dru: Administrator by Colonel Edward M. House, close adviser to President Wilson and, later, to President Franklin Roosevelt. The significance of this novel lies in its revelation or confirmation of Colonel House as a key source of decision-making influence during the Wilson tenure. Substantiating this is an entry from the diary of Secretary of the Interior, Franklin K. Lane:

> But he [Wilson] likes the idea of personal party-leadership--Cabinet responsibility is still in his mind. Colonel House's book, Philip Dru, favors this and all that book has said should be comes about slowly, even woman suffrage. The President comes to Philip Dru in the end. And yet they say that House has no power.[154]

While Wilson served as House's real-life Philip Dru, it was a topic for commentary how accurately the novel outlined the larger policy directions taken by the two men. Associates of Wilson were struck by "the degree in which the novel seemed to shape the President's thought."[155] During his Administration the policies initiated that had been proposed in the novel included: (1) passage of a tariff law as a step toward abolishing protection, (2) a graduated income tax, (3) a banking law offering flexible currency based upon commercial assets, and others. Although House's novel may not have been

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[154]Anne Wintermute Lane and Louise Herrick Hall, eds., The Letters of Franklin K. Lane (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1922), p. 297. Cf. Smith, Mr. House, p. 170; Parrington, Main Currents, III, p. 170.

[155]Josephson, President-Makers, pp. 466-467. Cf. Blotner, Modern Political Novel, p. 145.

the only factor influencing Woodrow Wilson on these issues, at least it was a significant one. In this role, as well as in its roles as public advocate and private prod, the propaganda novels studied have participated in the rule-making function.

IV. RULE-APPLICATION

The rule-application function is most heavily concentrated in bureaucratic governmental structures.[156] The day-to-day conduct of policy depends upon bureaucrats' interpretations of the statutory provisions. The complicated nature of the stututory interpretation function leaves important areas of discretion open to bureaucrats. In these areas the novels examined may be seen to have worked their influence on rule-appliers in the same manner that they affected rule-makers. In The American Federal Executive, the authors' composite portrait is of men who are well-educated and highly motivated.[157] The study of the undergraduate education of foreign service and political executives reveals that substantial percentages of each studied the humanities and the behavioral sciences. These areas, of course, deal with the kinds of human and social problems which the novels discuss. Thus, one may conjecture that, being predisposed to be concerned with

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[156] Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics, pp. 142-158.

[157] W. Lloyd Warner, Paul Van Riper, Norman Martin, and Orvis B. Collins, The American Federal Executive (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), Chapter Twelve.

such problems, at least some of these men, like other elite members, have read propaganda novels and been influenced in one direction or another by the interpretations presented.

Even though they may not have been personally exposed to the novels bureaucrats and enforcement officers have certainly had to react to their impact. After Uncle Tom's Cabin gained currency its most immediate effect was to make the Fugitive Slave Law unenforceable. A near-unanimous attitude approving noncooperation with the law's provisions grew outside the South.[158] In the 1906 Report of the Department of Agriculture progress was noted in stepping up meat inspection efforts as a result of "recent agitation and investigations relating to some of the packing house methods."[159] The Grapes of Wrath also precipitated a bureaucratic response. In a program of state and federal cooperation the California Department of Public Health worked with the Federal Farm Security Administration and Public Health Service to relieve "the acute health problems of the Grapes of Wrath migrant agricultural workers in California."[160] And finally, the charges pressed by The Ugly American in its direct attack on the foreign service personnel policies and practices instigated changes by that branch of the

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[158] Downs, Molders, p.264; Rourke, Trumpets of Jubilee, p. 109.

[159] Annual Reports of the Department of Agriculture for the Year Ending June 3, 1906 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), pp. 22-24.

[160] "Grapes of Wrath Migrants Get Help Through Association," Science News Letter, XXXVII (January 13, 1940), p. 22; McWilliams, "What's Being Done About the Joads?," p. 179.

bureaucracy. Arguments favoring the changes were reinforced by former government officials such as Charles W. Thayer and James L. McCamy who published articles in Harper's dealing with attitudinal and other obstructions ingrained in the State Department and the Foreign Service that would make change difficult.[161] While many problems portrayed by the novel were not substantiated by the ensuing congressional investigations, Lederer and Burdick were firmly upheld in their charges that officers lacked training in foreign languages. Congress set up an appropriation to step up language instruction following the hearings. Harold B. Hoskins, the Director of the Foreign Service Institute of the State Department, wrote to Lederer and Burdick that the impact of The Ugly American had resulted in the doubling of his funds and had stimulated a noticeable increase in the number of foreign service students.[162] On another occasion Hoskins spoke at length about language training. He defended the past record, saying: "'We did a very considerable amount of training...before The Ugly American came on the scene.'" Then changing the direction of his argument, he added: "'At this point, I might ask, what is the answer to this "ugly American problem" about better representation abroad...?'" The answer he proposed lay in the train-

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[161]James L. McCamy, "Rebuilding the Foreign Service," Harper's, CCXIX (November, 1959), pp. 80-84; Charles W. Thayer, "Our Ambassadors," ibid. (September, 1959), pp. 29-35.

[162]Lederer letter to author.

ing process.[163] Improvement in language skills was manifested reasonably soon. In 1958 a survey by the New York Times had revealed that over 50% of Foreign Service officers had no foreign language speaking knowledge. By 1961 only 15% were untrained.[164] Bureaucrats in the Department of State and in A.I.D. were placed under considerable pressure by the public and elite reactions to The Ugly American.[165] Thus, rule-application is no more isolated from the impact of propaganda novels than is rule-making.

V. RULE-ADJUDICATION

The rule-adjudication function described by Almond refers primarily to the roles of the decision-makers in the judicial branch. The study by Glendon Schubert, Judicial Policy-Making, shares the structural-functional approach taken by Almond.[166] The judges' personal values are a prime influence upon the psychological processes involved in decision-making by every judge. Both Schubert and Almond stress the impact of lifelong

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[163]Harold B. Hoskins, "Are American Foreign Service Officers Adequate?" Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCXXX (July, 1960), pp. 22-28.

[164]"U.S. Envoys Gain in Language Skills," New York Times, November 19, 1959, p. 1; "How Representative is the 'Ugly American'?" p. 17.

[165]E. Grant Meade, political scientist and personal friend of William Lederer, in a conversation with the author, January 17, 1968.

[166]Glendon Schubert, The Political Role of the Courts: Judicial Policy-Making (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1965), pp. 3, 113-114; Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics, p. 65.

socialization processes upon the development of personal value systems. Schubert asserts that values are shaped by experiences throughout a judge's lifetime. Judges, then, like rule-makers and rule-appliers, may be seen as susceptible to the influence which a propaganda novel is capable of providing. For instance, the majority of Supreme Court judges have come from either the landed aristocracy or the professional upper middle classes. Such backgrounds do not as a rule provide personal experience with some major social problems. Propaganda novels which gain popular currency and are widely read are likely to be read by judges as well as by other people. Through such novels as The Jungle or The Grapes of Wrath judges may assimilate valuable vicarious experience. Apart from this speculation, however, almost no evidence exists which affirms that significant roles have been played by novels in rule-adjudication. Propaganda novels have been called to the attention of the judiciary, however, as in the case of a letter from Theodore Roosevelt to William Howard Taft commenting upon the influence of Upton Sinclair's The Jungle.[167] In addition Felix Frankfurter is said to have admired the concepts in the copy of Philip Dru which he was given by Colonel House.[168] During the period preceding the Civil War a Negro minister was sentenced to a prison by a court in Maryland for

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[167]Theodore Roosevelt, Letters, V, pp. 183-184.

[168]Smith, Mr. House of Texas, p. 369.

having in his possession a copy of Uncle Tom's Cabin.[169] As is evident by these somewhat isolated instances, the propaganda novels studied have played only small roles in the rule-adjudication process.

From the foregoing the role of the propaganda novels studied in the conversion process should be evident. Clearly the novel exercises its preeminent political function in the input subfunctions of interest articulation and, following from this, interest aggregation. The methods by which the novels as interest articulators are able to shape readers' attitudes and positions were identified and assessed. The additional contributions of the novels to the rule-making, rule-application, and rule-adjudication subfunctions were also discussed. The rule-making subfunction was performed by the novels as they influenced both the public and governmental elites to recognize and act upon the problems with which they dealt. In the performance of the rule-application subfunction bureaucrats and other public officials responded in their various capacities to the impacts of the novels upon public and elite opinion. The rule-adjudication subfunction was also touched upon in isolated cases. Clearly this latter is the area in which the novels have stimulated the fewest and the least significant visible effects. It is evident that the novels' roles in these three subfunctions may be traced to the

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[169]Mott, Golden Multitudes, p. 120; Furnas, Goodby Uncle Tom, pp. 61-62.

public and elite responses to the novels in their interest articulation capacity.

CHAPTER THREE
THE PROPAGANDA NOVEL AND THE SYSTEM MAINTENANCE AND ADAPTATION FUNCTION

Almond's third major category of functions is system maintenance and adaptation. This entails the socialization and recruitment subfunctions which indirectly shape the conversion and capabilities processes. Initial consideration will be given the relationship of the propaganda novels studied to the political culture which is, in essence, the system being maintained. Next the role of the novels in socialization and recruitment will be discussed.

I. POLITICAL CULTURE

According to Almond, political culture refers to the political system in its psychological aspects--i.e., it denotes "the pattern of individual attitudes and oreintations toward politics among members of a political system."[1] This pattern sets perimeters around the ends and processes approved by society thereby delimiting to some extent the terms in which policy debate is conducted. In identifying the components of a particular political culture, Almond cites the principal tools as public opinion and attitude surveys. To these he adds the clues to be extracted from public statements, myths, and legends. While accurate analysis of these is full of dangers, the importance of understanding the character of a culture is such that great effort is warranted even if only to

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[1]Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics, p. 50; Chapter III.

retrieve "relatively reliable information about it."[2] The effort is rewarded when the researcher is able to identify the values, skills, beliefs, and attitudes which permeate the whole population as well as those associated with subcultures.

The study of the propaganda novel as a genre contributes to political culture research in that its contents furnish clues to the character of a given political culture configuration. The study of such novels reveals attitudes toward and beliefs about the political system as well as the relation between the system as a whole and its parts. Art forms such as the novel are sources of biographical, historical, sociological, psychological--and, we may add, political--knowledge which may be used in learning about the past, in understanding the present, and in projecting the future.[3] As was explained in Chapter Two, propagandists of all types, including novelists, recognize that, in order to achieve acceptance and support, propaganda works must be in harmony with the underlying psycho-sociological bases of the society they attempt to affect.[4] This is evident in the novels studied even though in almost every case they advocate important changes. The example given earlier was that of Bellamy who sought a complete transformation from a capitalistic to a socialistic

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[2]Ibid., p. 51.

[3]Gotschalk, Art and Order, p. 219.

[4]Ellul, Propaganda, pp. 28-39.

economic system. He was able to win widespread sympathy because he portrayed the need for change in the light of the better realization of established American ideals. Here and in the other novels, literary works have served to transmit cultural traditions which would, of course, include political culture.[5] The propaganda novel, therefore, provides an additional source of information for the investigator seeking to understand the American political culture.

Certain products of literature attain the status of social documents in that the nature of the portrayal completely captures the essential spirit and feel of a period and its issues.[6] Uncle Tom's Cabin and The Grapes of Wrath have both attained such a status because the image projected by each as viewed in an historical perspective brings to mind the entire sequence of events surrounding the major issues in which they were prominent. Ultimately both novels have come to symbolize those periods and those issues. Uncle Tom's Cabin is identified with abolition while The Grapes of Wrath is identified with migratory labor. In order to study such novels in their roles as social documents, Nelson Blake asserts that they need

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[5]Taylor, Economic Novel, p. 13; Edward Bellamy, "The Progress of Nationalism in the United States," North American Review, CLIV (June, 1892), pp. 742-743; Duncan, Language and Literature, p. 4.

[6]Bentwich, "Novel as Political Force," p. 773; Richard Hofstadter, Great Issues in American History (2 vols.; New York: Vintage, 1958), I, pp. 330-333. Hofstadter also cites Looking Backward as a "document" in vol. II, pp. 79-87. Cf. Joseph Warren Beach, American Fiction (New York: Macmillan, 1942), p.345; Milton C. Albrecht, "The Relationship of Literature and Society," American Journal of Sociology, LIX (March, 1954), p. 426.

only to be submitted to the same critical standards as other types of sources: (1) know about the author and his biases, (2) learn to distinguish when he is drawing on his own experiences and when he is drawing on those of others, and (3) estimate the probable accuracy of particular statements made in his novel.[7] Blake's choice of an example to illustrate his argument is unfortunate, however. He refers to the description in The Jungle of doctoring meat as a probable exaggeration which should be discounted in the light of Sinclair's socialist bias. Actually the portrayal was factually substantiated by the Neill-Reynolds Report in which conditions were evaluated in terms even more reprehensible than Sinclair depicted. Not only The Jungle but also others of the novels can claim a respectable level of factual accuracy. John G. Whittier wrote to Mrs. Stowe that a friend had been reading Uncle Tom to the daughters of twenty New Orleans slave holders and all "'with one accord pronounced it true.'"[8] When The Grapes of Wrath was the center of controversy, academic specialists in Oklahoma and in Claifornia testified that all the social data of which they were aware confirmed the accuracy of Stein-

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[7]Nelson Manfred Blake, "How to Learn History from Sinclair Lewis and Other Uncommon Sources," in American Character and Culture, ed. by John A. Hauge (Deland, Fla.: Everett Edwards Press, 1964), pp. 39-41. Hereafter cited as "How to Learn History." One might add to these that the information found in a novel ought to be compared to treatments of the same subject matter in other sources.

[8]Charles Stowe, Stowe, p. 162.

beck's novel as "'substantially reliable.'"[9] The factual accuracy of The Ugly American, while not consistently high if the Congressional hearings are a valid indication, is based upon direct portrayals in a number of instances. The first ambassador, "Lucky Louis" Sears, was a composite of two actual ambassadors. The Deputy Chief of the Mission was directly drawn from an individual holding that position. The character Colonel Hillandale was based upon Brigadier General Edward Lansdale. And a famous incident in which the backs of the people were straightened when they were taught to use longer broom handles was taken from the experience of Mrs. Ellsworth Bunker in India.[10] Blake's point, then, is well-taken and, if accepted, extends the range of the researcher in interesting new directions.

Several scholars have advocated that historians and sociologists ought to draw upon literature in making certain types of analyses.[11] Literature, like other manifestations of cul-

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[9]Shockley, "Reception," p. 352; Leon Whipple, "Novels on Social Themes," Survey Graphic, XXVIII (June, 1939), p. 401.

[10]Meade conversation with author.

[11]Blake, "How to Learn History," p. 47; Guerard, Literature and Society, p. 339; Lowenthal, Literature and Society, pp. 141-144; Milton C. Albrecht, "Does Literature Reflect Common Values?" American Sociological Review, XXI (December, 1956), pp. 722-729. Hereinafter referred to as "Common Values." Cf. Wilson D. Wallis, An Introduction to Anthropology (New York: Harper, 1926), p. 452; Newton Arvin, "Fiction Mirrors America," Current History, XLII (September, 1935), pp. 610-616; Milton C. Albrecht, "The Relationship of Literature and Society," American Journal of Sociology, LIX (March, 1954), p. 431. Hereinafter referred to as "Literature and Society."

ture, reflects a people's distinctive conduct, its values and attitudes as well as the material aspects of its existence. The values, attitudes, beliefs, and skills found in the propaganda novels studied reflect the political values and expectations of the people as a whole in several respects. For one thing, the novels reflect what Almond and Verba call the "participant" nature of American culture.[12] The authors perform participant roles in that their writing involves the articulation of a demand that the input structures and processes deal with an issue. In addition the novels examined reflect the optimism which Almond cites as characteristic of Americans, who, with boundless faith in the efficacy of effort and goodwill, launch all projects with a view to speedy resolution. In the opinion of the researcher, the fact that the novels were written in the first place indicates their authors' basic assumption that once problems are clearly recognized they can be resolved. In most of the novels studied the conclusions indicate that if only certain legislation were passed or certain policies reformulated a major problem would be resolved. The novels end in hope when they do not end in victory.

According to Leo Lowenthal, literature furnishes exceptional insights into the nature of a society when it describes the ways in which literary characters dissent from the social

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[12]Almond and Verba, Civic Culture, pp. 17-21; Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics, p. 53; Almond, Foreign Policy, pp. 43, 50-51.

order.[13] The novels considered here reenforce Lowenthal's assertion in that they all reflect the largely positive orientations of Americans toward change through peaceful political means. John Steinbeck might have been considered a proletarian writer except for the fact that he implicitly sought state action rather than violent revolution in resolving the problems dealt with in The Grapes of Wrath.[14] Sinclair went further in advocating a change of systems but the tenor of his work indicates that he wanted it to be accomplished through established political processes. Bellamy went so far as to indicate in another work the steps he visualized in the development of "Nationalism."[15] These would begin with education to acquaint people with the demands of industrialization, then utilities would gradually be absorbed on local and state levels, and, finally, the central government would take control of national businesses. Donnelly, whose Caesar's Column is full of violence, uses this approach in order to shock his readers into discovering what awaits them if injustices are not recognized and resolved through established political processes. As an active participant in those processes himself, Donnelly did not seek to destroy them by encouraging violent

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[13]Lowenthal, Literature and Society, pp. xv-xvi.

[14]Claude E. Jones, "Proletarian Writing of John Steinbeck," Sewanee Review, XLVIII (October, 1940), pp. 445-446; Lisca, Steinbeck, p. 152.

[15]Bellamy, "Looking Backward Again," pp. 362-363.

revolution through his novel. Mrs. Stowe, far from seeking the cataclysm of civil war, hoped that legislation would require the return of Negroes to Africa. These and the other novelists advocated peaceful change by means of established channels within the political system. Like Donnelly, then, they may all be seen as attempting to forestall violent, disruptive, and, in some cases, revolutionary effects which might have ensued if the issues with which they dealt had not been resolved by more acceptable methods.

A review of the novels examined provides other types of clues. Almond states that, despite their basic optimism, Americans hold characteristic attitudes of distrust toward authority.[16] The rejection by immigrants of their parents' cultural traditions has extended to embrace all kinds of institutional and personal authority. Thus, Americans on the whole are suspicious of the political process and politicians. Generally speaking the problems dealt with in the novels of the sample are treated in terms of the failures of public authorities to respond to issues. The pressures brought to bear by the public as described in the chapter on capabilities may be viewed, then, as efforts to make government officials deal with public problems which they have neglected in the absence of such pressure. The novels studied reflect these general attitudes. In

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[16]Almond, Foreign Policy, pp. 42-43. Others, too, have made this observation: Katz, Social Psychology, p. 86; Howe, Politics and Novel, p. 159; Fred I. Greenstein, "Children's Feelings About Political Authority," in Political Behavior in America, ed. by Heinz Eulau (New York: Random House, 1966),p. 411.

White Jacket, for instance, the immediate authority figures on the Neversink are the officers. With a single significant exception all are described as aloof, pampered, unsympathetic, and professionally inadequate. Bellamy describes nineteenth century politicians as corrupt demagogues. In his Utopia the words "corruption" and "demagogue" would have "only a historical significance."[17] In The Grapes of Wrath the public officials assigned to the labor camps are portrayed as brutish lackeys of the employers. And, finally, of course, is The Ugly American, the central purpose of which was to demonstrate how poorly Americans are represented by the kinds of individuals appointed to foreign posts. That these representations of authority found in the novels studied may provide a fairly reliable picture of the public image of these positions is reinforced in an observation by Harold Lasswell.[18] He states that popular and scientific typologies of political figures share common characteristics. He goes on to explain that almost every scientific concept is actually drawn from notions in oridnary use which are refined and generalized. From this point of view the political figures presented in the propaganda novels of the sample may be considered fairly reliable indications of the attitudes held by the public toward authority figures.

The values, attitudes, beliefs, and skills found in the

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[17]Bellamy, Looking Backward, p. 60.

[18]Lasswell, Psychopathology, pp. 39-40.

novels examined may reflect the traditions of the people as a whole, or more important in the propaganda novel, the attitudes reflected may be those of special subcultures and their relationship to the system as a whole. Almond describes these subcultures as characterized by specific, distinguishable sets of political orientations.[19] Because the novels selected are protests against what are viewed as important injustices, they can be expected to furnish insights into problems of subcultures in American society.[20] Those are specifically the concern of Melville, who deals with seamen, of Stowe, who deals with slaves, of Sinclair, who deals with Polish-immigrants, and of Steinbeck, who deals with migrants. A usual device employed by the novelists to emphasize the virtues of the subcultures whose interests they are advocating is the drawing of contrasts between the subculture and the whole. An example here is the physical and spiritual subjection of the slaves as opposed to the comfort and freedom of white people in Uncle Tom's Cabin. A similar contrast between the positions of seamen and officers is drawn by Melville. In The Jungle Sinclair heavy-handedly contrasts the shoddy, little slum quarters of the worker, Jurgis, to the opulent, imposing Lake Shore Drive mansion of the drunken Freddie Jones, son of the packing house owner. While the contrasts in each of these cases are over-

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[19] Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics, p. 63; Rideout, Radical Novel, p. 28.

[20] Blake, "How to Learn History," p. 47; Waples, Reading, p. 34; Mott, Rewards of Reading, p. 23.

drawn so that the officers, the white people, and the wealthy appeared to lead more idyllic lives than they in fact did, the statements concerning conditions of slavery, of seamen, and of packing house workers were substantiated by other investigators who found them to be like those portrayed.[21] Thus, novels reveal important aspects of a nation's subcultures.

Among the propaganda novels studied several present interesting prognostications which have been substantiated by subsequent developments. Not without reason did Wilbur H. Ferry assert that "novelists and poets...are always the best guides to the future."[22] In the case of Looking Backward, for instance, numerous of the policies it advocated as part of the "Nationalist" state have become well-established.[23] These include: municipal ownership of utilities, woman suffrage, the merit system in civil service, the extended school year, and many others. Many of its recommendations were integrated into "New Deal" legislation by direct descendants of "Nationalist" activists, such as Adolph A. Berle, Jr., and others whose early social ideas were shaped in part by Looking Backward. The resemblance between the programs of Woodrow Wilson and Philip Dru was described in Chapter Two. Further

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[21]U.S., Congressional Record, 59th Cong., 1st Sess., XL, Pt. 8, pp. 7800-7802; Hunt, "Herman Melville as Naval Historian," pp. 22-30; Stern, Annotated Uncle Tom, passim.

[22]Wilbur H. Ferry, "Must We Rewrite the Constitution to Control Technology?," Saturday Review, LI (March 2, 1968), p. 51.

[23]Morgan, Edward Bellamy, pp. 296-297.

similarities are found in the programs of Franklin Roosevelt and Philip Dru in areas of court reform, where both men attempted to limit the powers of the Supreme Court in questions of constitutionality.[24] In addition both the President in fact--Roosevelt--and the Administrator in fiction--Philip Dru--advocated compulsory recognition of unions, the extension of insurance laws to protect labor, pensions, and government loans. Examples of prescience are even to be found in Uncle Tom's Cabin in the statement of Augustine St. Clare, a New Orleanian, to his Northern aunt: "We are the more obvious oppressors of the Negro; but the unchristian prejudice of the north is an oppressor almost equally severe."[25] If clues to the future course of society can be taken from such cultural outlets as the novel, then it is understandable why Max Weber, a major source for the structural-functional analysts' methodology, drew upon the fiction of Tolstoy in order to gain a deeper comprehension of the impact made by broad social development (such as the growth of organization and the reliance on rational thought) upon the lives of individual men.[26]

The utility of the propaganda novels studied in revealing aspects of American political culture reflects, most impor-

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[24]Smith, Mr. House of Texas, p. 370; Parrington, Main Currents, III, p. 191

[25]Stowe, Uncle Tom's Cabin, p. 387.

[26]Max Weber, The Rational and Social Foundations of Music, ed. by Don Martindale and Johannes Reidel (Carbondale: University of Illinois Press, 1964), p. xxi.

tantly, the belief that men are not hapless victims of Fate; that life's conditions are not immovably fixed.[27] No doubt Melville spoke for all the authors in saying, "'I have a voice that helps shape eternity; and my volitions stir the orbits of the furthest suns.... Ourselves are Fate.'"[28] Had they not accepted this attitude, which is related to American optimism, then the novelists would never have even considered using fiction as a propaganda instrument--indeed no propaganda as here defined would serve a purpose. That the Communist Party, in which determinism is an important doctrinal element, felt it necessary or helpful to use fiction for propaganda, betrays a revealing inconsistency in the body of its philosophy and helps explain its failure. The propaganda novels of the sample, therefore, are a reflection of the American belief that men's actions shape their destinies. And, too, the novels represent the faith of the authors that single individuals can work to persuade men to take such actions.

II. SOCIALIZATION

Political cultures are maintained and changed through the performance of the political socialization function.[29] This process necessarily provides both for assimilating people into the political culture of the system and for integrat-

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[27]Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics, pp. 94-95.

[28]Boynton, Literature and Life, p. 467.

[29]Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics, pp. 64-72.

ing the effects of the change into the political culture pattern. Among the agents of socialization which Almond enumerates--e.g., family, school peer groups, employment, direct contacts with the political system--he includes the mass media in which category the propaganda novel is, of course, to be found. Almond specifically mentions books in his enumeration of the types of mass media. While he does not mention novels as such, we may assume that he would include them since, like the other media, they supply "information about specific and immediate political events," albeit in a unique way by means of fiction.[30] Robert Lane, who places a like emphasis upon the socialization influence of the mass media, advises that the role of fiction not be underestimated in its ability to shape political values and attitudes.[31] The validity of Lane's, and by implication Almond's, observation was confirmed in Chapter One where numerous examples of the influence of novels were cited. Heywood Broun stated that for a number of his friends the reading of Looking Backward was the initial impetus which led them to consider socialism seriously.[32]

Almond describes political socialization as a lifelong process in which childhood attitudes are later adapted and

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[30] Ibid., p. 69; cf. Klapper in "Effects," p. 481, in which he stresses the role of media in acculturation and socialization.

[31] Robert Lane, Political Life (New York: Free Press, 1959), p. 81.

[32] Bowman, Proletarian Novel, p. 30; Rideout, Radical Novel, pp. 4-5.

strengthened by political as well as nonpolitical experiences.[33] In fact the latter are among the most important influences on political attitudes and behavior. When the major social roles which people are to play are performed apart from the family the influence of the family is diminished, thereby making other social experiences more important. These may intensify, moderate, or substitute for the effects of early socialization. Studies indicate that reading often provides one of these substitutive social experiences.[34] A study of Swarthmore students demonstrated that students with highly organized sentiment levels are strongly influenced by factors beyond their families such as reading and college work. Hyman sees valuable insights here for treating the relationship between personality characteristics and political orientations. He cites an additional study in which the reading of Danish respondents emerged as more important in some cases than parental influence in determining the level of political interest developed. The significance of these findings for this paper is clear, for in Chapter Two the role of the propaganda novel was established as an instrument for interest articula-

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[33]Almond and Verba, Civic Culture, pp. 324-326.

[34]The sources from which this section is drawn are, except as otherwise noted, the following: Herbert H. Hyman, Political Socialization (Glencoe,Ill.: Free Press, 1959), pp. 158-166; V.V. French, "The Structure of Sentiments, III, A Study of Philosophico-Religious Sentiments," Journal of Personality, XVI (1947-1948), pp. 209-244; Holger Iiasiger, "Factors Influencing the Formation and Change of Political and Religious Attitudes," Journal of Social Psychology, XXIX (May, 1949), pp. 253-265.

tion. In addition these novels, altogether aside from their propaganda purposes, present readers with a considerable amount of information as well as a number of political impressions and insights that readers unconsciously assimilate while they are consciously aware only of being entertained. According to James Farrell, literature performs socialization functions completely separable from its propaganda aspects.[35] President Theodore Roosevelt was thinking somewhat in these terms when, after recommending poets and novelists, he said:

> There are hundreds of books like these, each of which, if really read, really assimilated, by the person to whom it happens to appeal, will enable that person quite unconsciously to furnish himself with much ammunition which he will find of use in the battle of life.[36]

Propaganda novelists, then, perform political socialization functions that extend beyond their central interest articulation orientations in support of particular issues.

One of the most important socialization functions which the novels selected may perform is in providing models which readers draw upon in developing their own behavior patterns. According to David Riesman, words don't just have a temporary

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[35]Farrell, Criticism, pp. 177-178; cf. Waples, Reading, p. 18; Doob, Propaganda, pp. 455-456; Monroe, The Novel and Society, pp. 15-16; Lionel Trilling, "Art and Fortune," Partisan Review, XV (December, 1948), pp. 1271-1292.

[36]Roosevelt, Autobiography, p. 363.

effect but "they change us, they socialize or unsocialize us."[37] He observes that novels reflect the intangibilities of class differences among people by providing clues to the particular characteristics of various class levels, including their values and material accouterments. Riesman concludes that in this way "fiction as well as almanac and manual provide vocational (and status-oriented avocational) guidance." For instance, while to us many characters presented in Victorian novels such as Uncle Tom's Cabin are stereotypes, their early readers found them helpful in making sense out of a confused world in change. Fictional heroes and heroines provide models for behavior in a way similar to what happens when children play the roles of mother or soldier preparatory to their assuming these roles in later years. Just so, the writers of the novels considered here present characters in roles which readers fasten upon to imagine how it would be to perform those roles.[38] When Huey P. Long read Samuel G. Blythe's The Fakers his interest in a political career was forming.

> To the fecund imagination of Huey P. Long, the Blythe sketches constituted the pillars of a political empire. They were, or could be, a political textbook for the masses.... What Blythe wrote as parody, Huey

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[37]David Riesman, "The Socializing Functions of Print," in Mass Media and Communication, ed. by Charles S. Steinberg (New York: Hastings House, 1966), pp. 416-420.

[38]Duncan, Language and Literature, p. 5; Waples, People and Print, p. 194; Wellek and Austin, Theory of Literature, p. 102.

Long adopted as guide.[39]

Long read and discussed the Blythe tales. He "boasted that he would make the the foundation stones of a great political temple in Louisiana."[40] The novels studied, then, in part perform political socialization functions by providing models which readers may be inclined to emulate.

The political socialization process constantly involves the problems of adaptation to change. Almond notes that the most dramatic changes are those stemming from such national traumas as war and depression in which the effects touch nearly everyone.[41] The configuration of a nation's self-vision is strongly influenced by such important political events. Protests in fiction ensue from every economic crisis. Looking Backward, Caesar's Column, and The Grapes of Wrath all grew out of economic crises. It is understandable that as observant members of a society authors in their imaginations naturally reflect the impacts of such events. Edward Bellamy, for instance, was an outstanding proponent for the discontented urban areas.[42] The contribution made by novels under

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[39]Harris, Kingfish, pp. 17-18.

[40]Ibid.

[41]Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics, p. 65; cf. Fox, The Novel and the People, p. 118.

[42]Bowman, Proletarian Novel, p. 9; Waples, People and Print, pp. 1-2; Richard Hofstadter, Social Darwinism in American Thought (Boston: Beacon Press, 1944), p. 111.

these circumstances of national trauma has been to provide readers with vicarious experience. The mass media have become substitutes in many respects for real experience and the vicarious experiences the media provide make up a large part of a man's notions of the world. Novels in particular are powerful in their ability to present convincing, affecting images. Readers cannot help being somewhat influenced when a novel makes a persuasive case.[43] One political figure, for instance, John Davis, a Socialist Party nominee for the lieutenant governorship of Texas, acknowledged that Looking Backward had given him important insights into the nature and functioning of capitalism.[44] In addition Sinclair and other muckraking novelists "by disseminating their findings helped to bring Americans face to face with the social problems of the new century."[45]

In the opinion of Walter Lippmann there are certain conditions in which men's reactions to fiction are as strong as to reality.[46] Furthermore, fiction provides an efficient, indirect means by which one's range of experience can be broad-

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[43]Bauer and Bauer, "Society and Mass Media," pp. 49-50; Guerard, Literature and Society, pp. 347-351.

[44]George H. Shoaf, Fighting for Freedom (Kansas City: Simplified Economics,1953), p. 23.

[45]William Thorp, American Writing in the Twentieth Century (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), p. 17.

[46]Lippmann, Public Opinion, pp. 14-16.

ened "for the real environment is altogether too big, too complex, and too fleeting for direct acquaintance."[47] On the basis of similar reasoning which draws upon his experiences as a teacher, Dwight Waldo recommends the use of fiction in the teaching of political science.[48] He asserts that it provides students with vicarious experience and, most important, it gives a "'feel'" for problems that scholarly studies cannot furnish. The population at large has similarly benefited from the vicarious experiences afforded by the novels studied. For those who did not endure intense deprivation in the Depression, novels such as The Grapes of Wrath provided jarring insights into areas of life that the unassisted imagination could not penetrate. According to Warren Beach, "there is no more effective way of bringing this about [i.e., giving people these insights] than to have actual instances presented vividly to our imaginations by means of fiction."[49] The Jungle

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[47] Ibid.

[48] Dwight Waldo, Perspectives on Administration (University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1956), Chapter Four. Students in the Practical Philosophy course conducted by Thomas Masaryk, president of Czechoslovakia, were assigned Dostoevsky's Brothers Karamazov as their text. Hatcher, "Novel as Educative Force," p. 38. It is worthy of note that a course entitled "Politics and Literature" is offered to undergraduate and graduate students in political science at the University of California at Berkeley. Cf. James F. Davidson, "Political Science and Political Fiction," American Political Science Review, LV (December, 1961), pp. 851-860.

[49] Beach, American Fiction, p. 345.

achieved its effect in a comparable way.[50] Sinclair's vivid style was underscored by a feeling of conviction which persuaded readers that he was describing actual conditions--as in fact he was almost entirely. Given these informed opinions on the educative capacity of fiction, we may venture that the propaganda novel performs its socialization function in important part through presenting readers with vicarious experiences that influence their attitudes.

Of all the novels studied the one book whose socialization influence has lingered on to haunt us today is Uncle Tom's Cabin. As J.C. Furnas succinctly stated the problem, "Uncle Tom became the permanent blueprint of white Americans' attitudes toward Negroes."[51] Even in this century authors have perpetuated the image of the Negro in the tradition of Harriet Beecher Stowe rather than in that of Thomas Nelson Page. According to Furnas, the image of the Negro as it is held by other groups in society has been demonstrated in many cases to reflect the same qualities of superstitiousness, laziness, musical aptitude, and irresponsibility which Mrs. Stowe portrayed. One might probably be safe, however, in venturing that the events of the 1960's may be altering the validity of the above study insofar as it applies to the immediate present

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[50] Fischer in Sinclair, The Jungle, pp. xvii-xviii.

[51] Furnas, Goodby Uncle Tom, p. 5; cf. Hubbell, South, pp. 115-116, 387-392; Richard Beale Davis, "Mrs. Stowe's Characters-in-Situations and a Southern Literary Tradition," in Essays on American Literature, ed. by Clarence Gohdes (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1967), pp. 108-125; Katz, Social Psychology, p. 83.

and future. Yet the potency of the stereotype Mrs. Stowe established was so strong that it has taken until now for it to begin to crack. And even now the condescending attitude toward the Negro instilled by Uncle Tom's Cabin appears to have greater overall popular appeal in some parts than does the egalitarian attitude which Negroes and many white Americans are attempting to foster. With reference to the condescending image in Uncle Tom's Cabin Furnas states,

> The devil could have forged no shrewder weapon for the Negro's worst enemy.... As her work soaked into the common mind, fostering cheap sagacity about alleged racial traits down to our own day and affecting millions who have never read Uncle Tom or seen a Tom-show, it has sadly clogged the efforts of modern good will, acting on sounder information, to persuade people that this kind of racist idea does not hold water.[52]

The political socialization function performed by the novels examined in some cases extended into other political systems to affect the attitudes and beliefs of people abroad with respect to the operation of the American political system. American books are highly influential in foreign intellectual circles. This was also true when Uncle Tom's Cabin was published, as William Dean Howells discovered on arriving in Italy to be an American consul.[53] In conversations with Italian scholars he learned that four American novelists were known well there: Cooper, Longfellow, Irving, and Stowe.

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[52]Furnas, Goodby Uncle Tom, p. 51.

[53]William Dean Howells, Italian Journeys (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1867), p. 213.

Howells found that Uncle Tom's Cabin "is, of course, universally read...." Today, when that novel is largely neglected here, it continues to shape the beliefs of foreigners about the United States. La Capanno dello Zio Tom has never been out of print in Italy--in 1953 alone six new editions were put out. It has become a standard children's work so that "it is safe to say that every Italian with a high school education has read the book."[54] When a children's edition was published in Communist Hungary, a second printing had to be added to meet the demand. In a Budapest stage production of the novel Uncle Tom himself was demoted to a mild, unassertive second-level character while Simon Legree was interpreted as a villainous Wall Streeter. The socialization effect sought is revealed in a question addressed to the young audience, "'Do you children wish to side with Simon Legree or with the camp of peace led by the Soviet Union?'"[55] Within the past twenty years Uncle Tom's Cabin has been required reading as a text for Swiss, Dutch, and German schoolchildren. The use today of the Stowe novel as an educational tool in European schools must raise rather serious doubts as to the types of early impressions formed regarding the American Negro and the American political system. A second novel in the sample has been used by a foreign government in its conscious effort to propagate

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[54]James Woodress, "Uncle Tom's Cabin in Italy," in Essays on American Literature, pp. 126-127.

[55]Furnas, Goodby Uncle Tom, p. 14; cf. pp. 60-61.

an unfavorable image of the United States. After Pearl Harbor German libraries in some places withdrew most American books from public circulation. One of the few exception, however, was The Grapes of Wrath which, as was mentioned in Chapter One, was permitted to remain available because the portrayal of the Okies' plight was considered as effective anti-American propaganda.[56] As is clearly evident from the preceding at least two novels have performed a political socialization role abroad in shaping foreign attitudes and beliefs about the American political system.

Just as a political culture pattern is composed of a distinctive web of individual members' political attitudes and orientations, so the orientation pattern of each member is formed on the basis of three dimensions which Almond calls cognitive, affective, and evaluative orientations.[57] Any of these three dimensions can be used in considering an individual's orientation toward every aspect of politics. The political socialization process obviously plays a significant role in shaping these orientations.

Almond describes the cognitive orientation as the accurate or inaccurate knowledge of political objects or beliefs. This might involve an understanding of how one's political

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[56]Spiller et al., Literary History, I, p. 1382.

[57]Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics, pp. 50-51. While Almond describes these orientations as aspects of political culture, they are discussed here under socialization in order to emphasize the roles of the novels in the ongoing process of forming such orientations.

system functions, the identity of its leadership, and a grasp of the intricacies of the current policy debates. The propaganda novels studied are amply able to extend the cognitive range of their readers. A. I. Hallowell explains that this is possible in that art forms become an integral part of an individual's perceptual experience, playing a role in structuring the perceptual field, and so contributing to the individual's pattern of conduct.[58] That fiction can be a cognitive influence is additionally made understandable in terms of the pragmatic, worldly disposition of Americans, who naturally tend to apply those standards to the products of artists. In the case of propaganda novels, of course, readers are encouraged to do so. For one thing the factual matter offered in realistic portrayals of the the political processes, whether or not it is accurate, potentially alters readers' cognitive orientations. At a time when the character of public life was not, let us say, at its zenith in the public's regard, the descriptions of sub rosa political manipulations given in Philip Dru would only serve to confirm its readers' darkest suspicions. Certainly the cognitive orientations of Huey Long were affected by a similar portrait of politics in The Fakers.[59] The effect upon Long, however, was quite a posi-

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[58]A. I. Hallowell, "Cultural Factors in the Structuralization of Perception," in Social Psychology at the Crossroads, ed. by J. H. Rohrer and M. Sherif (New York: Harper, 1951), p. 170; Harvey, Technique of Persuasion, p. 64.

[59]Harris, Kingfish, p. 18.

tive one. The Blythe novel demonstrated the successful appeal of political "'ballyhoo'" It renders a vivid portrait of the political gains available to those who would cast aspersions upon corporate greed, humble the prideful, poke fun at Wall Street, reward the faithful, and punish the disloyal. Factual matter of a verifiable nature is presented in White Jacket as Melville gives a history of sea laws regarding the treatment of sailors. One would probably be safe in assuming, however, that few readers ever attempted to validate the Melville interpretation.[60] The Jungle and other novels by Upton Sinclair are, according to Alfred Kazin, "a profound educative force" because Sinclair was one of the outstanding social historians in the first half of the twentieth century.[61] A different kind of ccgnitive effect was generated upon the militant Socialist, George H. Shoaf, by Caesar's Column. The Donnelly novel furnished Shoaf with an image of the ideal leader. On meeting "Big Bill" Haywood, Shoaf found that "in Haywood I envisaged the leader who would make real what Donnelly wrote."[62] Finally, to take one more example, Marshall McLuhan refers to the way in which an episode in The Ugly American cogently demonstrated the inapplicability of aspects of

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[60]Had they done so they would have found Melville's discussion an accurate one, according to naval historian, Livingston Hunt, "Herman Melville as Naval Historian," p. 29.

[61]Kazin, Native Grounds, p. 121.

[62]Shoaf, Fighting for Freedom, p. 62.

Western logic for the communal way of life in Asia.[63] Thus, in a variety of ways the propaganda novels have proved capable of influencing the cognitive orientations of readers.

The novels studied also play a role in shaping individuals' affective orientations--i.e., their "feelings of attachment, involvement, affection, and the like, about political objects."[64] This would involve positive or negative feelings about aspects of the political system. Complementarily, by altering his reader's cognitive grasp, the novelist may simultaneously re-mold his affective dispositions. Conversely, of course, when a reader's affective responses are influenced it is possible that his cognitive perceptions will be altered as well. It would be difficult to determine what the exact nature of the reciprocity would be. But, as was pointed out in Chapter Two, propaganda novels' appeals are primarily affective in that they create empathy arising out of a synthesis of emotional and intellectual responses by readers. As Hallowell explains here, "concepts without any tangible or material form can become perceived objects in a person's experience through the translation given by an art form.... [As such] a work or a sentence may induce an affective response...and thus

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[63]MacLuhan, Understanding Media, p. 86.

[64]Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics, p. 50.

call forth appropriate conduct."[65] By expanding the range of people's senses and imagination, the arts contribute to the likelihood of their performing constructive social roles. This is so because people act on the basis of thought and feeling and in accord with values. As the discussion presented in Chapter Two demonstrated, the novels selected are interest articulation instruments specifically directed at eliciting affective responses from their readers. For example, by playing upon the emotions of her readers, Mrs. Stowe managed to create an orientation of involvement in the abolition issue, replacing a formerly held attitude which in many cases denied the question's personal relevance.[66] In effect Uncle Tom's Cabin served to concretize the issue of abolition. David Reisman has described the inner-directed character of that Victorian period in terms which help to make clear how the Stowe novel was able to be influential.[67] He asserts that inner-directed middle class Protestants are receptive to fiction when it is presented in realistic detail. For these people, he says, "life is lived in its detailed externals; sym-

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[65]Hallowell, "Cultural Factors," pp. 178-184; Gotschalk, Art and Social Order, p. 213; Duncan, Language and Literature, p. 19.

[66]Buckmaster, Let My People Go, pp. 221-226; Furnas, Goodby Uncle Tom, p. 31; William Kenneth Boyd, "Political Writing Since 1850," in The Cambridge History of American Literature, ed. by William Peterfield Trent, Carl Van Doren, et al. (4 vols.; New York: Putnam's and Sons, 1917), IV, pp. 345-346.

[67]Reisman, "The Socializing Functions of Print," p. 419.

bolic meanings must be filtered through the strenuously concrete."[68] Mrs. Stowe's characters made abolition a sympathetic cause to such people by personifying issues in terms with which readers could identify. Individuals who had never had a personal association with and concern for the practice of slavery, by reading Uncle Tom's Cabin, were able to feel an involvement in the issue. The system which had been remote and irrelevant to their personal lives became populated with vividly drawn individuals. According to L. P. Hartley:

> Most glorious in the company of reformers, Harriet Beecher Stowe attacked the Slave Trade and undoubtedly helped to abolish it--though again it is not so much her reforming zeal that has made Uncle Tom's Cabin live, as the appeal of its characters....[69]

Thus Uncle Tom, George, and Eliza emobdied the average reader's own revered values which were portrayed as being abused and destroyed in ways they had never previously understood, thus initiating an affective response from him.

Looking Backward was another novel able to influence the affective orientations of readers.[70] The ideas Bellamy presented served to acquaint Americans with a more acceptable image of socialism than they had previously known. In addition, by portraying the positive benefits to be accrued to

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[68] Ibid.

[69] L.P. Hartley, "The Novelist's Responsibility," Essays and Studies: 1962, XV (London: John Murray, 1962), p. 94.

[70] Morgan, Edward Bellamy, pp. 297-298; Rideout, Radical Novel, p. 13; Taylor, Economic Novel, p. 211.

labor as a result of industrialization, Bellamy was more successful in "sweetening the pill" than Hamlin Garland or Henry George had been. The affective responses of the readers of other novels studied were touched as well. The public that read The Jungle was repulsed by Sinclair's descriptions of meat processing just as the readers of The Grapes of Wrath were horrified by the living conditions which Steinbeck portrayed so graphically. Both audiences reacted by writing letters to the President and their congressmen as well as by picketing and by the other types of reactions described in Chapter One.

The propaganda novels studied have also utilized the affective style of interest articulation to influence the evaluative orientations of their readers. The evaluative orientation, as described by Almond, involves the application of standards of values in judging or forming opinions about political objects. This can, for instance, involve the making of moral judgments about some aspect of the political system. The evaluative orientations of all the authors of the propaganda novels studied were obviously affronted by the conditions about which they wrote. They each deliberately attempted by their portrayals to arouse similar indignation in their readers. Sidney Hook affirms that men who are endowed with artistic capabilities shape the intellectual aspirations and social

values of others.[71] It was through his reading of fiction that Richard Wright was led to a complete reevaluation of his relationship to white society. He discovered the value of words used as weapons and began to think that he too might employ them to reshape America "nearer to the hearts of those who lived in it."[72] In her prefatory remarks to Uncle Tom's Cabin Mrs. Stowe avowed that her purpose was to emphasize that the slavery system was an affront to established Christian values and for that reason must be abolished. The effect of this strategy was enhanced as Tom and other prominent characters were portrayed as faithful, practicing Christians enslaved by unscrupulous heathens and heretics such as Simon Legree and Haley or that attractive agnostic Augustine St. Clare. Readers must instinctively have come to identify support for abolition as an act of affirmation of their Christian values. Any Christians who did not do so certainly were confronted by the problem of rationalization. Mrs. Stowe was skillful therefore in focusing her attack on slavery's weakest flank: its moral vulnerability. Edward Bellamy's effort to persuade his readers that socialism is consistent with American values was also strategically well-adapted to his audience. He managed to dissociate the existing identification between cherished American values and the established political and

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[71]Sidney Hook, The Hero in History (New York: John Day, 1943), p. 237 ff.

[72]Wright, Black Boy, p. 283.

economic system. In effect, he said, that the system is expendable and, in fact, must be replaced, for it is preventing values such as equality, liberty, and democracy from ever being truly realized. He recommended that by simply substituting his type of socialism--or "Nationalism"--the system would function in assisting the realization of these values rather than automatically obstructing them as the present system was in practice doing. The case of Upton Sinclair was quite different. His avowed purpose in writing The Jungle was to call attention to the working conditions in the Chicago packinghouses.[73] With the perspective afforded by hindsight it is fully understandable how Sinclair's descriptions of foul conditions were offensive to the values of readers who perceived their health as meat consumers to be threatened. The trials of Jurgis and his family--and by implication the trials of stockyards workers--were given practically no attention in the furor. However, their working conditions were no doubt improved when their factories were remodeled to accomodate the higher standards of cleanliness and safety required by the legislation passed. Thus, the novels examined here were written to express their authors' beliefs that significant values were being violated and with a view to persuading readers that such travesties ought not to be permitted to continue.

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[73]Sinclair, The Jungle, p. x. While Sinclair really advocated socialism, the role of The Jungle in bringing about the Pure Food and Drugs Act by means of established institutions served to reinforce capitalism.

Almond describes two styles of political socialization: manifest and latent. The former refers to an "explicit communication of information, values or feeling toward political objects."[74] The latter type, he goes on to say, transmits "nonpolitical attitudes which affect attitudes toward analogous roles and objects in the political system." One encounters difficulties in placing the propaganda novels studied in either category exclusively. They are manifest in that they all communicate explicit points of view. Their method is not explicit, however, but is indirect since the novel is a prose narrative tale centered upon the personal confrontations of a limited number of people. Yet the style is also latent in the sense that the story is expected to be analogous to a wider experience. This is often accomplished by making the characters represent whole classes of people. Jurgis in The Jungle may be read to represent all the oppressed, poverty-ridden immigrant laborers. White Jacket is the spokesman for the abused seaman. Neither author explicitly states this as so but the implication cannot be mistaken. In sum, then, the propaganda novels studied are agents for socialization which are both manifest and latent in style. The foregoing has demonstrated a number of ways in which these propaganda novels have potentially or actually performed political socialization functions. The cognitive, affective, and evaluative orien-

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[74]Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics, pp. 64-66.

tations of individuals in the American political culture and abroad have been exposed to and in various degrees influenced by the novels examined.

III. RECRUITMENT

The group of propaganda novels considered here furnished their readers with vicarious but intimate personal confrontations with and involvements in vital political, social, and economic conflicts. This may be seen as providing a channel for adult political socialization by presenting individuals with new political concepts and new goals for which to work. Closely related to the socialization function just discussed is the recruitment function. As Almond states, in the end the assumption of the responsible political positions is never predictable and is to some extent accidental. Thus, a novel may play a part in political recruitment--i.e., "the function by means of which the roles of political systems are filled."[75] The role of the novel as a recruitment vehicle cannot be substantiated by an impressive number or variety of specific instances wherein people became involved in politics as a direct result of having read novels of the sample. Recruitment, therefore, can only be seen as a minor function performed by the novels. Having made this clear, it is possible to interpret the recruitment functions for which evidence does exist in two senses: (1) the arousal of public

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[75] Ibid., p. 47; cf. Almond, Foreign Policy, p. 156. The reference is to the definition only.

support for or against a political issue, and (2) in Almond's strict sense of the term, the attraction of individuals to vie for or assume political office. In practice, of course, the authors of the propaganda novels were most concerned with creating the former response. They apparently hoped to persuade their readers to exert pressure upon the political system in order to initiate remedial measures.[76] Bellamy's ambitions in this regard were gratified by the brief but active history of the "Nationalist" Party which grew out of the ideas presented in Looking Backward and attracted several hundreds of thousands to its own ranks as well as to those of the Populist Party. In a political speech one speaker declared: "'You, my republican brothers, and democratic friends, are to blame for the strength of the people's party, because you permitted the publication and reading of Bellamy's book.'"[77] The impact of Uncle Tom's Cabin had also, of course, aroused

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[76]Gordon Milne, The American Political Novel (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), p. 8.

[77]Morgan, Edward Bellamy, p. 278. Cf. Franklin, "Nationalist Movement," p. 769; William B. Harvey in his Introduction to Bellamy's Talks on Nationalism (Chicago: Peerage Press, 1938), p. 12.

public support for abolition. Both Rhodes and Stern in Chapter Two refer to its effectiveness in recruiting women to work for the cause of abolitionism by marshalling public opinion to oppose slavery. In the case of General McIntire of Ohio the reading of the Stowe novel so intensified the abolitionist sentiments of his wife and himself that they joined the Underground Railway, turning their farm into a depot on the route from Kentucky through central Ohio.[78] Here a reader was recruited by a novel into a role actively undermining a national law. Additional support for the cause came when Jewett published a German translation that may have been influential in making Unionists out of Midwestern Germans.[79]

A few of the propaganda novels studied are notable in that their public impact in each case was sufficient to catapult their authors into positions of political influence. In discussing the contributions of authors as citizens, Waples distinguishes their influence in their roles as citizens from that in their roles as authors.[80] We are justified here, it appears, in maintaining that the authors who developed personal political influence did so as a result of their novels' public reception. This opinion is given reinforcement by the observation by Duncan that "men of letters rise to power

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[78]Furnas, Goodby Uncle Tom, p. 213.

[79]Quinn, American Fiction, p. 160.

[80]Waples, Reading, p. 38.

through their ability to create symbolic roles which give expressive form to the desires, beliefs, and values of those acting out such roles in the various phases of social action."[81] The one exception on this point is Ignatius Donnelly who was an active politician licking the wounds of a campaign defeat when he wrote Caesar's Column. Even so, it was not until the secret of his authorship of that novel was revealed that he gained the thrust required to attain political office. "Already well known, he was immediately projected into national leadership."[82] The effect in Minnesota, his home, was particularly significant when Donnelly ran for the presidency of the Alliance Labor Union whose slates of candidates often opposed Republicans. In this contest he had held the support of all but labor groups. On hearing that he had written Caesar's Column, labor gave him sweeping support. He was then able to trounce his strong opponent, Kittel Halvorsen, by a vote of 542 to 105--a feat he could not have accomplished under ordinary circumstances.

At virtually the same time Edward Bellamy, who had largely confined his public activities to journalism, became a national political figure.[83] The response to Looking Backward

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[81] Duncan, Language and Literature, p. 4.

[82] Ridge, Ignatius Donnelly, pp. 277-278.

[83] Dorfman, Veblen, p. 105; Bowman, Proletarian Novel, pp. 122, 135.

was so enthusiastic that Bellamy abandoned novel-writing to serve the cause of "Nationalism." He devoted himself to the movement's program and the necessary first steps to its realization. Among these was the development of political action. According to William Dean Howells, Bellamy "virtually founded the Populist Party."[84] In addition to traveling extensively to lecture, he also edited several propaganda publications. His name assumed a certain political weight so that when thirteen armies of unemployed marched on Washington in 1894 he was able to render them the support of his personal approval. Bellamy was also listed as an elector-at-large on the Populist ticket.

The meteoric development of Upton Sinclair from an unknown, starving writer to a national figure was, of course, accomplished by the impact of The Jungle. He was called to join several conferences held by Theodore Roosevelt while plans were being formulated for sending an investigative team to Chicago. Later Sinclair asked to be heard by Congressman Wadsworth's Agriculture Committee. When his request was denied by Wadsworth, Sinclair retaliated by writing a letter attacking his conduct. The letter was used by Democratic opponents of Wadsworth in New York and was instrumental in his defeat.[85] This incident illustrates how Sinclair himself became

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[84]Bowman, Proletarian Novel, p. 134.

[85]Ibid., p. 50; Sullivan, Our Times, pp. 550-552; Sinclair, Brass Check, pp. 39-45.

an influential figure in the politics of his day. It is clear that the The Jungle, like Looking Backward, had the effect of recruiting its author into an escalated role in the political system.

Almond's definition of recruitment given above--i.e., "the function by means of which the roles of political systems are filled"--would seem to include a number of the roles previously described.[86] However, his ensuing discussion of recruitment reveals that he is particularly concerned with the filling of official positions. For this reason we will consider here evidence that propaganda novels have contributed to the recruitment of individuals to compete for and to assume offices within the political system. The role of the novels here is indicated by a survey of Democratic political leaders which revealed that most of those interviewed had initially become active through an interest in a particular candidate or a specific issue.[87] This was apparently the case of Jasper McLevy who was several times the Socialist mayor of Bridgeport, Connecticut.[88] He attributed his first interest in socialism to having read Looking Backward. The experience of McLevy in this respect was, of course, duplicated by sever-

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[86]Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics, pp. 47-48.

[87]Gordon L. Lippitt and Drexel A. Sprecher, "Factors Motivating Citizens to Become Active in Politics as Seen by Practical Politicians," Journal of Social Issues, XVI (No. 1, 1960), p. 14.

[88]Morgan, Edward Bellamy, p. xii.

al other prominent political figures mentioned in Chapter One. Among these was Adolph A. Berle, Assistant Secretary of State.[89] In addition, as noted in the section on Rule-Application, the Director of the Foreign Service Institute credited The Ugly American with stimulating an interest that led to a marked increase in applicants for enrollment.

The foregoing demonstrates that the propaganda novels studied did in some cases contribute to the recruitment function by arousing public support that was manifested in such political acts as letter-writing, picketing, and joining or voting for a political organization as in the case of the "Nationalist" Party. One novel, Caesar's Column, was instrumental in increasing public support for its author, a politician, while two novels (Looking Backward and The Jungle) produced effects which made their authors politically influential figures in their own right. In addition The Ugly American and Looking Backward were instrumental in recruiting readers to assume political offices. Evidence is available, then, that the novels studied performed a part in the system maintenance and adaptation function to a limited extent through their recruitment of readers and authors into a variety of political roles.

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[89] Ibid.

CONCLUSION

This study represents an attempt to examine the political effects of a selection of propaganda novels as viewed from the perspective of the structural-functional framework as it is presented by Gabriel Almond principally in Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach. Individual novels of the group selected have been demonstrated to have performed roles in each of the three major levels of functions in the political system as well as in each of the subfunctions which make up each level. On the capabilities level, described in Chapter One, various novels stimulated effects discernible in the regulative, distributive, extractive, symbolic, and responsive subcapabilities. The configurations of these capabilities were shaped to an important degree by elites who were themselves either influenced directly by the novels or who were indirectly influenced by the novels in that the public's reactions to the novels were sufficiently strong that elites could not ignore the issues to which they called attention. The major functions performed by the novels, as seen in Chapter Two, were carried out as inputs at the conversion level where they acted primarily as interest articulation and interest aggregation structures. Their role as articulators of interests was judged the more important of these. Indeed it was asserted that the novels' contributions at all the levels and sublevels of the political system were principally a by-product of their success as interest articulation instruments. As a

consequence of its interest articulation role, considerable attention was given to proposing explanations for the ways in which prose fiction tales in their roles as advocates were able to generate concrete effects upon their readers and other members of the general public. In addition examples were presented demonstrating the novels' participation in the output subfunctions of rule-making, rule-application, and, to a small degree, rule-adjudication. The third major level, considered in Chapter Three, to which the novels contributed is system maintenance and adaptation. Here the novels provide various insights into aspects of the American political culture. They performed the socialization subfunction by providing models for role-playing by readers and they also acquainted readers with problems which had not previously attracted their attention and interest. The novels served to a limited extent as agents for political recruitment by stimulating readers to take positions on public issues and also, in a few cases, they served to make their authors political figures of some influence. In addition, two novels were instrumental in recruiting men into political offices. Thus, the novels have produced political effects, either directly or indirectly, throughout the political system.

A principal value of the Almond framework for this study has been in its provision of a new and promising perspective for the consideration of an unusual subject for structural-functional analysis--i.e., the propaganda novel. A ma-

jor advantage of the schema is the discipline which it imposed on the researcher in identifying and classifying data. On the whole the major levels of functions--capabilities, conversion, system maintenance and adaptation--which Almond proposes are general enough to be inclusive of a variety of types of evidence. At the same time the levels as described are sufficiently specific that each level is characterized by distinctive features. As an indirect by-product of this study the Almond framework has, in a sense, been subjected to a test and found adequate. This has been especially important in that the author has found no evidence whatsoever that Almond himself gave any consideration to the interaction between propaganda novels and the political system. It was noted in Chapter Two that he comes nearest to recognizing these novels in his inclusion of books under the mass media category of interest articulation structures. That the unusual subject matter of this study could be treated in terms of his framework lends a measure of strength to Almond's claims for its utility in political analysis. This is so because, as has become apparent in recent years, politically relevant data are now being drawn from formerly distant fields. It is essential, therefore, that any framework be capable of dealing with a diversity of types of data.

In one sense this paper may be interpreted as a challenge to the behavioralists in political science. It is a challenge in that if behavioralists are serious in their appeals for an interdisciplinary approach to the study of politics, they

ought to take a consistent position according to which any legitimate field of study will be recognized as capable of making valid contributions to our understanding of the political system. Just as aspects of the social and economic systems assume political roles when considered from a structural-functional point of view, so aspects of history, literature, and communications media as well as other studies assume political relevance in efforts to understand how the political system reacts to stimuli from its environment. It is necessary to add, of course, that the contributions which any of these areas are capable of making must be judged in terms of some analytical standards such as those Almond has proposed. But this is not less true of sociological and economic studies. The contention propounded in this paper is that artistic products of a culture constitute a significant form of political expression to which the political system on occasion manifestly responds--as in the cases of the novels studied in this paper.

While Almond's framework proved useful for this paper, it did present a few problems which ought to be mentioned. For one thing, in using this type of research material, clarity and continuity have had to be sacrificed at times to demands of the framework. For instance, a sharper, more powerful image of each novel's effects might have been drawn by using the case study method. Had that been used, the political history of The Jungle, to take one example, might have been vividly presented in a chronological development. The case study meth-

od would have focused attention primarily on the independent novels, however, at the expense of the system whereas the paper is properly concerned with the total political system as it has reacted on its various levels to the effects created by the novels.

On occasion the framework demanded difficult and relatively arbitrary decisions with respect to placing data in Almond's categories. This is evident in the treatment of the "Nationalist" Party which was treated in the section on interest aggregation because Almond designated political parties, along with bureaucracies, as the major interest aggregation structures. However, the "Nationalist" Party might justifiably and naturally have been considered together with the "Nationalist" Movement under interest articulation. Almond himself has said that the same structures are capable of performing both functions.[1] The two phases of "Nationalism," though capable of chronological distinction, were closely linked in that aspects of each were apparent in the other--i.e., advocates of the "Nationalist" philosophy in the propaganda phase did at times engage in other types of political action while simple propaganda efforts were, of course, important to the efforts of the "Nationalist" Party. This ambiguity in the framework, while troublesome, was probably unavoidable in the formulation of a broad schema meant to deal with a variety of interdependent data.

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[1]Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics, p. 100.

A problem closely related to the presence of ambiguity in the framework is the inevitability of repetition. Readers will have noticed that in a number of instances the same data was treated in terms of its performance of more than one function. For instance, The Fakers was referred to in Chapter One as it influenced Huey P. Long, an elite member influential in shaping the capabilities function. The effect of The Fakers upon Long is also a manifestation of the socialization function and, as such, it was treated in the section of Chapter Three dealing with socialization as a major aspect of system maintenance and adaptation. While such repetition might ordinarily be considered undesirable, it could not be avoided here without ignoring the multidimensional implications of the data. Actually this aspect of the study may simply be regarded as further evidence of a key characteristic of political systems--i.e., the interdependence of their properties--so that when one part is affected other parts must be affected as well. Thus, it was necessary to note those instances in which particular effects generated by a propaganda novel on one level also affected other levels.

One aspect of the problem of interrelated data arose in treating the interest articulation function relative to the other functions on all three levels. The problem here is probably traceable to the nature of the novels and their effects rather than simply to characteristics of the framework. In order to demonstrate how the novels perpetrated effects in the capabilities and system maintenance and adaptation func-

tions of the system, incidents illustrating the interest articulation function were drawn upon because they also served to illustrate how capabilities, for example, were affected. This can be understood by recalling how Looking Backward and other novels influenced the attitudes of elites who were important in shaping capabilities. A number of elite members acknowledged their intellectual debt to Bellamy's and others' novels. The researcher's problem in categorizing the data lay in the obvious role of the novels as the articulators of positions and, through this role, contributors to capabilities configurations. In the paper the difficulty was resolved by concentrating in the interest articulation section of the paper on ways in which the novel form in general and the propaganda novels of the sample in particular have performed their major function. The ability of the novels to arouse emotional responses in order to intensify understanding was given primary emphasis, while the susceptibility of many people to believe what they read, the psychological importance of timing, and other factors were proposed as influential.

Almond's major interest as a student of comparative politics is, of course, in the possibility for the intersystemic comparison of political systems. As a result the framework he proposes in Comparative Politics is described in terms of its applicability to political systems having varying degrees of development from the simple to the complex. His use of many examples to demonstrate that the framework enables political scientists to identify significant similarities in all

systems illustrates his thesis but does so at the expense of theoretical depth. In fact Almond largely eschews analysis of the framework in theoretical terms and gives instead a simplified description of it. This problem becomes especially apparent when the framework is applied to a single type of political influence working throughout one sophisticated political system as was the case in this paper. A seemingly valid criticism of this study would be that the author ought to have given a more extensive treatment to Almond's framework. However, to have done so would have required that she go beyond Almond's own treatment of the schema in Comparative Politics, his principal presentation of it. Having said this, the author takes the position that, even though Almond draws his schema somewhat loosely, the categories for analysis which he suggests are sufficiently well-defined to provide useful analytic tools with which to examine the relationship of the propaganda novels studied to the American political system.

The conclusion of this study presents an opportunity for brief speculation on the possibility that future novels will appear and generate significant political effects. No reason exists to exclude the likelihood that others will appear. Sceptics might venture that the Age of Television has affected reading habits so much as to diminish the prospects that any such novels could capture attention. Undoubtedly, television has adversely affected the amount of reading done by many people. However, this has been balanced by an increase in book

buying which is in important part traceable to the popularity of paperback books. These books have taken reading out of the slump it experienced after the initial impact of television.[2] Despite the competition of television The Ugly American captured the public's interest. Indeed the novels of the sample, with few exceptions, were in themselves types of public events which claimed widespread attention from readers and nonreaders, elites and masses alike. The other media reinforced the interest in most of the novels we have examined and, as discussed in Chapter Two, served not only to supplement the novels' effects but to draw attention to the novels themselves, thereby expanding their audiences. Thus, it is likely that, if another propaganda novel were to appear dealing with a potent subject and under favorable conditions, today's extensive and powerful media would act as they have in the past--and even more effectively--to promote the issue dealt with in the novel and so the novel itself. If, in this disturbed period in our history, a propaganda novel were published that could capture the sympathy and empathy of white Americans for black Americans that The Grapes of Wrath was able to capture in relating these responses to migratory workers, then a propaganda novel would probably perform its most significant political and social service to date.

The question arises here with regard to what future stud-

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[2]Bauer and Bauer, "Mass Media and Mass Society," p. 45; Doob, Public Opinion, p. 456.

ies might be undertaken employing structural-functional analysis in relation to the novel. For one thing the case study method might be employed from a systems theory point of view so that the functions performed by a given novel such as The Ugly American would be treated much as has been done here. Extended studies of novels as reflections of political culture would be worthwhile. In addition survey techniques might be utilized in order to discover whether more extensive rule application, rule adjudication, and recruitment subfunctions have been performed by novels than it was possible to determine by the methods used here.

Because the framework has proved useful in relating the roles of the propaganda novels studied to the American political system, it ought also to be useful for examining how novels have played roles in other political systems. A particularly interesting study along these lines would be an examination of the literary products of the U.S.S.R. and their relationship to successive political regimes. Such a study might reveal that the expected effects of certain novels, such as Dr. Zhivago, created alarm among elite members who, as a result, invoked an increase in the regulatory capability by the use of censorship. The socialization role of novels in the U.S.S.R. would probably require major attention because the themes of Soviet novels have tended to reinforce the status quo. The paucity of exceptions here, such as Vladimir

Dudintsov's Not by Bread Alone, are evidence of this.[3] Because of its authoritarian nature Soviet government cannot be expected to be as responsive to public opinion as the democratic system in this country. Therefore, the use of novels as interest articulation instruments by authors seeking changes would probably be of much less interest. This contrasts with the American system in which the interest articulation function constitutes the major political role of novels. Thus, Almond's framework is probably also relevant for comparing the functions which novels perform in different types of political systems.

Structural-functional analysis presents us with a fresh perspective on the relationships between art forms and the political process. Clearly today as in the past art, music, films, and literature are vehicles for political expression by gifted members of the population. With a few exceptions previous political science studies have almost completely ignored this type of political activity. Until now it has been totally ignored by systems theorists. Yet, given the pervasive nature of the mass media, the influential, "participant" segments of the population described in Chapter Two cannot avoid being confronted by these vivid expressions of political and related points of view. Structural-functional analysis pro-

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[3]Vladimir Dudintsov, Not by Bread Alone (New York: Dutton, 1957). The most important vehicle for social comment in the Soviet Union, other than poetry, is the novel. John Kenneth Galbraith, The New Industrial State (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1967), p. 106.

vides a fruitful approach by means of which the art forms which perform the interest articulation and other political functions may be treated as significant political data.

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*The sources cited here are organized in four major sections: I. The Works of Gabriel Almond, II. The Novels Selected for Study, III. Communications, Propaganda, and Other Related Studies, and IV. The Novel in General. The works given in each section contributed to that aspect of the paper in particular. Sources from which important information was drawn for more than one novel are subsumed in Section IV.

II. THE NOVELS SELECTED FOR STUDY

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