

1914-16: YEARS OF INNOVATION IN GERTRUDE STEIN'S WRITING

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These acknowledgements are also intended to show the range of my inquiries. Stein readers might be able to develop some aspects of my investigations, and to learn which approaches did not yield results. This could save time for future researchers, and it might encourage other students to follow some extremely interesting trails.

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The British Academy awarded me a Major State Studentship from 1988 to 1992. In addition, the British Academy awarded me a travel grant for a research visit to Palma de Mallorca.

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LIBRARIES

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In my search for records of the books which Stein read in the British Museum Library during 1902-1903, I thank G. Ridgley of the Bibliographical Information Service. It was useful to learn that the British Museum Library used to keep book application slips, but they were destroyed around the turn of the century for reasons of space.

Two Archivists at Newnham College, Cambridge have given me information about Stein's luncheon with Jane Harrison in July 1914. Miss Ann Phillips checked for an official record of the visit. She informed me that the Visitors' Book is used mainly for state visits, and that it does not contain Stein's name. Dr. Elisabeth van Houts gave her permission for me to study the Jane Ellen Harrison Collection, which is held in the Newnham College Library. She gave me access to the boxes of uncatalogued letters,

and she was helpful in providing secondary sources relating to Jane Harrison.

Jacqueline Cox, the Modern Archivist at King's College Library, Cambridge, confirmed my belief that Stein had lent two Picasso 'Nature Morte' paintings to the Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition (1912-13). She transcribed the relevant details from a copy of the exhibition catalogue, which is filed among the Roger Fry Papers.

I thank the following people for their efforts to trace a watermark, either 'Turkey Mill/ Linen Surface/ H' or 'Hinkey Mill/ Linen Surface/ H': Mrs. Elizabeth Miller (Assistant Curator of the Prints Section: Collection of Prints, Drawings and Paintings), Victoria and Albert Museum Library; Gill Harding, Information Officer at the Pulp and Paper Information Centre; Lyn Arlotte, Assistant Librarian at the St. Bride Printing Library; Evelyne Draper, Information Librarian at the Science Museum Library; Melvyn D. Card at the Public Record Office, Conservation Department; E. Haylock, Director of the Paper Agents Association; and D.G. McNay, Honorary Secretary of the Paper Makers' Allied Trades Association. The watermark occurs on paper Stein used for texts dated 1914: *Crete, In One, Wear, Gentle Julia* and *Painted Lace*. It is particularly relevant that the watermark 'Turkey Mill Linen Surface' was used by Harrods, Ltd. It is listed in the *Directory of Paper Makers* for the year 1912. Therefore, it is likely that these texts were composed during, or after, Stein's visit to England from July 1914 to October 1914.

In an attempt to trace the war relief organization named 'Urgent Fund for Serbian Wounded' (*How Could They Marry Her* 1915 ROAB p.27), I wrote to the Imperial War Museum. Mr. Terence Charman, of the Department of Printed Books, gave me a list of relevant secondary sources. It may be an American organization because the books (listed in the Bibliography), which focus upon British medical relief, do not refer to this fund.

Names of boats are a feature of *Mexico. A Play* (1916). I applied to the Guildhall Library, Aldermanbury for details of 'The Meadow', 'The Bolton' and 'The Loadstone' (G&P p.308. In the MS., 'Loadstone' is written beneath 'Bolton'). D.T. Barriskill informed me that these ships are not listed in the index to *Lloyd's List* (1915 and 1916). Neither do they appear in *Lloyd's Register of Shipping* (1915-16).

Julie Bubbers, Library Assistant at the Witt Library (a division of the Courtauld Institute of Art), informed me that they have no images of William Cook's paintings. Neither could she trace references indicating where his pictures are currently held.

INSTITUTIONS

In my search for details about Mr. James Lindo Webb, the British Vice-Consul to Palma in 1915-16, I wrote to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Mrs. Gillian Allen, of the Library and Records Department, sent a photocopy of *The Foreign Office List* (1917). She informed me that his name does not appear in the *Who Was Who* directories, nor in the *Times Index*, for these two years. Files of correspondence for Embassies and Diplomatic Missions are held at the Public Record Office. However, the period 1895-1924 is not covered for Mallorca.

Continuing on the trail for James Lindo Webb, I wrote to the British Consulate in Palma. Mr. Peter Cross, the present Consul, replied with information about James Lindo Webb's posts in 1920, and in 1932. When I visited Mr. Cross in Palma, he gave me access to a file on previous diplomatic appointments. He told me that the Consulate is too small to store large amounts of documentary material, and that detailed records for 1915-16 are not extant.

I applied to the 'Ambassade de France en Espagne' for details about the French Consul, M. Georges Félix Marchand. His appointment to Palma covered the years 1913-19. Monsieur F. Cousin informed me that records of diplomatic posts, dated before the Second World War, are not held in the French Embassy in Spain. I then wrote to the 'Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Direction des Archives et de la Documentation', Paris. Monique Constant sent me a photocopy of M. Marchand's entry in the *États de Service du Personnel*.

Mr. Stephen Roberts, Reference Center Director at the United States Embassy, gave me details about Juan Morey y Cabanellas. He was the American Consular Agent in Palma between 1909-17.

It is my belief that Stein used the name 'Count Daisy Wrangel', in *Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* (1916 G&P p.262), to refer to an individual whom she knew. The *Encyclopedia Britannica* shows that 'Wrangel' is the name of an aristocratic Swedish family, so I contacted the Swedish Embassy. Nancy Andersson, of the Information Section, sent me a photocopy of the 'Wrangel' entries in the *Swedish Book of Nobility*. In response to a second letter, she informed me that there is no entry in this book for a variation on the name: 'Drangel'.

Following this lead, I contacted the Swedish 'Riddarhuset' (House of Nobility) in Stockholm. Anna Hamilton, of the Genealogical Department, informed me that although 'Wrangel' is an old and famous name, there has never existed a Count Drangel, nor a Count Rangel. She sent photocopies of *Acta Wrangeliana* (No.2 1929) which carried an obituary for Count Fredrik Ulrik Wrangel (1853-1929), and *Acta Wrangeliana* (No.2 1934) which had an obituary for Count Anton Magnus Herman Wrangel (1857-1934).

Members of various institutions helped me in a search for factual evidence of a meteor, about which Stein wrote in *Lifting Belly* (1917 BTV p.72). For their responses to my inquiries, I thank: Mr. Peter Woolford, of the National Meteorological Library and Archive; Mr. Howard Miles, of the British Astronomical Association; Dr. P.J. Andrews, of the Royal Greenwich Observatory; and Mary Chibnall, of the Royal Astronomical Society. There was no record of a meteorite falling in Mallorca during 1915-16. In reply to a second letter, Mary Chibnall sent me information about the annual meteor showers which were recognized as such by 1915-16, and which were visible from Mallorca.

Lynne MacNab, Assistant Librarian at the National Maritime Museum, provided a range of useful information. She checked her files, without success, for the name: Edward Lincoln (*Mexico. A Play* (1916 G&P p.308). Also, the National Maritime Museum has no record of his autobiography, which is mentioned in the play. His name does not appear in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, nor in the *British Biographical Archives*. The Museum has no documents about Edward Lincoln's 'principle of two ships' (*Mexico. A Play* G&P p.308).

In response to subsequent inquiries, Lynne MacNab sent me details of the sinking of the 'Ponceño', a ship to which Stein refers in *Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* (1916 G&P p.223. See Chapter 3). She also provided data on a German auxiliary mine-layer, named 'Meteor', which was in service during the Great War (See Chapter 4).

Before my research visit to Palma, I contacted the British Council. G.E. Tunnell, Director of the British Council in Mallorca, gave me time-saving information about the libraries, and archives, on the island.

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In my investigation of the excised passages from *How Could They Marry Her* (1915), I approached Professor Robert Bartlett Haas. I am grateful for the information which he provided about the typescripts used for his collection of Stein's texts: *Reflection on the Atomic Bomb* (1973).

I thank Professor Linda Simon for giving me the date of Clarence Toklas' marriage to Claire Burns in 1915. This fact had eluded me, and I am glad that she gave her permission for me to use the date in my analysis of *All Sunday* (See Chapter 4).

Before my visit to Palma, Professor Robert DeMaria wrote from Deya with information about the island. He listed the archives which were likely to hold documents related to Stein's visit in 1915-16, he told me about a Mallorcan family named Bonnet and he made inquiries on my behalf. Over a fine lunch in Deya, Robert and Ellen DeMaria shared their knowledge of Mallorca, and put me in contact with other Mallorcan residents who assisted my research.

My stay in Palma was made a great success by the generosity of several individuals. Mrs. Elaine Kerrigan currently owns the house which Stein and Toklas rented in 1915-16. I am most grateful that she allowed me to see her home, and that

she gave me details about the house and garden. In subsequent correspondence, Mrs. Kerrigan has sent me information about the plants and trees which might have grown during Stein's residence. I thank her for permission to write about her house.

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During my stay in Palma, Mrs. Agneta Wrangel talked to me about the Wrangel family. In a long conversation, she gave me useful new directions in my hunt for Count Daisy Wrangel.

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PERMISSION TO QUOTE FROM UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL

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Claudia Mense sent me photocopies from *La Ultima Hora*, a newspaper printed in Palma during 1915-16. I am grateful for her permission to use extracts from her Diplomarbeit im Studiengang Drama, Theater, Medien: 'Approaching an Early Play by Gertrude Stein: *For The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters.*'

Michaela Giesenkirchen allowed me to quote from her M.A. dissertation for Washington University: 'The Multilingual Dimension in Gertrude Stein's Life and Work 1874-1919.'

ABSTRACT

The years 1914-16 marked a crucial period of innovation in Gertrude Stein's writing. Setting aside a wordplay style, she began to juxtapose snatches of conversation. This study traces the change of direction from its emergence in 1914, to its achievement in 1916. These two years were a time of intense creativity, as Stein experimented with ways of catching ephemeral voices in literary forms.

I have focused upon both the language (which I term 'voice-montage'), and upon the structures (which I call 'formations'), to show Stein's combined approach to the new style. It is the range of voice-montage formations which clearly demonstrates her commitment to exploring the visual display of the aural subject matter.

Chapter 1 establishes that this important change of emphasis occurred during Stein's visit to England, from July 1914 to October 1914. By assessing the early 1914 wordplay, it provides a literary context within which the innovation took place. A study of the first formations shows how Stein was beginning to organize the voice-montage.

Chapter 2 documents Stein's development of the voice-montage during her Parisian winter, from October 1914 to March 1915. An increasing complexity is seen in the variety of formations. To advance the arrangement of speech fragments, she experimented with transcribing written sources, influenced by cubist 'papier collé' paintings.

Chapter 3 examines three Mallorcan plays, in which Stein adapted the voice-montage to theatrical production. These scripts provoke a re-assessment of the potential for speech to create the basic elements of performance: landscapes, characters and events.

Chapter 4 shows the range of contrasting formations in the Mallorcan narratives. Stein removed speech from explanatory prose, and displayed its disjointed quality. New connections emerge as voices clash unexpectedly, and as the prose structures give a visual impact to the transcription of unlocated dialogues.

Chapter 5 compares two Mallorcan formations which use the voice-montage to present characters. By placing names as signatories of short letters, Stein created fleeting impressions of many individuals. This approach differed from her extensive portrayal of one acquaintance, William Cook.

Based upon my research in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, in Newnham College Library and in the Biblioteca Municipal de Palma, this study presents extensive factual data. Appendix 1 aligns texts dated 1914-16 within four stages of the voice-montage: early 1914 wordplay texts; late 1914 voice-montage compositions; texts of the Parisian winter 1914-15; and the Mallorcan writings dated 1915-16. In Appendix 2, I have compiled a detailed biographical essay. It provides additional information about the context in which Stein composed the voice-montage. Appendix 3 arranges extracts from Stein's correspondence, in chronological order, to give insights into her activities during 1913-17. Appendix 4 gives an alphabetical list of the names which occur in the texts of 1914-16, and which are a distinguishing feature of the voice-montage.

ABBREVIATIONS

Below each quotation from Stein's work, I have given an abbreviation of the title of the book in which it has been published. Full details of these texts are cited in the Bibliography.

A&B	Alphabets and Birthdays
AFAM	As Fine As Melanctha
BTV	Bee Time Vine
G&P	Geography and Plays
GMP	Matisse Picasso and Gertrude Stein
LIA	Lectures in America
MOA	The Making of Americans
MR	Mrs. Reynolds and Five Earlier Novelettes
P&P	Portraits and Prayers
PL	Painted Lace
ROAB	Reflection on the Atomic Bomb
SIM	Stanzas in Meditation
SW	Selected Writings of Gertrude Stein
UK	Useful Knowledge

Since the titles of these collections are abbreviated, works within the volumes are denoted by italics. When a title is placed inside inverted commas, I refer to the words of the title, not to the text itself.

Other abbreviations are used to locate my quotations from Stein. These indicate whether the material is transcribed from primary, or from secondary, sources.

- BTS** Bound Typescripts. These are held in the Gertrude Stein Collection at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. They arrange Stein's work in chronological order, and they are divided into calendar years. The extant volumes begin with Number 6 (1912), and end with Number 19 (1926).
- HG** Haas-Gallup. This is the abbreviation used to catalogue the Stein manuscripts in the Beinecke Library. It refers to the first curators of the Stein Collection: Robert Bartlett Haas and Donald Gallup. Each work is given a HG number, which indicates its order of composition. The catalogue is based upon the BTS volumes. It is published under the title: *A Catalogue of the Published and Unpublished Writings of Gertrude Stein* New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1941. When a HG number follows my quotation, this indicates that I refer to a manuscript source.
- LETTERS OF G.S. AND C.V.V.** Burns, Edward (ed.). *The Letters of Gertrude Stein and Carl Van Vechten (1913-1946). Volume I (1913-1935)*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1986.
- YCAL** Yale Collection of American Literature. This is the wider collection in the Beinecke Library, which holds the Gertrude Stein Collection. In 1941, Stein sent most of her manuscript drafts to Yale. In the spring of 1946, the remainder of her notebooks, letters, miscellaneous materials and first editions were deposited. YCAL is the main location of Stein's documents.

EDITORIAL PRACTICE

I have relied upon the chronology of Stein's works provided by the HG catalogue. Instances where I differ from this order are fully explained within the text. This applies to my re-dating of *M. Vollard et Cezanne* from 1912 to 1915 (See Chapter 2), and *All Sunday* from 1916 to 1915 (See Chapter 4).

In my quotations from Stein's compositions, all indentations, headings and word spacings follow the published text. Only in instances where the printed version does not reproduce Stein's handwritten arrangement do I transcribe the manuscript. If the design of the manuscript is copied, this is clearly stated in the text. This procedure mainly applies to the conventional format of letters (See Chapter 5).

The greatest care has been taken in transcribing from the manuscripts. I have checked, in detail, each extract with its handwritten source. In my quotation from handwritten letters and documents, I have not altered the authors' words. This approach yields insights which would be lost if editorial interference altered the original text. One example of this is the misspelling of Alice Toklas' surname, which is a guide whether the correspondent is familiar with Toklas. This has been useful in dating a letter sent by William Cook to Gertrude Stein, during her first visit to Mallorca in 1913 (See Appendix 3).

All ampersands, strokes, dashes and ellipses are in the authors' text. Where the author does not use French accents, I have not inserted them. This applies to Pablo Picasso's letters, for instance (See Appendix 3). It also applies to Stein's use of French words, for example, the title of the Mallorcan play *Bonne Annee. A Play* (See Chapter 5). The former case indicates Picasso's use of French as a second language. The latter case implies either that Stein chose not to use accents, or that Alice Toklas' typewriter did not have a facility to type them.

Words placed within square brackets are my own intervention in the text. At the points where I have made an elision within the work, I have marked it with the following symbol: [...]. This is particularly important in Appendix 3, because it distinguishes my selection of extracts from the dots which individuals used in their correspondence.

When I could not decipher an author's handwriting, I did not make a guess. Instead, I have replaced the illegible word with the following symbol: [?word].

To represent instances in the manuscript where a word is written above another, I have written both side by side. The use of two arrows (^ ^) indicates the beginning, and the ending, of the section of raised text.

With reference to the manuscript leaves, the terms 'verso' and 'recto' indicate the text placed on a single sheet. The terms 'right-hand page' and 'left-hand page' locate the text on a double page spread of the manuscript notebook, or the published version.

INTRODUCTION

The years 1914-16 marked a crucial period of innovation in Gertrude Stein's writing. Setting aside a wordplay style, she made a fundamental change in direction when she began to juxtapose snatches of conversation. During these two years, she created challenging texts from the varied presentation of everyday voices. Whilst living in England, Paris and Mallorca, Stein wrote a diverse collection of works which caught ephemeral voices in literary forms.

By capturing the colloquialisms, and the inconsistencies, of ordinary exchanges, Stein expressed her fresh appreciation of transitory voices. To seize the immediacy of fragments of speech, she created a style which differed from her previous emphasis upon wordplay. Imagistic word clusters had been appropriate to give an impression of physical objects, but in 1914, Stein recognized that she could bring a sense of unfamiliarity to imitations of casual talk.

This transition can be demonstrated by contrasting the wordplay style with a conversation between unnamed speakers:

Shatter a pan cold more a ground lease with mite and less line and check go
lights with peaked peaked pats widow grown not a spell soup not a spell soap
actually actually in in.

Morning gate. Pepper calls. No use.

Read oceans right burn rubber hose nerves color in a ten agreeable and a lest
woes.

(*Emp Lace* 1914 BTV p.161)

The bride was dressed in black. Her veil was black.

That is because she was a widow.

Oh is that so.

What is the custom in your country.

In my country they always wear white veils.

(*Mexico. A Play* 1916 G&P p.308)

In the example of early 1914 wordplay, an array of disconnected words jolts from one image to the next. A variety of visual nouns (soup, soap, gate, oceans) clash with destructive verbs (shatter, check, burn). Amid the cacophony, the word 'widow' is not given precedence. It has only an oblique reference to the final word: 'woes'. Not just

a grieving woman, this 'widow' sparks a word-association with 'window', due to the proximity of words like 'shatter' and 'lights'. Here, 'widow' is primarily a word contributing to a shocking effect of confusion.

By 1916, the style is completely altered. Voices construct a reasonable dialogue. Questions receive coherent answers, and speakers communicate information. This widow is clearly a woman who has a context. She has married again, after the death of her husband, and she is wearing traditional attire. A story can be deduced from this polite exchange. A foreigner watches a local wedding, and is confused by the bride's black dress. Puzzled by the funereal appearance of the bride, the foreigner strikes up conversation with another bystander. The extraction of a story about a widow is less straightforward with the wordplay style. A change of direction is exemplified by these two quotations.

As fleeting exchanges are presented in a forthright language, and as units of dialogue eddy from one subject to another, the artistic value of these voices lies in their juxtaposition. Stein was using a montage technique to examine the literary potential in creating a mosaic of incomplete conversations.

I have named this new style 'voice-montage'. This term encapsulates both the idea (that the spoken voice is valid literary material), and the expression of that idea (the montage technique). I will use this term as shorthand for the specific idea and style which emerged during 1914. Voice-montage enabled Stein to liberate speech from the constraints of consistent characters, and causal plots. Fragments of conversation are free from narrative explanation because they exploit the ellipses of montage.

A contrast between early 1914 wordplay texts and late 1914 voice-montage compositions indicates the significant change Stein made in her language during that year. I will assess their differences to formulate my interpretation of the transition which took place in 1914. It is an examination which will trace Stein's new idea, the departure from wordplay, and the texts through which the voice-montage was first expressed. This initial analysis of the voice-montage provides a basis for my discussion of work dated beyond 1914.

After establishing that an important alteration took place in Stein's style, I will present textual evidence which locates it to works composed during her visit to England, from 6 July 1914 to 17 October 1914. A complex interweaving of factors stimulated the innovation during these three months. Stein was responding to the outbreak of the

Great War, to her social role as a house guest and to her contact with English intellectuals. Since she transformed elements from her environment into her writings, I will consider the main external influences which contributed to the shift towards a juxtaposition of voice fragments.

Stein's creative work during 1914-16 has literary merit because it builds upon the first expressions of her idea. A range of structures in the texts of these two years exhibits her sustained expansion of the voice-montage. Stein placed the voice-montage within diverse arrangements to investigate the impact of visual display upon the performance, and the reading, of her compositions. She employed the voice-montage to re-define conventional boundaries of two forms: the play and the narrative. With reference to the voice-montage in the play form, I will use the phrase 'unassigned speech' to indicate a lack of character ascription. In the narrative form, the phrase 'unlocated speech' will apply to voices which belong to unnamed interlocutors.

There are finer delineations within these two forms. To indicate Stein's variations upon the forms of the play and the narrative, I will use the term 'formations'. By separating the formations, it becomes easier to understand the particular idea which governs each work. Studying representative texts in detail enables a selection of works to provide illustrations of general principles. My approach aligns miscellaneous writings within specific formations of the voice-montage. It also displays Stein's extensive investigation into the implications of structure upon the performance of unassigned speech, and upon the reading of unlocated voices.

My subject is the range of formations within Stein's texts dated 1914-16. Therefore, I shall dedicate sections of my chapters to examine each formation in detail. In addition, I will use several new terms to encapsulate the essential quality of different structural units. These descriptive terms serve to clarify the principles which guide each voice-montage composition.

In 1914, at the beginning of the new style, the voice-montage was presented within the formations of prose segments and indented headings. As Stein concentrated upon a shift of approach, she placed the early expressions of the voice-montage within short compositions. Late 1914 voice-montage texts consist of paragraph units, like brief essays. An early development can be seen in works which arrange indented words, and phrases, to separate the paragraph units. Within these structures, Stein was using the voice-montage to confront two significant aspects of her stay in England during 1914;

the Great War, and her extended visit to the home of Alfred North Whitehead. Prose segments were used to transmit confusion over the receipt of war news. Indented headings caught the chattering voices of family life. I will assess these two formations in Chapter 1 to trace the emergence of the voice-montage, and to show that it was displayed in structures which were appropriate to communicate two different subjects.

An increasing sophistication in the voice-montage is evident in the diverse formations which Stein created during her Parisian winter 1914-15. During this period, she developed the formation of indented headings to disrupt the conventional structures of the play and the narrative forms. Fragments of external texts are incorporated into the sub-titled sections, and I will propose that Stein was influenced by the technique in cubist art of 'papier collé'. At this time, Stein wrote three pieces which she called 'novels'. I have named the formations which correspond to this 'novel' style: vertical words, single sentences and notes transferred. These compositions are similar in their length, but they contain differences in their approaches to the voice-montage. Through the formation of documentary realism, Stein expressed her decision to leave Paris. She presented her options in a style of factual reportage. A variety of visual structures shows that Stein committed herself to a thorough examination of the voice-montage during the Parisian winter 1914-15. I will analyze these formations in Chapter 2 in order to trace a growing complexity in Stein's presentation of the voice-montage.

In the Mallorcan writings, the voice-montage reached its full potential. A year of intense creativity gave rise to a series of formations which are diverse, and imaginative. I will devote the three subsequent chapters to locate the main areas of achievement in the texts dated 1915-16.

During this later period, Stein made an extensive exploration of the play form. Her experiments within the voice-montage plays can be demonstrated by focusing upon three formations: voices which create landscapes on stage; voices which create characters on stage; and voices which create events on stage. Stein was presenting dramatic challenges in her application of the voice-montage to theatre scripts. A miscellany of unassigned voices requires a complete re-evaluation of the conventions governing speech in a theatrical context. She provoked a conflict between listening to disembodied words, and seeing the actors amid stage props. Using Dylan Thomas' phrase, each of the Mallorcan scripts is 'a play for voices' because they encourage many imaginative reconstructions, in defiance of a single physical interpretation. In the scripts

where characters are assigned specific lines of dialogue, a director's options are manifold in transmitting the voice-montage to a performance. Reading these Mallorcan plays as if one were a director, or an actor, is the best way to realize their complex implications. A radical subversion of traditional theatre offers exciting possibilities for stage presentation. I will discuss these three formations in Chapter 3 to show how the voice-montage can create the basic elements of performance (scenery, people, plot) through the medium of speech and minimal stage presence.

Furthermore, Stein created a range of formations through which she examined the narrative form. Visual patterns, and aural rhythms, can be appreciated by identifying a particular formation which governs each of the Mallorcan narratives. Narrative formations contrast. For example, the dialogue opposes the monologue in a differing approach to fragments of unlocated speech. These formations test two interpretations. First, that every line is voiced by a new speaker, creating many interlocutors. Secondly, that the entire text is recited by just one speaker. Also, the formation of a repeating title phrase contrasts with the formation of headline texts. Internal reiteration of a single phrase differs from a structure which isolates text under capitalized sub-titles. In the longest narrative work of her Mallorcan year, Stein accumulated a series of stories. By structuring them under novelistic headings, and by absorbing them within the flow of the text, she could tell the same tale in varying ways. Each of these formations will be reviewed in Chapter 4 to demonstrate the ways in which Stein was displaying speech in the narrative form.

Two formations, the letter texts and the portraits, are aligned by their different approaches to one subject - the presentation of character. Letter texts are collections of miscellaneous, fictional letters. Stein uses this formation to question the roles of correspondents in a narrative, and in a play. Coherent characters are undermined by the letter texts because these works present a random selection of communications. Characters appear only as fleeting signatories. A crowd of letter-writers, each of whom is realized through just one letter, contrasts with a single subject in the portraits. In this formation, Stein investigates the personality of William Cook, her Mallorcan acquaintance. One man is presented in different guises: he is characterized by the names Cook, and Captain William Edwards; also, he is a spectator at the Spanish bullfights. Despite exhaustive questioning by unlocated voices, the character remains elusive. In Chapter 5, I will discuss the two structures which encase the array of

transitory names and the detailed analysis of a reticent individual.

Thus, formations are finer delineations of the play and the narrative forms. They concentrate my analysis of Gertrude Stein's voice-montage in 1914-16.

Studying Stein's texts in the order in which they were composed enables the reader to trace an incremental development of the voice-montage formations. To present the increasing sophistication of Stein's new style, I will follow the work through three chronological periods: the emergence of the voice-montage in England during the summer of 1914; the development of the voice-montage in Paris during the winter of 1914-15; and the achievement of the voice-montage in Mallorca during the year 1915-16. My first two chapters will focus upon the formations in texts dated within the first two periods. Since the Mallorcan year was an extremely productive time, the next three chapters will examine different formations which arose from this final chronological period.

One consequence of my approach is the need for accurate dating of texts within these three chronological periods. The Bound Typescripts in the Stein Collection list Stein's compositions within calendar years. My interpretation of the work dated 1914-16 aligns them according to events in Stein's life, as she moved between England, Paris and Mallorca. These geographical locations also mark time periods which span the start of two calendar years. Based upon my study of the manuscript notebooks, and upon my identification of names and events in the texts, I will suggest new divisions within the chronology of Stein's writings. In Appendix 1, the Bound Typescript order is re-defined to arrange the voice-montage texts within the three distinct stages of composition. It is a significant result of the direct style of the voice-montage that textual references can be used to assist this dating process.

Stein captured historical moments by incorporating actual events, and people whom she knew, into her work. Therefore, for various reasons, it is necessary to understand the biographical context within which Stein composed the voice-montage. The external pressures of her environment directly affected the tone, the structure, and the subject of her compositions. Her texts can be dated by comparing specific references with documented facts. By identifying a real event, or the name of an acquaintance, one can see the strategies of detachment which Stein brought to the sources of her writing.

Important changes were taking place at this time, both in Stein's private life and

in international affairs. Alterations occurred in her personal relationships: her brother, Leo, moved from 27 rue de Fleurus, the apartment in Paris which they had shared for eleven years; Stein spent a total of three months as a guest in two English households, a unique experience for her; she spent a year alone with Alice Toklas in Mallorca, and together they created a new home. The Great War influenced Stein's decisions to extend her stay in England, to leave Paris, and to prolong her visit to Mallorca. War caused her deep concern for the safety of writers, and painters, with whom she associated in France, and she feared the consequences for their work.

Clearly, this period brought unprecedented influences to bear upon Stein's writing. I shall assess the external factors at the points where they are used as material for the voice-montage compositions. For instance, I shall consider Stein's meeting with Jane Harrison because she is a traceable influence upon early voice-montage compositions. By contrast, I will discuss the impact of Stein's acquaintance with Alfred North Whitehead. Despite their frequent conversations, he does not emerge directly in the voice-montage works. A biographical background to each chapter is presented in Appendix 2. This Appendix gives additional information about Stein's life during 1914-16. Extracts from letters are arranged chronologically in Appendix 3, which establishes a precise account of Stein's activities during this period. In this way, attention is concentrated upon the voice-montage formations, whilst ensuring that the relevant details of Stein's biographical context are available for consultation.

Stein's idea of accumulating fragments of ordinary speech gave rise to a series of works which invite a fresh appreciation of a familiar language. The vocabulary is homely, the voices speak of everyday concerns, the subject of conversation is often commonplace. With these materials, Stein led towards theatrical performances in which voices conjure all elements of physical scenery and action. She also created a range of visual structures which interrupt, or bring rhythm to, the reading of narrative. Each composition is a new endeavour which expresses her keen awareness of the language overheard in any environment, and uttered in most daily exchanges. Yet, each voice-montage formation contributes to her sustained exploration of the forms in which lines of speech are performed and read. The corpus of Stein's writing is enlivened by these direct voices. They are disconcertingly juxtaposed to invigorate staid concepts of generic rules, and to encourage an imaginative approach to reading. When Stein altered her language from wordplay to voice-montage, she made an advance which provided a

direction for her later writings. Thus, the compositions which Stein created from the voice-montage have a vital place in the progression of her changing styles.

CHAPTER 1

EMERGENCE OF THE VOICE-MONTAGE IN ENGLAND: 1914.

Alterations of style were integral to Gertrude Stein's writing process. Throughout her career, she was willing to introduce a change of emphasis, to assess its potential, and then to pursue the new linguistic direction. Descriptive narrative, in such early novellas as *Fernhurst* (1904-1905), had developed into rhythmic repetition in *Three Lives* (1905-1906), *The Making of Americans* (1906-11) and the word portraits (1908-12). A further advance was made during 1911, from the accumulation of repeating sentences to imagistic word clusters. This wordplay style is exemplified by *Tender Buttons* (1912).

The transition during 1914, from wordplay to voice-montage, was the next stage in Stein's revision of her language. It was not an inevitable change of direction. In this chapter, I will present the complex, interweaving factors which contributed to the emergence of the new idea.

It is apparent that Stein had reached the limits of her wordplay style. In 1914, she was searching for change. The early 1914 wordplay compositions isolate single letters, and single words, upon single lines. It was not possible to separate language further. Stein's visit to England in 1914 brought a new awareness of spoken voices, but this external environment alone did not cause the change. She had been to England before, in 1902-1903 and in 1913. These visits did not result in an alteration of her writing style. The difference in the 1914 visit to England was the accumulation of factors which, together, prompted Stein to revise her approach to language. This visit brought new pressures of social interaction at a time when the wordplay style was reaching the end of its aesthetic development. I define the outcome of the revision as voice-montage.

Stein was expressing her belief that words spoken around her offered new material to concentrate her experiments with language. Donald Sutherland assesses her alteration of style in 1911. His terms elucidate her move towards voice-montage in 1914:

This need for a *dépouillement* or stripping was not rare with Gertrude Stein and she knew it was frequent with Picasso. [...] her passage from one stage to another was governed less by knowing the next logical step than by impulse and the instinct for renovation or *dépouillement*, and it was often enough a lucky accident like being in Granada or Bilignin or America that helped to set her going.¹

England should be added to Sutherland's list of places which invigorated Stein's 'dépouillement'. Visits in 1902-1903, and in 1913, did not inspire change for various reasons. On the first occasion, Stein was focusing her full attention upon a descriptive, autobiographical work. On the second occasion, imagistic word clusters were continuing to create a dynamic wordplay style. Her third visit, during the summer of 1914, was different. Stein's inner momentum, away from the exhausted potential of wordplay, was quickened by the 'lucky accident' of a prolonged visit to Cambridge and Lockeridge. For three crucial months in 1914, Stein concentrated on a new way to express her perception of daily life. She had the strength to alter her focus from an achieved style, and to face the uncertainty of an unexplored approach.

Steven J. Meyer aligns this vigorous overhaul of language with the belief which Ralph Waldo Emerson expressed in his essay, 'Self-Reliance': 'Power ceases in the instant of repose; it resides in the moment of transition from a past to a new state [...].'² Diversity of styles, vital to Stein's method of composition, places her in an Emersonian tradition:

Their writing styles could be unashamedly, although unequally, fragmented because they both held 'abandonment' - what Emerson, in other moods, would also call transition, discontinuity, detachment - to be the law of writing as much as it was the unwritten law of life.³

Meyer's interpretation, which emphasizes the creative energy in the 'moment of transition', can be applied, in particular, to Stein's compositions dated 1914. As Stein

¹Donald Sutherland, *Gertrude Stein. A Biography of her Work* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1951), p.69 and p.174.

²Quoted from Steven J. Meyer, 'Stein and Emerson', *Raritan*, 2 (Fall 1990), pp.96-97.

³Meyer, 'Stein and Emerson', p.95.

detached her language from wordplay, to concentrate upon voice-montage, she found an invigorating direction which would be pursued during the Parisian winter 1914-15, and throughout the Mallorcan year 1915-16. Before a detailed examination of Stein's 'abandonment' of wordplay, and the advent of voice-montage, I will introduce my attribution of the new idea to the English summer of 1914. In this, I clarify the existing critical vagueness about dating the change in Stein's styles during this period.

My proposal is that Stein altered her language to a voice-montage style in response to the particular circumstances of her visit to England (6 July 1914 to 17 October 1914). These dates bring precision to the range of hypotheses about this innovation. Various critics have identified a change in Stein's writing, away from wordplay to the direct transcription of speech patterns. Yet, they have dated the transition to different periods during the Great War:

The shock of the war, which had inconvenienced, frightened, and dislocated her, changed her prose. Events intruded implacably upon the trivial, time-killing word-play that had characterized the year 1913. Normal speech and an increasing number of personal details entered Gertrude Stein's writing.⁴

In its clean, straightforward language, the prose poem of Belmonte [1916] is representative of the leaner, more explicable writing style that Gertrude developed in Majorca and continued for some time after.⁵

Gertrude's writing had evolved into verbal collage [in Mallorca], the assembling of experiences from everyday life. Bits of conversations intermingle with descriptions of the physical settings in which she walked and worked.⁶

⁴Richard Bridgman, *Gertrude Stein in Pieces* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1970), p.143.

⁵James R. Mellow, *Charmed Circle: Gertrude Stein and Company* (New York and Washington: Praeger Publishers Inc., 1974), p.220.

⁶Linda Simon, *The Biography of Alice B. Toklas* (New York: Doubleday and Company Inc., 1977), p.99.

After World War 1, the prose smooths out into a more easygoing, flowing style, as if the rigors of direct description had been weathered and the technique now lay comfortably in the hand of the writer.⁷

While Stein's meditative voice remains the underlying voice in her conversational pieces, as I call those she began to write in 1914, this voice begins to voice other voices as well. [...] Stein begins to employ literary renderings of speech as means to capture in her writing her enhanced attention to external circumstances and new personal encounters that her absence from Paris and the advent of the war had brought about.⁸

These assessments do not make a distinction between the texts of late 1914, which first express the voice-montage, and the variety of formations in work dated 1915-16. A great difference is overlooked between English, and Mallorcan, compositions. Critical opinion ranges across four years by locating the Great War as a boundary between two styles. Such generalization misleads the interpretation of texts written during this time.

In the following sections of this chapter, I will demonstrate that the three months in England, during 1914, were the crucial period of innovation. My analysis will depart from current criticism to gain a measure of accuracy required to understand the Mallorcan achievement. I will argue that the Mallorcan compositions, dated 1915-16, represent Stein's confident elaboration of a style which had emerged the previous year. Therefore, my opinion differs from the critical stance which posits that Stein began her examination of speech fragments during her stay in Mallorca. Later voice-montage compositions have a sureness, and a range of experimentation, which is based upon the shorter, and more tentative, narratives of 1914. The first voice-montage works are marked by their hesitant tone, and by their traces of imagistic word clusters. By studying the beginnings of the voice-montage, it is evident that Stein's endeavour to express her new idea required detachment from an established wordplay style.

⁷Robert Bartlett Haas, ed., *A Primer for the Gradual Understanding of Gertrude Stein* (Los Angeles: Black Sparrow Press, 1973), p.67. By 'direct description', Haas refers to the style of wordplay in *Susie Asado* (1913), p.56.

⁸Michaela Giesenkirchen, 'The Multilingual Dimension in Gertrude Stein's Life and Work 1874-1919', unpublished Master of Arts dissertation, Washington University, USA, 1991, pp.30-31.

Before Stein's visit to England in 1914, she had used wordplay to fragment units of language. Single words were displayed in sparse visual patterns. Three of these early 1914 wordplay texts,⁹ *Meal One*, *Emp Lace* and *Oval*, demonstrate Stein's point of departure. Each of the three texts exemplifies a different aspect of wordplay. *Meal One* creates spaces between words, and letters, to allow a reader to re-assemble the language into new meanings. *Emp Lace* uses a repetitive structure to expose discrepancies in the formulaic design. *Oval* arranges an extensive vocabulary of food to promote the sensuous quality of nouns.

An impression of ease is given by these wordplay texts. Lack of strain implies that such language games flowed freely within Stein's associative imagination. She isolated the sparse words to visual effect, and to invite a close reading of language components. It was a joyful, humorous style - a style which she chose to leave behind. Tension in the late 1914 voice-montage texts, written during her stay in England, is emphasized by comparison. One can appreciate the effort of 'dépouillement'. Vibrant and celebratory language would not fully return to Stein's writing until 1915-16. At this time, the Mallorcan environment provided a luxurious vocabulary for the voice-montage.

Meal One uses page space to isolate words, and to create a different vocabulary by the re-alignment of letters. Stein's method was to divide single words, and to place short sentences on separate lines. Visual patterns emerge, which promote the units of language. A context is created for the eye to range freely across the page, a process which disrupts the reading of conventional prose. She introduced space between words to fracture, and so to release, the linguistic components:

⁹My term 'early 1914 wordplay' refers to the style of compositions in BTS Volume 12, from *Meal One* to *One or Two. I've Finished*. These texts were probably written in Paris, before July 1914. They are characterized by a spacious page design, repetition of single words, puns and homonyms. 'Late 1914 voice-montage' refers to the works arranged in BTS Volume 12, between *Crete* and *Bird Jet*. These can be dated after July 1914. See Appendix 1 for my new divisions within the BTS order.

So up so up so up.

(*Meal One* YCAL HG 82. BTS Vol 12. BTV p.150)

Double spacing in the manuscript, and in the bound typescript, is not maintained in the posthumous publication. I have reproduced the original spatial arrangement to show how Stein chose an exaggerated layout. Her purpose was to emphasize the visual fracture of a single word: soup. It is the exposed framework of language, through a spatial display, which introduces a mobility in reading the given text. Structural arrangement requires the voicing of two words: so up. A pause is introduced which implies physical movement: so upward. This creates a reading which differs from the association of food, and from the monosyllabic enunciation, of the single word: soup.

Development in the early 1914 wordplay texts is seen by contrast with the wordplay style which Stein had been exploring since 1911. A composition dated 1909-12 includes a similar fragmentation of the words 'so up':

Lead kind in soap, lead kind in soap sew up. Lead kind in so up. Lead kind in so up.

(*A Long Gay Book* GMP p.116)

This example shows the limits to which Stein had taken her experiment with word fragmentation. There is a rhythm, and a diversity, in the 1909-12 wordplay. Mingling within three sentences are variations on a theme: soap, soup, sew up, so up. By early 1914, the single, fragmented word is stated three times. A fresh direction in Stein's language emerged from such points of *verbatim* repetition.

In *Meal One*, Stein acts as a guide to her own text. She offers a gradual instruction of her wordplay technique, which requires a concentration upon single words. Through her own examples, she demonstrates her process of fragmenting prose into wordplay:

A neglected english woman.

A neglected in chest woman.

[...]

It was a chinaman, it was a china mean on.

(*Meal One* BTV p.153 and p.154)

Simplified examples represent the first stage in Stein's lessons for the reader. Easy

exercises show the reader how to combine words by visual and aural association, to divide words into new linguistic units, and to re-arrange words within the page space. Once this manner of reading has been learned, by following examples, the reader is able to apply the same method throughout the text.

A second stage is marked in lines which do not, so readily, give away their new meanings. Altered configurations are left to the reader's imagination:

Meal one.
Pour leash.
(*Meal One* BTV p.147)

Sparse visual patterns exaggerate a pause in the reading of these single words, which begin *Meal One*. In the act of re-combining a fragmented language, the reader participates in the construction of a text, like one who shares the 'meal'. Words clash horizontally, vertically, diagonally in a verbal quartet which does not immediately harmonize.

Yet, Stein has written a methodology, by example, with which one can interpret this challenging extract of wordplay. Four words are placed symmetrically to indicate the corners of a meal-table. Re-arranging the letter space gives: Meal One - Me Alone. 'Meal one' might describe an activity paratactically: a meal is eaten, in isolation, by one person. Stein encourages the reader to re-arrange letter space, in the knowledge that they share a concept of the new words which emerge. For instance, 'mea lo ne' is not an acceptable release of new meaning. Implications of Stein's authorial voice, in the re-alignment of 'Me Alone', give a biographical clue to read the second line: Pour leash - Polish. Wordplay is used to disguise personal details. A new word is released which has a dual association in Alice Toklas' activity of polishing furniture, and her Polish ancestry.

A technique of reading, which re-arranges sparse textual units, can be applied to increasingly complex statements. One stage is guidance by example, a second stage is the isolation of elements of wordplay. In *Meal One*, a third stage buries the wordplay within imagistic sentences. Stein allows the reader to roam freely within her wordplay composition, to see which words can be re-aligned. Re-structuring the text allows multiple interpretations of the words:

I demur, I demur to a stroke and hand in hand.
I elaborate, I elaborate and pale coil pale coil of tender tunes.
(*Meal One* BTV p.154)

A reader who focuses upon the arrangement of words in a spatial pattern finds a complex, poetic beauty in these two lines. As the eye ranges across the printed page, one sees that the sentence structure carefully organizes an ambivalent vocabulary. Repetition of 'I demur, I demur' balances four words, and two verbal units, upon an axis of the comma pause. Symmetry in single words ('hand in hand') balances the repetition at the beginning, and at the end, of the sentence. An axis is formed between the units of two repeating phrases with the word 'stroke'.

Visual patterns call attention to the word 'demur', and the interpretations multiply. One person may demur, and reiterate their feeling of reluctance. A stroke becomes a blow, and the hand becomes a vice to grip another hand. Alternatively, one person may offer a weak resistance to the caressing hand-stroke, in a gentle scenario of seduction.

These lines are 'elaborate' in their intricacy. What do they expand, elaborate? The 'pale coil' perhaps. These two words are repeated, so they are not elaborated. They may be the subject of elaboration. Re-distributed within the letters, there is a name - Alice. By re-arranging the letters in the given text, a new meaning emerges which interprets the 'tender tunes' as love poems for Alice Toklas. Space between the four words which begin *Meal One*, quoted above, released a reading of Stein's and Toklas' relationship encoded within the wordplay. The same method of reading suggests the 'pale coil' is the delicate, but binding, loop of an equal love, and the white skin of a curled body.

Elaborate readings are appropriate to the early 1914 wordplay texts. Requiring sustained attention to single words, they have similarities with Imagist poetry. A meditative reading, which allows new words to emerge from the given text, has been carefully guided by the author.

Emp Lace arranges imagistic word clusters 'in place' to display a repeating vocabulary. Wordplay in *Emp Lace* aligns it with *Meal One* in that it has a similar concentration upon the single word. However, its emphasis is slightly different. Rather than using page space to isolate the components of language, it uses a style of accumulation to liberate a verbal energy. Stein creates a sense of momentum by

repeating single words:

Able to seize able to seize separate separate separate.
(*Emp Lace* BTV p.166)

Moments, in which a reader is 'able to seize able to seize' a new insight into the wordplay, are distinct. Each instant of discovering a hidden link is 'separate separate separate.' In this sentence, Stein demonstrates a method for the 'separate' appreciation of words throughout the text. For a reader, the ability to 'seize' puns, and verbal games, depends upon a realization that repetition releases new meanings:

Loads loads and loads loads.	(<i>Emp Lace</i> BTV p.165)
All all all all.	(<i>Emp Lace</i> BTV p.165)
Heap heap heap.	(<i>Emp Lace</i> BTV p.163)
Come Come Come Come.	(<i>Emp Lace</i> BTV p.163)

Vocabulary of volume is arranged in a repeating structure, which focuses attention upon its meaning. As words are 'heaped' and 'loaded', each re-works its definition. Without the heavy load of explanation, each word is given 'separate' emphasis.

With this lightness of touch, Stein provides a context for the patterning of words which progress. Lines may look similar, but each is slightly altered:

Red in eye lamb red in parlor notes red in eye lamb red in parlor notes
precious precious precious precious.
Red in parlor notes precious precious precious.
Red in parlor notes red in parlor notes red in precious precious.
Lovely eye lamb red in precious.
Lovely eye lamb red in parlor notes.
Precious Precious Precious.
(*Emp Lace* BTV p.164)

A repeating pattern emphasizes Stein's selection, and arrangement, of words. Economic use of vocabulary allows the reader to provide multiple interpretations of the accumulating words. An 'eye lamb' could infer an island, by its similar sound. 'Red' may indicate lamb meat, or something read in the 'parlor notes'. Introduction of 'lovely' into the pattern brings a fresh appreciation of the word: first, for its previous absence; and secondly, for its repetition in a mirroring effect between lines. There is a

descending scale in the word 'Precious'. Four times it appears in the first sentence, then three, two, one, none - finally, re-affirmation in isolation. It creates a parallel framework for the vertical reflection of 'lovely'. Stein reiterates the verbal components so that the visual pattern reveals much about the vocabulary she chooses. Lightness, like the 'lace' of the title, comes from a network of repeating words. She presents language, not as immediate synthesis, but as gradual accumulation with difference.

Statements which duplicate a formula, and then introduce an alteration, have the purpose of invigorating a reader's awareness of language structures. In *Emp Lace*, Stein gives wordplay the 'critical use' which David Lodge seeks in reiterative styles:

Iterative patterns are thus never in themselves, explanations of meaning or value. They may, or may not, offer useful and illuminating ways of accounting for meaning and value in literary texts. Whether they do so, and how they do so, will depend entirely upon the critical use that is made of them.¹⁰

Emp Lace is motivated by a different approach to repeating words from the idea which guided *The Making of Americans* (1906-11). This earlier novel used 'iterative patterns' to draw the reader into a sustained accumulation of interweaving sentences. Each sentence repeated, and slightly altered, the one before. Emphasis was added to the last previous statement, thereby building momentum within the same verbal tone. Stein uses the pattern of *verbatim* repetition in *Emp Lace* to startle the reader with a change in rhythm.

The 'illuminating' value, which Lodge demands, depends upon the structure of re-arranging the same words. Once a pattern is established, it is suddenly juxtaposed with a varied vocabulary. Both forms of wordplay act as a commentary upon the other:

¹⁰David Lodge, *Language of Fiction: Essays in Criticism and Verbal Analysis of the English Novel* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Plc., 1966), p.86.

Cow come out cow come out
cow come out come out cow
cow come out come out cow
cow come out cow come out
cow come out come out cow
cow come out come out cow
cow come out cow come out
cow come out cow come out
cow cow come out cow come out.

Honey is wet.

(*Emp Lace* YCAL HG 83. BTV p.167)

This alignment of words is my transcription of Stein's organization in the manuscript. I concentrate upon the manuscript layout to extract her initial impulse. The first sentence is written, in the format presented here, on one right-hand notebook page. The second sentence is the only text on the following right-hand page. Visual contrast is extreme. It offers a reading of pattern against brevity. Columns, in which the eye ranges across the lines, are set against a statement which combines two tactile images.

A visual momentum in the accumulating words, and a breathless pace in speaking the first sentence aloud, require care in reading, and in enunciation. By placing words within columns, in the manuscript notebook, Stein exposed fine delineations in duplicating one phrase. In reciting this extract, one divides the language into units of three: 'cow come out'; 'come out cow'. Horizontal lines are thus divided by a central vertical line, in the manuscript notebook arrangement. By this pattern, the double 'cow cow' breaks the rule in the final line. At the last moment, the sentence loses its two-part division. 'Cow cow' disrupts the columns, and it does not make sense as a word unit. One word is repeated, which disturbs the pattern, and the difference is noticed immediately. Stein was guiding her readers towards this close attention to language in the early 1914 wordplay texts.

Declension from a cataclysm of energy, to a sparse statement, is aural and visual. It is also a way of re-writing the same ambiguous subject. In the relationship between Stein and Toklas, the word 'cow' was a highly charged, and complex, sexual term.¹¹

¹¹Stein does not use the word 'cow' in a strident manner. It contributes to the style of the text, and it maintains an ambiguous reference. Critics do no justice to Stein's constant striving to capture her perception of daily life, in innovative literary forms, when they translate the word as a purely sexual term. The first reference to 'cow', implying a sexual interpretation, occurs in *GMP*: 'It was not strange that the cow came

Concentration of this private vocabulary onto the space of one page, and the pace at which it may be read aloud, suggest the intensity of verbal and sexual excitement. A flat tone in 'Honey is wet' brings a halt to that particular style of wordplay, but continues it in another. These three words are an integral part of the erotic context. 'Honey' implies a rich sweetness, with food bringing reference to Alice Toklas, and it is also an endearment. If a beloved person, addressed as 'honey', is 'wet', this may indicate the climactic pause of a sweat-beaded body. A reader is offered a sensuous extension of the repeating language. Re-introduction of a varied vocabulary evokes a moment of looking outward again after insular intensity. This acceleration, and deceleration, uses repetition to reproduce a sensual moment in a relationship. Wordplay can imitate sexual excitement, and simultaneously, it can expose the surface patterns of a restricted vocabulary.

Oval is characterized by a voluptuous vocabulary, and by a lightness of visual structure. It is the third early 1914 wordplay text which I will consider. A tone of playfulness suggests that it arose from Stein's vacation in Brittany, during April or May 1914. Stein and Toklas had travelled to northern France before their visit to England (See Appendix 2). The comic miscellany of nouns, mostly relating to food, leads me to conclude that it was one of the 'funny' poems, inspired by Brittany, to which Stein referred in a letter to Henry McBride:

We have just been in Brittany. Had lots of fun and did poems, quite funny ones.
(7 May 1914. YCAL McBride correspondence)

Dating the composition of *Oval* to April or May 1914, affects the interpretation of its wordplay. Comic inconsequence contrasts with a sombre tone in the speech fragments,

out and the square was there and the heat was strong.' (*GMP* p.249). At the end of *A Long Gay Book*, an elliptical context preserves the ambivalent interpretation of the words: 'Coo cow, coo coo coo./ Coo cow leaves of grips nicely./ It is no change. It is ordinary. Not yesterday. Needless, needless to call extra. Coo Coo Coo Cow.' (*GMP* p.115). These examples indicate the limits to which Stein had isolated the single word in her early 1914 wordplay texts. In *Emp Lace* the word 'cow' is a structural device, to be repeated without a context of varied vocabulary. Its function is to create a visual pattern, and to indicate the momentum of reiteration.

and the dense prose formations, of the first voice-montage works, dated after July 1914. *Oval* represents a last feasting upon nouns. In its sparse display of single words, humorous meanings are released from the page design. A sense of tension is apparent in the late 1914 voice-montage texts, which follow *Oval* in the Bound Typescript order. An impression of strain in the later works is emphasized by considering the different idea which propels the wordplay of *Oval*.

Lists of different words are 'funny' in their lack of reference to an external reality. New visual patterns are created, and the words comment upon the textual artifice:

Noticeable eye.
Noticeable eye oh.
Noticeable eye oh
Noticeable eye.
O.
Noticeable O eye.
(*Oval* BTV p.127)

A reader is invited to gaze at single words, at single letters, at iterative patterns, and at the words which break free from structuring devices. Isolation of the letter 'O' creates an aural play with the exclamation 'oh'. Stein juxtaposes the visual 'eye' with the verbal utterance. The capitalized single letter creates a visual break in the 'Noticeable eye' formula, when it is inserted in the final line. Its shape evokes the oval eyes which read *Oval*. There is a comic rebelliousness in this text. A reader is encouraged to look at the 'noticeable' design, and to see that its structure plays with the meaning of words.

At this point, *Oval* represents the limits which the wordplay style had reached by early 1914. Language could not be fragmented further than the single letter: 'O'. Repetition could not continuously create the same visual pattern, without losing its vitality. With hindsight, the 1914 transition to the voice-montage was motivated, in part, by Stein's recognition that she had fully explored the fun of wordplay.

Wordplay in *Oval* goes on and on. Having guided the reader toward a method of savouring single words, Stein provides a feast in *Oval*. It is a sustained celebration of language. Exuberance arises from the tactile quality, the colourfulness, and the sensuousness of its vocabulary. There are so many words about food that Elizabeth

Fifer's term, 'word salad', is an apt description.¹² Stein's pleasure is evident, as she arranges words to set one against the other, as if on an 'oval' platter, to show how sumptuous they are:

Apples.
Apples apples apples.
Apples.
Apple.
Apple going apple.
Apple against.
Apple Apple Apple.
(*Oval* BTV p.121)

Enjambment of 'apple against apple' disrupts the framework of horizontal lines. Words mingle in vertical, diagonal and horizontal patterns. Repetition of the noun re-creates the visual impact of apples laid side by side. Each noun gives the impression of a new apple, literally arranged in a row. Also, there is a sense that one apple seen on its own, followed by the glimpse of another. Stein's choice of the word 'apple' shows an application of wordplay to catch an image of orchards in Brittany. Repetition is employed to represent the fullness of the fruit. It is also a linguistic exercise in appreciating how odd the word 'apple' looks, and sounds, when it is repeated over and over. An ease with which nouns may be glided over in representational prose is not present in *Oval*, where the visual structure depends upon the single word.

Oval exhibits isolated segments of language, using the techniques of fragmentation which I examined with reference to *Meal One* and *Emp Lace*. It sets space between compound nouns to multiply the vocabulary:

Water melon.
Tortoise shell.
(*Oval* BTV p.119)

¹²"The free-recall method of Stein's composition, because of its tendency to be unselective and to overinclude stimuli, creates a word salad whose connections are fleeting and unstable." Elizabeth Fifer, *'Rescued Readings': A Reconstruction of Gertrude Stein's Difficult Texts* (Detroit: Wayne State Univ. Press, 1992), p.71. Fifer does not apply this term to *Oval*. She comments upon the '[...] violent imagery that dominates "Oval".' (p.130). 'Word salad' is a term borrowed from Elaine Chaika, 'Psychology of Schizophrenic Speech'.

It also arranges a pattern of repeating vocabulary. A new word is given emphasis when it is added to a formulaic framework:

Real old cake or.
Real old cake for weather.
Real old cake forty.
Real old forty weather.
(*Oval* BTV p.132)

Eclecticism in this early 1914 text creates a sustained presentation of a particular type of wordplay. A random selection of vocabulary in *Oval* demonstrates the inspiration from everyday foodstuffs: cream, chicken, peas, apples, butter, honey, beets, cake, milk, sauces, pies, cheese, bread, salt, vegetables. All these nouns are given equal precedence within a composition which greedily accumulates a language of culinary variety.

Absorbed within this miscellany is the figure of Alice Toklas. Providing food for Stein's body, Toklas handles the materials which are transformed into wordplay. A network of words arises from her initials, A.B.T.:

A blame to a blame.
A blame to a blame.
Cooking.
(*Oval* BTV p.137)

Food provides Stein with a vivid subject for her wordplay. Also, it enables her to introduce a luxuriant eroticism: 'Bellying. Bellying bellying in close. Bellying in close.' (*Oval* BTV p.137). In a style which juxtaposes a tactile realism in its vocabulary of food, and an ambiguous interpretation in the isolating structure, Stein is able to encode a love poem to Alice Toklas. The variety of nouns brings a lighthearted comedy to the celebration of food, love and language. *Oval* represents both the confident achievement, and the limitation to further development, implicit in the early 1914 wordplay texts.

It is important to stress the momentum towards change, gathering within the early 1914 wordplay texts, because Stein's readiness for a new style was met with her reaction to external events. Stein could not isolate her language further, unless she took the next logical step to create pictorial designs with single words and letters. A style of

technopaignia would lead her in the direction of the 'idéogrammes lyriques', or 'calligrammes', which Guillaume Apollinaire had been exploring since 1913.¹³ A complete shift in emphasis may have occurred because Stein knew that Apollinaire had already experimented with creating word-pictures.

Sparse verbal structures, in *Meal One*, *Emp Lace* and *Oval*, distinguish their wordplay from Stein's other literary styles. By again selecting the subject of food, exemplified in *Oval*, it is possible to see the impulse which contributed to the transition of styles in 1914. A chronological selection of texts traces the development from a repeating narrative, to a wordplay prose, and then to the fragmentation of the early 1914 wordplay. Such an approach also shows the return to a modified narrative form in the voice-montage.

Reference to food is metaphorical in the repeating narrative of *The Making of Americans*. Stein's purpose is to illustrate her categorization of personality types:

[...] these changes in the girls with her were like all the objects around her, like the making of dresses to her, like the changing of the eating from the green stuff they brought to her, through the cooking that was natural for her to the eating that came after [...] and this nature or natures in them mixes up with the bottom nature of them to make a whole of them as when things are cooked together to make a whole dish that is together then.

(*The Making of Americans* p.101)

In this instance, the food is unspecific ('the green stuff') because it serves as a homely illustration of Stein's system of the 'bottom nature' of individuals.¹⁴ The idea which motivates this language is the theoretical framework of human categories. An intellectual hypothesis is expressed through a prose structure which depreciates the sensuous naming of specific food items.

¹³Roger Little, *Guillaume Apollinaire* (London: The Athlone Press, 1976), p.7. *Calligrammes* was published in March 1918.

¹⁴See also: 'In the final version [of *The Making of Americans*], in which David's whole development is studied from the point of view of his search for death, the conjunction is made between his 'ideal of eating' and 'elaborate ideas of thoughts of death.' For David's 'way of eating' becomes his way of dying. As Gertrude puts it, the 'problem of nutrition is the problem of death.' (NB-MA p.10)' (Leon Katz, 'The First Making of *The Making of Americans*: A Study Based on Gertrude Stein's Notebooks and Early Versions of her Novel (1902-1908)', unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia Univ., 1963, p.264).

In 1911, Stein reacted to the visible world by focusing upon a tangible, vivid vocabulary. However, as the repeating style altered to the imagistic word clusters, the accumulation of named foodstuffs maintained the prose structure:

Little leg of mutton always still and true, little long potatoe is so like the green, little celery eaten, shows the time of day, little rhubarb is all red and still there is a last time to discuss a matter, little piece of pudding is not very red, little piece of fish fried is the same as bread, little pieces of it are the bread there is, each one is all happy and there is no time for pears.
(*A Long Gay Book* GMP p.103)

There is a progression indicated in the narrative description of this meal; it has a first course of mutton and potatoes, with a second course of rhubarb pudding. Realistic definitions present the appearance of the food: '[...] rhubarb is all red [...] little piece of fish fried [...]'. This style of listing food items developed into the spacious arrangement of the early 1914 wordplay compositions, which I discussed with reference to *Oval*.

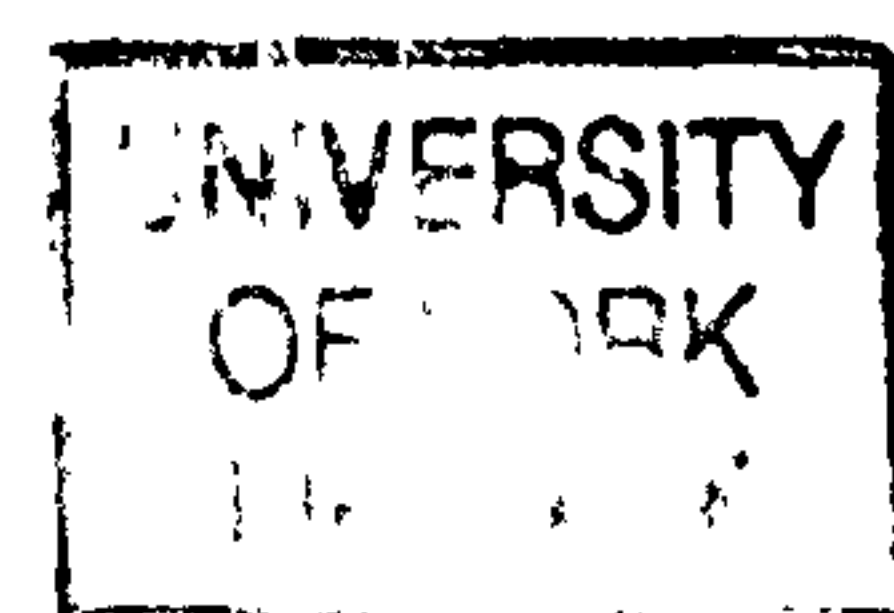
To emphasize the limits to which the early 1914 wordplay texts isolated words, it is worth returning to the visual impact of this subject matter:

Vegetables.
This made a change.
All the salt.
That was nice.
Bread and butter.
(*Oval* BTV p.147)

In this sparse arrangement, the 'vegetables' and 'bread' are extracted from the context of a meal, so that the reader appreciates each word. Wordplay in *A Long Gay Book* listed these items as part of an accumulating description of a particular meal. Stein later chose to eradicate this reliance upon a coherent event.

Disquiet is a characteristic of the late 1914 voice-montage compositions. Items of food concentrate an atmosphere of tension in Stein's expression of a different style:

I supposed that there was more bread. I meant to help myself to oranges and butter. I meant to help myself to oranges and butter. [...] Sugar, tea coffee cocoa and other articles, they were generally half their value. [...] The search for food and fuel became secretly cooking potatoes.
(*Painted Lace* PL pp.1-2)



Response to social convention brings a tightness to the first experiments in voice-montage prose. In this extract, there is no more bread, someone cannot reach out for more food, basic food items lose their value, potatoes must be cooked in secret. A sparse visual arrangement, which isolates single words, is not seen in late 1914 voice-montage formations. Wordplay is less appropriate in compositions which juxtapose snatches of ordinary speech.

Stein's innovation in her style during the summer of 1914, traced in the different contexts of food vocabulary, might be described as a move away from poetry towards prose. Two critics differentiate these genres in terms which elucidate Stein's transition from wordplay to voice-montage:

It is true that the language of poetry calls attention to itself and thus invites critical attention, whereas the language of prose fiction approximates more to casual speech, and arouses the interests of ordinary life.¹⁵

What is original is Stein's use of [William] James's theories as the basis for distinguishing between poetry and prose. Prose is based on verbs, prepositions, and conjunctions (the flights): the words that support syntax. These words function along the horizontal axis and have to do with contiguity: they *combine* to hold the words of the sentence in relation to one another. Poetry, on the other hand, is based on the noun or the substantive (the perchings).¹⁶

The 'language of poetry', in the early 1914 wordplay texts, contrasts with the 'casual speech' in the late 1914 voice-montage compositions. Visual patterns, and aural rhythms, are released when language is fragmented. Early 1914 wordplay texts are arranged to promote a poetic emphasis upon single words. A sparse visual arrangement 'calls attention to itself'. In William James' vocabulary, the early 1914 wordplay texts represent 'the perchings' of poetry, without the connecting 'flights' of a narrative context.

However, these two approaches to language may be rewardingly intertwined. Reading the early 1914 wordplay texts provides an appreciation of the late 1914 voice-montage writings. Attention to single words deepens an awareness of the simple expression in carefully crafted voice-montage exchanges. Such mingling of genres is

¹⁵Lodge, *Language of Fiction*, p.32.

¹⁶Randa Dubnick, *The Structure of Obscurity: Gertrude Stein, Language, and Cubism* (Urbana and Chicago: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1984), p.8.

captured neatly in the French term 'poème-conversation', summarized by Roger Little as 'a text that notes as they occur fragments of conversation overheard from people around the poet.'¹⁷ An essential aspect of the 'poème-conversation' is this emphasis upon the poet, who weaves a lyricism into the record of snatches of overheard talk. In the first voice-montage compositions, Stein expressed two different ideas about language: wordplay and voice-montage. Methods of reading which she encouraged in her poetic texts apply to the prose works which exhibit the emerging style.

2

General patterns, in the emergence of the voice-montage, can be traced in the chronological order of Stein's works, dated to 1914. Long, spacious wordplay texts shift to brief, dense prose formations. Imagistic word clusters change to fragments of ordinary speech. These first voice-montage compositions provide an insight into Stein's process of capturing snatches of conversation. In striving to express the voice-montage, she focused her attention upon the new language, rather than upon its structure. There is an anxious tone in these first, short voice-montage texts. Stein does not disguise her struggle to convey everyday speech, and to keep it accurate, in the written word.

Three late 1914 voice-montage works, *Crete*, *In One* and *Gentle Julia*, reflect Stein's tension in transmitting her new idea. Upon the basis of such short experiments arose the confident achievements of the Mallorcan compositions. Stein was invigorated by the haphazard arrangement of speakers, and by the sudden interjection of a new voice. She incorporated this randomness directly into the voice-montage. By tracing the details Stein used to re-create a particular context through its voices, I am able to clarify the English locations which inspired these compositions. For example, *Crete* is associated with Newnham College, Cambridge, and *Gentle Julia* is associated with Lockeridge, Wiltshire. Accurate dating of the late 1914 voice-montage works, allows me to show how Stein was responding to new social circumstances in England at this

¹⁷Little, *Guillaume Apollinaire*, p.41. Richard Bridgman believes that Guillaume Apollinaire was 'in part responsible' for Stein's change of focus towards accumulating snatches of conversation (*Gertrude Stein in Pieces* p.142). Despite their acquaintance, and a similarity in their ideas about literature, there is no evidence of Guillaume Apollinaire's direct influence on the emergence of Stein's voice-montage.

junction of two styles.

In the organization of texts in Bound Typescript Volume 12, for 1914, *Crete* is the first voice-montage composition.¹⁸ Before examining its language in detail, I will consider the biographical implications of Stein's chronological arrangement of her typescripts. *Crete* follows *Oval* in the typescript order. It is my opinion that the wordplay compositions are dated before the visit to England, which began on 6 July 1914. An alteration of style, in the short voice-montage texts, leads me to date works placed immediately after *Oval* to Stein's English summer. Dating *Crete* to July 1914 indicates that an external factor contributed to the transition from wordplay to voice-montage. When commenting on this text, critics have not discussed the importance of Stein's meeting with Jane Harrison¹⁹ at Cambridge. Yet, my research has revealed a complex background to this encounter, which is central to understanding the tense voices in *Crete*.

Evidence is found, in the opening sentences of *Crete*, which indicates that Stein composed it in response to her ten day visit (10-20 July 1914) to Mr. and Mrs. Mirrlees,²⁰ at the start of her three month stay in England. It is an emphatic beginning to one of the first voice-montage compositions. Moreover, it clearly locates a particular place:

¹⁸Stein's arrangement of her typescripts is the basis for the chronology in the 1929 *transition* bibliography, and in the YCAL HG listing. Thus, *Crete* is given the prominent position, in the order of Stein's work, as the first voice-montage composition (See Appendix 1). This does not establish that it was written first, but the events which are its source took place early in the visit to England.

¹⁹Jane Ellen Harrison (9 September 1850 - 15 April 1928) entered Newnham College, Cambridge in 1898 to take up a Resident Lectureship in Classical Archaeology. She remained on the staff of Newnham College until 1922. (Renate Schlesier, 'Jane Ellen Harrison' Freie Universität Berlin, in Ward W. Briggs and William M. Calder III, eds., *Classical Scholarship: A Biographical Encyclopedia* New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1990, pp.130-31).

²⁰William Julius Mirrlees was an engineer, and later a businessman in Natal. He married Emily Lina Moncrieff. Their daughter, Helen Hope Mirrlees (8 April 1887 - 1 August 1978), studied at Newnham College from 1910-1913. She did not take her Tripos. *Newnham College Register. Volume 1 1871-1923* (Cambridge: Newnham College, 1979), p.224. See Appendix 2 for details of Stein's relationship with the Mirrlees family.

Is Miss Clapp at Newnham now. She has been about ten days in bed. Oh I am so sorry. [...] Oh I am not so sorry.
(*Crete* BTV p.172)

During her visit to Cambridge, Stein shared the Mirrlees' home at 11 Cranmer Road. Newnham College is a five-minute walk from this house. Hope Mirrlees had been a student at Newnham in 1910-13. Both Hope Mirrlees, and her parents, were close friends of Jane Harrison, who held a Newnham Resident Lectureship in Classical Archaeology. Stein's invitation to a luncheon at Newnham College arose from this network of social relationships.²¹ Her disquieted response to this event was expressed through a negative tone in *Crete*.

A woman given the clipped, harsh name, 'Clapp', is set in a context of serious illness. Sickness has required ten days bedridden absence from Newnham. This verbal exchange is informative, but formal. Voice-montage accumulates to create an atmosphere of sparse social intercourse. One speaker offers polite condolences, and then withdraws from a sympathetic attitude. Either this person has a change of opinion, or expresses the truth which exposes an earlier insincerity. Alternatively, two speakers differ in their statements. This dialogue generates an ambiguous aural environment. All the speakers are unidentified. There may be two interlocutors, or four participants in a conversation.

The name 'Miss Clapp' is a literary device, which contributes to an oppressive ambience in the voice-montage. There is no reference to a woman named Miss Clapp in the *Newnham College Register* for the years 1871-1923. This fact leads me to conclude that Stein was using the style of direct speech to express, indirectly, her negative opinion of Jane Harrison. Stein may have linked the strident sexual inference

²¹This luncheon seems to have been an informal occasion. I found no reports of it in the *Cambridge Chronicle* between 10-20 July 1914. Since this local newspaper carried details about University functions, this suggests that it was not an official event. In a letter of 27 November 1990, Miss Ann Phillips (Archivist at Newnham College, preceding Dr. Elisabeth van Houts) informed me that there was no official record of Stein's visit, and that the Visitors' Book is used mainly for state occasions. As Stein's name does not appear in this book, it may be concluded that the luncheon was not considered of major significance by Newnham College members of that time.

of the name with either the illness which is discussed, or with the taint of the sickbed.²² Jane Harrison had a heart complaint, which forced her to rest quietly. Thus, it is conceivable that Stein was making a reference to this medical condition. Another interpretation of the word 'clap', as the response of an adulatory audience, may also align this name with Jane Harrison. Her lectures had a theatrical quality, which attracted large numbers of Cambridge students. Newnham College students were keen to sit beside Jane Harrison at meals, Stein may have witnessed such popularity during her luncheon meeting.²³ Fragments of conversation mark the emergence of the voice-montage, initially they are used to create a disconcerting atmosphere.

Stein's choice of a single word for her title, 'Crete', was a result of her acquaintance with Jane Harrison's work. Crete directs this text towards the meeting with Jane Harrison, as much as the reference to Newnham College.²⁴ It is a further indication that Stein was placing details of her English environment directly into her early voice-montage compositions. Stein's title is drawn from the opening of Jane Harrison's book, *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion*. It was published in 1912, two years before their meeting in 1914:

²²The sexual inference might imply that Stein was reproducing the caustic speech of Alice Toklas: 'One of them [a woman at the hotel in Acqui Terme where Toklas was resting in 1962] had a mild case of arthritis in her hands, so mild she could relieve it by clapping them, and Alice referred to her as Madame Clap-clap. I was accustomed to listening rather sharply for her euphemisms, as she said compromise for seduce or worse, outspoken for shameless, impure for bisexual, and inadequate for dead drunk, so I did not at once understand that Clap-clap referred not only to the noises of the lady.' Donald Sutherland, 'Alice and Gertrude and Others', *Prairie Schooner*, 45 (1971), p.297.

²³'The high point of each day in college seems to have been dinner, at which Jane [Harrison] would hold court at table. [...] students fought for a seat near her [...].' Sandra J. Peacock, *Jane Ellen Harrison: The Mask and the Self* (New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1988), p.98.

²⁴Arthur John Evans had begun excavating on Crete in 1900. It was an introduction to his Cretan artifacts, in 1901, which formed the basis of Jane Harrison's academic distinction. From his finds, she developed her theory that older matriarchal deities had preceded the patriarchal Olympians, in ancient Greek religion: 'On Crete, Evans showed her his first discoveries. A clay seal was in her eyes a revelation of the mountain-mother, escorted by lions and worshipped ecstatically by a youth. This was one of the basic motifs of her book in progress [*Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (1903)]: the ritual connection between mother-goddess and son that had preceded the worship of the patriarchal usurpers.' (Renate Schlesier, 'Jane Ellen Harrison', p.132).

Zeus, the Father of Gods and men, was born, men fabled, in the island of Crete.²⁵

Stein might have found this reference in a cursory glance at Jane Harrison's book. It would have been easy to seize upon the word 'Crete', because it occurs in the first sentence of this long, scholarly work. In this case, the title implies a private commentary upon this academic text. An implicit reference to Jane Harrison's style conflicts with Stein's new urge to capture fragments of unconsidered exchanges.

If Stein's title arose from conversation with Jane Harrison, one might conclude that the sentences which follow the title, 'Crete', transcribe voices heard on the occasion when they met. It is likely that this particular Greek island was a subject of their exchange:

Crete I visited again and again, and to Crete I owe the impulse to my two most serious books, the *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* and *Themis*.²⁶

Stein chose to entitle her early voice-montage composition in response to the academic documentation of Jane Harrison's books. An incompatibility was evident between a scholarly text and voice-montage works, which depended upon inconsistencies of social exchange. The title, 'Crete', was a statement of literary divergence. It served to polarize Stein's direction for her voice-montage.

The Newnham College luncheon, in July 1914, was a meeting between two writers with different approaches to language. It was their second encounter, they had met in Paris several months earlier (See Appendix 2). My research in the Stein Collection at Yale, and in the Jane Harrison Collection at Newnham College, has uncovered evidence that both women were prepared for a discordance in their opinions about literature. Biographical information indicates that tension pervaded the 1914 meeting, in Cambridge. Stein absorbed this tension in the anxious voices of *Crete*. It is important to note, in examining the voice-montage composition which arose from this meeting,

²⁵Jane Ellen Harrison, *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1912), p.1.

²⁶Jane Ellen Harrison, *Reminiscences of a Student's Life* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1925), pp.71-72.

that Jane Harrison had read Stein's work. This fact has not been previously noted in Stein criticism. However, it re-emphasizes my argument that the Newnham College luncheon had complex undercurrents, which have not been fully realized.

Jane Harrison's correspondence, held in the Newnham College Library, yields valuable background details to this period. I discovered a postcard she had sent to Hope Mirrlees (postmarked 10 November 1913) which proves, for the first time, that she was acquainted with Stein's writing:

I have spent some arduous half hours over the prose of Miss Stein but I satisfied myself it was the purest bosh!²⁷

It is intriguing to consider which 'prose' work Jane Harrison had read. If she referred to a book, the date 1913 indicates that it could have been *Three Lives*, of which there were unsold copies available from the First American Edition of 1909. Alternatively, the book could have been *Portrait of Mabel Dodge at the Villa Curonia*, of which Mabel Dodge had printed 300 copies in October 1912. An indication that Jane Harrison had been sent a copy of *Portrait of Mabel Dodge at the Villa Curonia* is found in a letter from a different correspondent:

Constance Fletcher & Hope Mirrlees are great friends of mine. Jane Harrison was. And years ago Jane Harrison lent me the 'Portrait of Mabel Dodge' - wh. fascinated me - tho' I couldn't understand a word of it!
(16 August 1934. YCAL Alice Dew-Smith correspondence. Sent to Stein from The Barn, Camber, Rye.)

However, Jane Harrison's 'arduous half hours' may have been spent over short magazine publications, such as 'Matisse' and 'Picasso' in the August 1912 issue of *Camera Work*. Each of these works corresponds to a different style, and none found approval. When Jane Harrison met Stein in Cambridge, nine months after expressing her opinion that the writing was 'the purest bosh', she had evidently read a text which was not to her taste.

Despite stylistic differences in their published texts, the private language of Stein

²⁷Cambridge, Newnham College Library, Jane Ellen Harrison Collection, Box 9, Folder 3, 'Letters to Hope Mirrlees from J.E.H.' The postcard is addressed to: Miss Mirrlees/ Hotel d' Elysée/ 3 Rue de Beaume/ Paris/ France. It is postmarked: Cambridge/ 2:30pm/ 10 Nov 1913. I thank Dr. Elisabeth van Houts, Archivist at Newnham College, for granting me access to the Jane Harrison Collection.

and Jane Harrison was similar. Stein and Toklas had created a vocabulary to express their relationship. They had various codes of endearment. Stein wrote of herself as a 'husband' in the relationship. Alice Toklas was the 'wife' she revered. Jane Harrison and Hope Mirrlees also had private codes, and they used a vocabulary akin to that shared by Stein and Toklas. A marital relationship between women was deflected by Jane Harrison's bear, known as 'The Oldest One'. At one remove, Jane Harrison wrote of herself as 'His [the Bear's] old wife'. She wrote of Hope Mirrlees as 'His [the Bear's] young wife'. An ambivalent intimacy is revealed in Jane Harrison's letters to Hope Mirrlees, through the mediating figure of the bear: 'Your husband sending this red carnation with his love'; 'To my dear Young Wife./ A rough [?word] the colour of my fur.' In correspondence, Jane Harrison signed herself 'Elder Walrus' (or E.W.), and she addressed Hope Mirrlees as 'Younger Walrus' (or Y.W.).²⁸ This is coincidentally similar to the initials Stein and Toklas used to sign their private messages in the manuscript notebooks: 'Y.D.' and 'D.D.'. These two languages, between two sets of women, were private and separate. Yet, they are factors in the complex background to the Newnham College luncheon. Stein's intimations of the women's relationships, written in code, possibly influenced the ambiguous voice-montage of *Crete*.

By piecing together documentary evidence, I have concluded that Stein was introduced to Jane Harrison in Paris during May 1914, two months before their meeting in Cambridge. This important consideration has not been previously noted in Stein criticism. A meeting in May 1914 provides a context in which the two women would have renewed an acquaintance in July 1914. A second encounter, in Cambridge, was an opportunity to re-confirm their divergent opinions about literature and art. Jane Harrison visited Paris between 1-16 May 1914, seeking treatment for her heart condition.²⁹ Hope Mirrlees wrote a formal letter to Stein, which dates it before the 1914 visit to England because afterwards the letters are those of friends. In this letter, she proposed a meeting in which Stein might use her expertise in the art market:

²⁸Newnham College Library, Jane Harrison Collection, Box 9, Folder 3.

²⁹On 30 April 1914, Jane Harrison wrote to Hope Mirrlees (who was staying at the Hotel d' Elysée, Paris) about M. Moutier, a heart specialist: 'I believe his treatment usually lasts about 5 days [...] he appoints 4.30 Tuesday.' Jane Harrison had returned to England by 16 May 1914. A letter to Hope Mirrlees is postmarked from Cambridge on this date. (Newnham College Library, Jane Harrison Collection, Box 9, Folder 3).

Dear Miss Stein.

Miss Harrison has come back & has brought a Degas of hers with her she wants to sell & she very much wants your advice as to which dealer is most trustworthy. [...]

Yours very sincerely

Helen Hope Mirrlees

(ND YCAL Mirrlees correspondence)

This letter can be dated to April or May 1914. A postcard postmarked 20 May 1914 (after her return to Cambridge), from Jane Harrison to Hope Mirrlees, has a reference to this Degas painting: '[...] the Degas is almost as beautiful as the one [...].'³⁰ Jane Harrison wrote in her memoir: 'My reactions to art are, I think, always second-hand, hence, about art, I am docile and open to persuasion [...].'³¹ Her taste for Degas' pictures differed from Stein's pleasure in Picasso's cubist paintings. In the division of their art collection, upon Leo Stein's departure from 27 rue de Fleurus in April 1914, Gertrude Stein had chosen not to keep the Impressionist canvases. Stein and Jane Harrison had achieved distinction in their knowledge of two vastly different periods of art. Stein had shown discernment in her purchase of twentieth century art. Jane Harrison had built her academic reputation upon her theory that visual art, on vase paintings, provides details about ancient Greek rituals, which are equal to literary evidence. Their divergent opinions need not have precluded a stimulating conversation. However, in the context of accumulating differences between the two women, it further indicates their opposing views of artistic worth. Without doubt, the intricate cross-currents, which arose from contact with Jane Harrison, were a strong influence in Stein's composition of tense voices in *Crete*.

Crete represents an attempt to record, accurately, the impact of a particular meeting by grafting one unlocated voice onto another. Eighteen years later, Stein dismissed the Newnham College luncheon. She gave an impression of discord in the talk between herself and Jane Harrison:

The conversation was not however particularly amusing. Miss Harrison and Gertrude Stein did not particularly interest each other.
(*The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* p.178)

³⁰Newnham College Library, Jane Harrison Collection, Box 9, Folder 3.

³¹Harrison, *Reminiscences of a Student's Life*, p.63.

Stein deflected interest from the encounter which contributed to her early experiment in voice-montage. As often in this 1932 autobiography, it is the terse disclaimers which cover deeper conflicts. In this brief declension of a crucial meeting, it is notable that Stein focuses upon the spoken voice. It is the 'conversation' which disappoints her.

These factors emerge from a detailed study of the Newnham College luncheon. Critics have previously relied upon Stein's account, consequently they have missed the underlying complexities of this event:

One day they were invited to lunch at Newnham, to meet Jane Harrison, the classical scholar. But sitting on the dais next to Miss Harrison, Gertrude had not found the conversation 'particularly amusing.' She and Miss Harrison, she judged, 'did not particularly interest each other.'³²

This encounter was a fiasco. The celebrated Miss Harrison shared nothing of Gertrude's zeal for the twentieth century and, in fact, had said for the record that she was interested in nothing that could not be traced 'back to its first known beginnings.' Attuned to centuries thousands of years apart, she and Gertrude had nothing to say to one another and made no effort at more than party conversation.³³

In the composition of *Crete*, Stein was responding to the challenge of recording a social exchange, and an intellectual environment. She was aroused by the voices, engaged with the difficulties of abandoning wordplay, and began a new style.

Having established that there were complicated external influences arising from the Newnham College luncheon and the Cambridge visit, which stimulated the composition of *Crete*, I will now consider the language through which Stein conveyed this event. Her decision to assemble a text from snatches of disconnected conversations differs from the accumulation of wordplay in *Oval* (which precedes *Crete* in BTS Volume 12, as explained above). This change of focus marks the emergence of the voice-montage, but the transition was not immediate. Anxious voices in *Crete* are

³²Mellow, *Charmed Circle*, p.211.

³³John Malcolm Brinnin, *The Third Rose: Gertrude Stein and her World* (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1959), p.211.

influenced by the residual vocabulary of wordplay. As Stein began to express her new idea, the shift of emphasis initially retained imagistic word clusters.

Voice-montage was first placed within a formation of prose segments. Short, dense essays create a restrictive context for traces of wordplay. Stein had previously released humorous effects from a light, sparse arrangement:

How can we be a curly shattered betrothed spotted if he invariably has a spot of skin. He has a spot of hair. Didn't you know that. He is a sickly one and went and died of it. It was not quite merry.
(*Crete* BTV p.172)

A list of adjectives, 'curly shattered betrothed spotted', concentrates the negative tone of a dispersed vocabulary: 'spot [...] sickly [...] died'. Humour in the early 1914 wordplay texts arose from single words, which are fragmented to release new meanings. In this late 1914 voice-montage composition, Stein creates a claustrophobic sense of verbal confusion. Words pile together, contrasting with the straightforward enquiry: 'Didn't you know that.' There is a macabre humour in the juxtaposition of one voice, which mentions death, and another which veers off at a tangent: 'It was not quite merry.'

As wordplay and voice-montage overlap, the term 'poème-conversation' is appropriate in considering the emergence of the new style. All the words in this extract are unsettling in their unfamiliar context. Each word demands attention for individual meaning, and for an interpretation through relationships with other words. In *Crete*, wordplay and voice-montage combine to conjure an oppressive atmosphere. They also intersperse a hint of joy in references to marriage ('betrothed'), and to happiness ('merry'). Care in reading each word, which Stein encouraged in her early 1914 wordplay texts, also guides the appreciation of complexities in the late 1914 voice-montage compositions.

A change of style is marked when the *Oval* 'eye' is transformed into the 'I' of *Crete*. Although *Oval* is a long text, spreading vertically over twenty nine printed pages, it contains only six personal pronouns. All are affirmative:

I want a long one.	(<i>Oval</i> BTV p.123)
I agree I agree. I agree baby.	(<i>Oval</i> BTV p.129)
I am excited.	(<i>Oval</i> BTV p.144)
What I have done with those.	(<i>Oval</i> BTV p.137)

Crete is framed within a short, densely structured prose formation. It consists of one paragraph, covering only three-quarters of a single printed page. Into this small space, it compacts thirteen personal pronouns. Textual brevity intensifies the insistent 'I', and this reflects the shift in Stein's style. Jubilation, expressed in 'I agree I agree. I agree baby' in *Oval*, is subdued into an even-toned equilibrium:

Oh I am so sorry. [...] Oh I am not so sorry. [...] Oh I am so sorry.
(*Crete* BTV p.172)

In the exuberant wordplay of *Oval*, the endearment 'baby' could refer to Alice Toklas' private name for Stein. As a noun, without resonances of an intimate relationship, it represents a child-like ability to enjoy the newness of language. An endearment in the context of the insistent 'I' of *Crete*, is interpreted as a socialite banality:

Do you remember my father I didn't darling.
(*Crete* BTV p.173)

Two voices merge. Perhaps the speakers do not even address each other. Intimacy of remembering a father is detached by the different tense constructions: 'Do you [...] I didn't'. The word 'darling' ends the text. Stein places its implications of private endearment in a textual position of exposure. A public, socialite application of the word makes it ring hollow. One speaker claims a personal relationship, but the statement leads only to the visual isolation of empty page space. Stein was turning away from the privacy of an author meditating silently upon wordplay. She was moving towards the engagement of the writer in the midst of speakers. Response to this new authorial role was expressed by noting the egotism of social intercourse: 'It ends up with i.' (*Crete* YCAL HG 92. BTV p.173 has '[...] with an i.' MS & BTS have '[...] with i.'). As the personal pronoun crowds this short work with many voices, or with just one voice, Stein captures the emptiness at the centre of conventional, social speech.

Unlocated voices, which construct the prose segment formation of *Crete*, reflect the imposition of a new social environment upon Stein's work, during the summer of 1914. Mrs. Mirrlees had arranged Stein's visit so that it would coincide with the Cambridge University terms. Her plan was to allow her guest as many social introductions as possible:

The 6th suits us admirably, but I fear Cambridge will be very empty [...] If you could put off till after the 10th we should be able to arrange for your meeting various people who might interest you, but if this is impossible please keep to the original arrangement & we shall do our best to entertain you.
(26 June 1914. YCAL Mirrlees correspondence)

At a time when Stein was receptive to ideas, which would enable a development from wordplay, it seems that she chose the external stimulus of 'meeting various people'.³⁴ Crowding voices, a feature of busy social occasions, infiltrate Stein's voice-montage composition:

She said something and I did not put it down. I put down Donald.
(*Crete* BTV p.172)

Despite a forthright style, these two sentences create an ambiguous verbal exchange. They might represent the voice of one person, who pauses in uttering two statements. Otherwise, they could reproduce a brief conversation between two people. A third speaker is inferred in this extract - the unnamed woman who 'said something'. These two sentences may be a dialogue in which one interlocutor states what they did not 'put down', in writing perhaps. In this case, the other speaker responds by stating what they did 'put down'. This reconstruction would interpret what 'she' said as the word: 'Donald'. A male name is heard by the second speaker, but not by the first. The phrase 'put down' is ambivalent because it is extracted from a descriptive context. It indicates both to write down and, colloquially, to 'put down a peg or two'. At least two readings emerge from this voice-montage: first, that a writer could not transcribe a full speech, and so noted only a name; secondly, that someone talks about their disdain for a man named Donald.

Voice-montage in *Crete* requires the reader to assimilate fractured speech back into a coherent exchange, this new demand upon the reader will be discussed later in the

³⁴According to Mrs. Mirrlees' letter, dated 26 June 1914, Stein was initially scheduled to arrive in Cambridge on 6 July 1914. A letter from Stein, in Paris, to Carl Van Vechten (postmarked 4 July 1914) shows that she intended to leave for England on 6 July 1914. Thus, it is probable that Stein chose Mrs. Mirrlees' alternative date of 10 July 1914. Stein's revised itinerary allowed her to spend four days at the Knightsbridge Hotel, in London, before travelling to Cambridge. (See Appendix 3 for Stein's letter to Carl Van Vechten).

chapter. In this extract, Stein may be commenting upon her voice-montage technique. There is a sense of inadequacy in transcribing, 'putting down on paper', the transient voices in a hectic social situation. What emerges from this elliptical exchange is the urgency with which the authorial voice seeks to record what 'she said'. In these complex ways, a voice-montage style emerged in response to Mrs. Mirrlees' eagerness to introduce Stein into the social world of Cambridge, during July 1914.

Two other late 1914 voice-montage compositions, which I will now consider, *Gentle Julia* and *In One*, have a disquieted tone which aligns them with *Crete*. Like *Crete*, they belong to the short, dense formation of prose segments. These three texts were written on the same watermarked notepaper,³⁵ which implies that they were composed in close succession. Their length is constricted by the small size of the notepaper. Tension, expressed in the voice-montage, is reflected in Stein's handwriting. Her usual flowing curves are reduced to a tight neatness, which squeezes words onto the page.³⁶ *Gentle Julia* and *In One* each condense the voice-montage onto less than one-

³⁵The watermark is in a decorative script: 'Turkey Mill/ Linen Surface/ H'. This was a watermark used by Harrods, Ltd. It is listed in the 1912 *Directory of Paper Makers* (p.145). I thank Lyn Arlotte, Assistant Librarian of the St. Bride Printing Library, London, for this information.

³⁶*Crete*, *In One*, *Wear*, *Gentle Julia*, *Painted Lace*, and *Mrs. Emerson* were written on the same ivory linen notepaper with the watermark: 'Turkey Mill/ Linen Surface/ H'. No other compositions were written on this watermarked notepaper. BTS Volume 12 does not list *Next* in this sequence of work, dated 1914. It is not catalogued in the 1929 *transition* bibliography, nor in the YCAL HG listing. My research leads me to conclude that *Next* was composed in the summer of 1914. The manuscript for *Wear* has a mauve envelope with a list on the outside, in Stein's handwriting: *Crete/ In One/ Wear/ Gentle Julia/ Next* (YCAL HG 94). In YCAL Miscellaneous Box F there are several typescript lists (probably for the 1929 *transition* bibliography) which have the following order: *Crete/ Next/ In One/ Wear*. Stein chose to incorporate this short text into *Next*. *Life and Letters of Marcel Duchamp* (1920). The manuscript of this work, dated 1920, has an ivory linen envelope with 'Next' on the outside, in Stein's handwriting (YCAL HG 219). On one side of a single sheet is written a version of the first two paragraphs of *Next*. *Life and Letters of Marcel Duchamp* (G&P p.405). *Next* becomes the introduction for a later, longer work. In *Next*, the name 'Adolph' appears. This name is replaced with 'Emil' in the 1920 version. The point at which *Next* ends is a statement by Stein that her 1914 work will not transfer to a 1920 composition: 'I was looking to see if I could make Marcel out of it but I can't.' (G&P p.405). The importance of this discovery is the location of a previously unknown late 1914 voice-montage text.

quarter of a printed page. Organization of voice-montage works, within the space of small notepaper leaves, indicates that they were composed under similar circumstances. Pressing social engagements, in England during 1914, would not have allowed Stein the time to write long works.

Gentle Julia and *In One* have affinities with the egotistic social atmosphere of *Crete*. They, too, crowd a brief prose essay with one voice, or many voices. *In One* begins its first four sentences with 'I', building an aural rhythm, and a visual pattern. Many self-references can also be references to many selves. Unlocated voices, which open these two texts, are negative and vague:

I suggest that that is not what I ordered.
(*In One* BTV p.177)

I'll make literature about the old lady to-morrow perhaps.
(*Gentle Julia* BTV p.178)

Anonymous speakers express caution ('suggest'), deferral ('to-morrow') and indecision ('perhaps'). Such hesitancy undermines the assertive linguistic acts of ordering, and making literature. To select discontinuous phrases from these texts shows how Stein's emerging voice-montage was constructed from a consistent vocabulary of uncertainty:

I hesitate [...] I do mean to oblige [...] hindered office of origin.
(*In One* BTV p.177)

Have you. Have you. I intended waters. [...] I cannot believe about Julia.
(*Gentle Julia* BTV p.178)

By placing the personal pronoun in an ambiguous context, Stein plays with the self-assertive act of naming. A contrast develops between the anonymous speakers, who refer to themselves as 'I', and the real names of Stein's acquaintances. She conveys the suddenness of social introductions, in which names are hurled in succession, without time to know the individual:

Jessie. Vera. Eric Sidebotham. Do I spell the name. [...] Why mention names why not mention names presently.

(*Gentle Julia* BTV p.178)

Three names indicate, in a similar way that 'Newnham' aligned *Crete* with Newnham College, that Stein was placing references to England in her first voice-montage compositions. 'Jessie' is the name of Alfred North Whitehead's daughter,³⁷ letters in YCAL show that 'Eric Sidebotham' is the name of an English friend of Stein's,³⁸ 'Julia' is the name of a student, Julia Bell, who was staying with the Whitehead family in the summer of 1914.³⁹ As she was searching for a new language to change from the wordplay style, Stein placed real names in her first voice-montage works to focus her attention on the world around her. Two of these names introduce a direct reference to Lockeridge, visited after Cambridge, into a text which presents transitory speech. Unlocated voices do not necessarily belong to the named people. It is the detachment of the identifiable people, from the fragments of speech, which creates an uncanny quality in the initial expressions of the voice-montage.

Whilst names within the text are not associated with a particular statement, the anonymous speakers imply that they have auditors. Unnamed figures call to people

³⁷Jessie Marie Whitehead (23 February 1894 - ?) attended Newnham College, Cambridge, from 1913-14. She did not take her Tripos. *Newnham College Register. Volume 1 (1871-1923)*, p.252. (See Appendix 2 for more information about Jessie Whitehead).

³⁸Eric Sidebotham had previously written to Gertrude Stein in a tone which indicates a cordial friendship: 'Dear Miss Stein./ My brother-in-law brought me a paper this evening - with description of your (or your brother's) collection of Matisse's paintings. Of course you may have seen it - but if not it may interest you.' (24 May 1910. Addressed 50 Downshire Hill, Hampstead, London, N.W. YCAL Miscellaneous Letters File Sa-Sz). 'Dear Miss Stein./ I meant to send you these cuttings before now - but they secreted themselves & have only just turned up again.' (13 November 1912. YCAL Miscellaneous Letters File Sa-Sz).

³⁹Julia Bell, a young mathematician who was assistant to Karl Pearson, wrote to me about this meeting [an early 1914 paper entitled 'Philosophy and Science in Poetry' given by Alfred North Whitehead to a student club, 'the Critical Society']; she said of Whitehead, "One could have listened to him all night." (Victor Lowe, posthumously edited by J.B. Schneewind, *Alfred North Whitehead. The Man and His Work. Volume II: 1910-1947* Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1990, p.12). In his headnote to the posthumous publication of *Gentle Julia*, Virgil Thomson conveys information, from Alice Toklas, that Julia 'was a guest of the Whiteheads just at that time [1914].' (BTV p.178).

beyond the text:

Will you let me know when you're ready.
(*Gentle Julia* BTV p.179)

This is the last line of *Gentle Julia*. An anonymous voice calls into the emptiness of white page space. In this one-line drama, the absent person will never speak of their readiness. So, the unnamed speaker must always wait for a response which does not come. As Samuel Beckett was to do later, Stein was capturing a lack of communication in casual conversations.

A formation of prose segments unites the first expressions of the voice-montage: *Crete*, *Gentle Julia* and *In One*. These works can be dated, by internal references and by manuscript evidence, to the summer of 1914. As Stein concentrated upon the emergence of a new style, she did not immediately develop the structure into which it could be encased. The brevity of these three texts indicates both the external pressures upon Stein's writing time, and the momentum of experimenting afresh in new works. In the late 1914 voice-montage compositions, Stein was adjusting to a style which did not offer the flash of finding a pun, or discovering a link in wordplay: '[...] it's like a bit of mathematics. Suddenly it does itself and you begin to see [...].' (*Q.E.D.* p.67). For the reader, this re-directs the attention to an interpretation of pauses in unlocated speech, and a glimpse to the biographical context which aligns real names with a specific English environment. A pattern was beginning to emerge, through the anxious voices and the dense paragraphs, which Stein would gradually expand to demonstrate the full potential of her voice-montage.

3

External factors influenced the unlocated speech of Stein's first voice-montage compositions. During the summer of 1914, Stein used the voice-montage to convey disquiet arising from the outbreak of the Great War. In montage, she had found a technique which could select a range of subjects; from minor, domestic incidents to

international, political conflicts. Tension is created by juxtaposing ephemeral speakers, who chat about homely concerns, and death, which infiltrates their conversations. It is evident that she was responding, simultaneously, to her private change of style, and to public events. The Great War is of utmost importance as a subject for the new formation of prose segments. War prompted the direct statement of Stein's reactions to her situation in England, in the early stages of the voice-montage. Two prose essays, *Wear* and *Painted Lace*, register the impact of the Great War. They reveal Stein's creative presentation of one particular aspect of her English environment, in the emerging voice-montage style.

In Bound Typescript Volume 12, which orders the late 1914 voice-montage texts, *Wear* is the first to incorporate the subject of the Great War. The reference occurs just once. It is placed in the context of an unanswered, or a rhetorical, question by an anonymous speaker:

Did the war make you dash right in.
(*Wear* ROAB p.15)

Haphazard speed, implicit in the verb 'you dash', is given no destination. Both impetuosity, and vagueness of direction, are captured in the final words: 'right in.' A sense of random movement is noted in the first sentence: '[...] restless walk, if you peculiarly notice restless walk, if you peculiarly notice restless walk [...].' (*Wear* ROAB p.15). There is only one line in the text which refers directly to war. Nevertheless, it is resonant in the context of physical expressions of tension. One fleeting question is appropriate to transmit Stein's intermittent receipt of news about the European conflict. She used the voice-montage to reflect the nervous questions, and the disquieting confusion, arising from shifting events during the early weeks of the Great War.

Stein departed from Cambridge on 20 July 1914. After her visit to Mr. and Mrs. Mirrlees, Stein spent eleven days in London. On 31 July 1914, she travelled to the country home of Dr. Alfred North Whitehead in the village of Lockeridge, Wiltshire. Between two social visits, she had the independence of residing at the Knightsbridge Hotel. Sightseeing, purchasing furniture, and negotiating the publication of *Three Lives* filled this interim period. There is no evidence to suggest that Stein met Dr. and Mrs.

Whitehead on more than two occasions before the stay at Lockeridge: the first at a dinner held by the Mirrlees in Cambridge, between 10-20 July 1914; the second on 20 July 1914, at the Whiteheads' London home (See Appendix 2). During the English Bank Holiday Weekend of that year, Stein was adapting to her role of house guest with a family whom she had recently met.

Added to her response to a new social situation was the receipt of disquieting news from Europe. On the first full day of her visit to Evelyn and Alfred North Whitehead⁴⁰ (1 August 1914), the German army entered Luxembourg, and Winston Churchill mobilized the English fleet.⁴¹ In Lockeridge, this group were adapting to one another, and to international events. Stein was reacting to these two external influences through the line from *Wear*, quoted above. She encapsulated the colloquialism of social exchange ('dash right in'), and the disconcerting interjection political conflict ('war').

In the manuscript, the title 'Wear' is written over the noun: 'war' (YCAL HG 94). Stein's revision shows her assimilation English and French words: war - wear - guerre. Traces of wordplay were placed within the new context of voice-montage. By mingling English and French vocabulary, she could make a concise reference to her temporary residence in England, and to her permanent home in France. Within the text, Stein combined these two languages in a negative wordplay upon the war:

Poisons. Poisons are the means [...]

Fishes. Fishes are the means.

(*Wear* ROAB p.15 YCAL HG 94. MS has a full stop after 'Poisons.' BTS & ROAB have a comma.)

By repeating the sparse sentence structure, Stein made an elliptical translation from 'poisons' to 'fishes'. She omitted a connection in the French word: 'poissons'. Isolation

⁴⁰The ten day visit to Mr. and Mrs. Mirrlees, in Cambridge, ended on 20 July 1914. On this date, Stein returned to London for a dinner with Evelyn and Alfred North Whitehead, at their London home (17 Carlyle Square, Chelsea). On 31 July 1914, Stein and Toklas travelled, by train, to Alfred North Whitehead's country home (named 'Sarsen Land' in the village of Lockeridge, Wiltshire). Stein and Toklas had intended to stay only for the English Bank Holiday Weekend, but they extended their visit because the outbreak of the Great War prevented their immediate return to Paris. (See Appendix 2 for further details of this visit).

⁴¹Barbara W. Tuchman, *August 1914* (London: Macmillan Ltd., 1962), p.88 and p.102.

of these two words aligns food with death in a stark visual structure. Such a construction has affinities with the isolation of single words in the early 1914 wordplay texts. Stein's acute awareness of the language around her was intensified in a time of war, when words were relied upon for information.⁴² She expressed her realization that English words of war, placed in an English environment, were received differently from the same words placed within a French context. In Paris, Stein was accustomed to distinguishing the voices, and the texts, of two languages. A multilingual aspect of the voice-montage reflects Stein's position as an American, living in France, visiting England. In the compositions dated to the summer of 1914, she began to capture the aural misunderstandings of a foreigner overhearing, or speaking, an unfamiliar language.

The manuscript of *Wear* reveals the process by which Stein introduced a random utterance about war into a formation of prose segments. *Wear* corresponds with the texts discussed in the previous section, but it develops them slightly. Since it is constructed from short paragraph units, the visual effect is lighter than the dense, single paragraph of *Crete*. Accumulation of different paragraphs creates a longer text than the few lines of *Gentle Julia*, and *In One*. However, it still covers only three-quarters of a single printed page.

Paragraph indentation, in the posthumous publication, represents one unit of voice-montage. These units are arranged either at the top, or at the bottom, of the manuscript notepaper sheet (YCAL HG 94). For example, the paragraph beginning 'Or series. [...]' is written at the top of one page (and is numbered 3). This manuscript page is empty, until the paragraph beginning: 'I asked them about wash.' So, the latter paragraph is written at the bottom of the page (and is numbered 4). Numerical ordering gives an insight into the assemblage of a montage text. It pulls together short language units, which are separated in the manuscript. Units of voice-montage, in the manuscript, have a lack of reference because page space divides one from another. Into this tangential construction, Stein placed one reference to war. A text of verbal uncertainty, in which each paragraph jolts with a new direction, arose from isolated segments on the

⁴²Stein was responsive to the physical placing of war language in the English landscape: 'Your king and country needs you. When I came back to Paris I was surprised not to see these notices up.' (*All Sunday A&B* p.98). 'Beginning August 7, the moustache, the eyes and the pointing finger over the legend, 'Your Country Needs You' were to bore into the soul of every Englishman from a famous recruiting poster.' (Tuchman, *August 1914*, p.195).

manuscript page.

A technique of juxtaposition, displayed in the manuscript division of the text, contributes to an oppressive atmosphere. In *Wear*, snatches of domestic conversation revolve around parochial concerns. Despite the insular topics of these dialogue exchanges, they reflect the international event of war. Paragraphs do not make logical progress, and this transfers into the construction of brief sentences, which reproduce halting speech:

I asked them about wash. They said washing. I cannot think that we can be unauthorized.

(*Wear* ROAB p.15)

An unnamed speaker feels affronted by another person's correction of their words. According to the unnamed person, or persons ('them'), a question 'about wash' should have been expressed as an enquiry about 'washing'. Animosity between two speakers is displaced into a dispute over a grammatical point. Short sentences present this conflict about language. These people argue about words, not about the activity of washing. A trivial difference of opinion takes place within the context of international war.

Similarly, the activities of cooking and gardening, which are visually and sensually attractive, become part of the negative atmosphere. In *Wear*, Stein recorded minor household events using vocabulary which is influenced by the insertion of the single word, 'war'. When paragraphs are not jolted by many full stops, giving an impression of hesitancy, long sentences accumulate into monologues with a pessimistic tone:

She *went away* and said that if I *would not* ask why there was a *weeding of plain little pulled* dahlias, she *would not* offer to cook.

(*Wear* ROAB p.15. Emphasis added.)

In this late 1914 voice-montage composition, each unit of verbal exchange contributes to an atmosphere of disquiet. Unlocated voices create a sense of ambiguity, which is juxtaposed with their insistent language. Restrictive vocabulary accumulates in the first, long sentence: reason, sanction, regulate, prejudice, responsibility, lectures, lessons, mistakes (*Wear* ROAB p.15). These words introduce a text within which a single word, 'war', is part of a pervasive tone of unease.

Michaela Giesenkirchen offers an interpretation of the domestic concerns, and the international events, which are interwoven in *Wear*. She states that, for Stein, the direct influence of the Great War differed from conversations with Alfred North Whitehead about the war:

Using a sophisticated diction and fragments of argumentative discourse, 'Wear' echoes an intellectual discussion circling around the war, most likely one of Stein's and Whitehead's philosophical conversations during walks in the countryside. [...] 'Wear' dissolves the integrity of the discussion that went on between Stein and Whitehead, so that aspects of the scene more immediate and authentic to Stein can come to the fore, giving a more accurate presentation of her inner and outer realities, her being in an English environment and talking to Whitehead about war and society, while she worries about her French home to which she cannot return at present.⁴³

This analysis provides an insight into Stein's montage of voices, which talk about war. A language intervenes between the Great War, and its expression in *Wear*. The mediating factor is an 'intellectual discussion circling around the war'. A circle is a good image to represent the impact of the Great War upon Stein's text. There is an 'inner circle' which consists of a walk in the English countryside, and a dialogue about war. An 'outer circle' includes the actual events of the Great War. Stein was influenced, intellectually, by the inner circle of conversation. She was emotionally affected by the outer circle, through her fears for the safety of friends in France, and for the security of her Parisian home. Two levels of distance, the near and the far, are both incorporated into the miscellany of voices in *Wear*.

Stein used the voice-montage to accumulate negative statements, all of which circle about the intrusion of a single voice. One voice appears to refer directly to the war. In fact, this speaker is at a distance from the war because they question another person's response: 'Did the war make *you* dash right in.' (Emphasis added). In *Wear*, anonymous, disconnected voices represent Stein's intention to use the voice-montage to conjure disquiet resulting from one statement about the Great War.

One reference to war was given to a fleeting voice in *Wear*, and it was given to

⁴³Giesenkirchen, 'The Multilingual Dimension in Gertrude Stein's Life and Work 1874-1919', pp.29-30.

many voices in *Painted Lace*. As the voice-montage emerged, during the summer of 1914, Stein used a new, and undeveloped, style to confront a vast subject. The Great War was a shifting, immediate event which concentrated her experiment with a montage technique. Like the actual names of acquaintances, which she began to incorporate into her texts, sustained reference to the Great War focused Stein's attention upon the real world. *Painted Lace* is not a mature work, and the formation remains the prose segment. Nevertheless, it shows the advances which Stein was making in the early compositions governed by the voice-montage. Her confidence emerges in the range of subjects introduced. Since it covers two and a quarter printed pages, it is a more extensive exploration of the voice-montage than the works discussed above. A challenge to incorporate events of the Great War brought a swift rate of development to Stein's new style.

Voice-montage required a different way to describe death. *Painted Lace* emphasizes Stein's advance from the repeating dirge of her previous effort to render mortality in the narrative form:

Any one has come to be a dead one. Any one has not come to be such a one to be a dead one. Many who are living have not come yet to be a dead one. Many who were living have come to be a dead one. Any one has come not to be a dead one. Any one has come to be a dead one.
(*The Making of Americans* p.907)

[...] to fail to be killed and be killed.	(<i>Painted Lace</i> PL p.2)
Cruelly and in an obstinate fight.	(<i>Painted Lace</i> PL p.3)
Did he kill them all.	(<i>Painted Lace</i> PL p.3)

Natural encroachment of an inevitable death is captured in a repeating style, which reflects the accumulating days. Interweaving sentences are transformed into the sharp voice-montage construction. Stein conveys the impression of sudden death, in combat, through staccato statements. A passive syntactic arrangement, in 'come to be a dead one', contrasts with the physical actions of killing and fighting. Readers are not given time to reflect upon the subject of dying, nor to learn who died. These are unnamed figures, unlike the death of David Hersland, in *The Making of Americans* extract, whose history has been told since his grandfather's time. Two incomplete sentences are joined to give the sense of hurry towards anonymous death: 'Never letting the war run out does

making recognition easier.' (*Painted Lace* PL p.2). Mass destruction, in the Great War, is represented by unlocated speakers who talk of violent death.

Disquieted voices fill *Painted Lace*. An anxious tone is influenced by the direct vocabulary of death, and war:

When we fell and said no more when we fell and said no more, I don't like it. Oh dear yes. I just wanted some thread but I don't want it now.

(*Painted Lace* PL p.1 YCAL HG 96. Text not printed in PL)

The air was thick. The air was thick. I don't believe it. I don't know if it's true.
(*Painted Lace* PL p.2)

Stein refers to the Great War directly, and also indirectly. An intangible, pervasive atmosphere is created by hesitant voices: '[...] I don't want it now. '; 'I don't know if it's true.' Through unlocated speakers, Stein re-creates a sense of jeopardized innocence: 'I innocently meant to go away.' (*Painted Lace* PL p.1). In this context of shattered idealism, war intrudes upon the security of a garden:

His men who previously had tramped down heartedly over little pieces of dust saw darkness draw on. I had not thought about darkness, I neglected little gardens. I did not neglect little pieces of garden. It is so easy not to be built with a view to an orchard now the news is correct.

(*Painted Lace* YCAL HG 96 PL p.1. MS & BTS have 'saw darkness'. PL has 'sad darkness'.)

The dust, and the garden, may have symbolic inferences, considering the background of the Great War. However, Stein's main purpose was to explore the potential of her voice-montage. So, she juxtaposed, without comment, diverse aspects of a particular environment. News of the war infiltrates a conversation about orchards, and the 'darkness' contrasts with the speakers who see a rural view. Stein concentrated upon the realism of voices, rather than upon emblematic representation.

Clive Bush describes Stein's Second World War narrative, *Wars I Have Seen*, in terms which elucidate the unease of *Painted Lace*:

She did not 'see' action, but what she did see was the effect of it in daily life.

What is being seen is the effect inside society of a world going to pieces outside [...] The object described is war without war; in the fullest sense, the 'rumour' of war.⁴⁴

One way in which Stein expressed her response to the Great War was by a rhetoric which reproduced the 'rumour' of newspaper accounts. This represents a further development of the voice-montage during these early stages. Stein began to extend the range of her material beyond the snatches of ordinary conversation. A war-like vocabulary was introduced as she began to absorb the neologisms, and the verbosity, of propagandist language, written rather than overheard. She fractured a reportage style into a montage structure. Nomenclature of war is transcribed, yet re-arranged:

Against this ever rising tide of national enthusiasm, while immersed in this prodigious task, with some surprise with some surprise, with thousands of skilled stirrups with no dismay, with what is important with surprisingly great surprises, with some surprise and with no dismay, against this ever rising tide of national enthusiasm, the greatest enthusiasm no doubt, it echoed in the preliminary recitations.

(*Painted Lace* PL p.2)

These 'recitations' are not repeated *verbatim*; they are not just 'echoed'. They exploit the subclausal sentence structure to emphasize the hollow insistence of a hyperbolic style: 'prodigious task [...] surprisingly great surprises [...] preliminary recitations.' The accretion is not haphazard. Each clause moves into the next: 'Against [...] while [...] with [...] with [...] with [...] with [...] against'. Verbal saturation represents the propaganda in newspapers, which also reported increasing numbers of casualties. The euphemistic term, 'thousands of skilled stirrups', is written only once. An elliptical reference to thousands of cavalry deaths differs from the repeating phraseology surrounding it. Stein infers that rhetoric is inadequate to capture the sadness of individual deaths. She does this by repeating grand statements of propaganda: 'this ever rising tide of national enthusiasm [...] this ever rising tide of national enthusiasm'. Through a montage technique, she shows how a formulaic language cannot express the

⁴⁴Clive Bush, *Halfway to Revolution: Investigation and Crisis in the Work of Henry Adams, William James and Gertrude Stein* (New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1991), pp.392-93.

complexities of war.

Painted Lace results from Stein's application of the voice-montage to a reportage style. Through a formation of prose segments, she sought to capture a historic moment in the summer of 1914. Whilst she was recording fragments of casual conversation, she was also aware of newspaper reports, which carried information in a style different from unconsidered exchanges. In response to these divergent aspects of language, Stein scrutinized the medium of newspapers with a rigor equal to that she was subjecting the voices of people around her.

Stein recognized that voice-montage was a more appropriate style than wordplay to catch the human response to war. An early 1914 wordplay text, *Dates*, indicates why Stein chose to absorb the influence of the Great War into the voice-montage. Vocabulary expressing unease about war could have been incorporated into the wordplay structure of isolated words:

Piles.
Weapons.
Weapons and weapons.
[...]
Soda soda.
Soda soda.
(*Dates* BTV p.169)

When spoken aloud, the word 'soda' sounds like the French word: 'soldat'. In this visual design, a quadrangle arrangement of the same word conjures an image of ranks of soldiers. Similarly, the impression of many 'weapons' is given a structured harshness by the vertical, and horizontal, 'piles' of the repeated word. Stein did not choose this style to convey her response to the Great War. Perhaps the war news, which altered every day, brought a realization of the shocking complexity of actual events. Sudden changes could not be assimilated into the easy resolution of wordplay. *Dates* provides further evidence of the limits to which Stein had taken her early 1914 wordplay style. A need to express varying emotional reactions to the Great War found expression through voices which struggle to comprehend an uncertain environment. Voice-montage broke free from the insularity of puns, and syllepsis, to reflect the direct impact of war upon ordinary lives.

Voice-montage led Stein away from her wordplay style, and it exploited the

silence of juxtaposition. Rhetoric of war is placed alongside domestic conversations. These two languages create a montage of conflict in *Painted Lace*:

There were curtains to match only unfortunately they were at the cleaners. [...] Suppose the packs of dogs and others moaned with hunger.
(*Painted Lace* PL p.2)

In England, during the summer of 1914, Stein was capturing two languages in the voice-montage: first, the casual exchanges which focus upon small concerns (curtains which must be cleaned); secondly, the incoherent horror of the Great War (the non-verbal moans). Stein was provoked by the incompatibility of these two languages. She chose to emphasize their absolute divergence through a montage style, which relied for its artistic effect upon shocking juxtaposition. The subject of war arose from various sources, which were then incorporated into text; from the voices around her, and from newspaper reports. Stein was attentive to the aural, and to the visual, expression in a particular place. The Great War stimulated the rapid expansion of subject matter in the early voice-montage experiment.

Some critics have ignored the impact of silent chasms between domestic chat and war rhetoric. By focusing upon the household conversations, they are led to interpret the voice-montage as Stein's lack of response to the Great War. Disregarding the different presentations of war vocabulary in *Painted Lace*, and in *Wear*, Katherine Anne Porter has concluded:

She and Alice B. Toklas enjoyed both the wars. The first one especially being a lark with almost no one getting killed where you could see, and it ended so nicely too, without changing anything.⁴⁵

Contrary to such opinion, an important aspect of the first voice-montage texts is their immediate exploration of the language of war. A unique network of influences was forged during the summer of 1914: the pressures of living as a house guest in

⁴⁵Katherine Anne Porter, 'Gertrude Stein. A Self-Portrait', *Harpers*, 195 (1947), p.527. See also: '[...] she characterized the 1914-1918 war as a 'nice war' [...].' Sandra Gilbert & Susan Gubar, *No Man's Land: The Place of the Woman Writer in the Twentieth Century. Volume 2. Sexchanges* (New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1989), p.356. The quotation is taken from *Wars I Have Seen* (pp.48-49).

Cambridge, and in Lockeridge; the fears for the safety of friends, and family, in France; the desire to return to Paris; and the receipt of war news through newspaper reports. Stein responded to these interweaving factors by an innovation in style because they concentrated her effort to change from wordplay. The Great War, in all its manifestations, provided Stein with a vast subject to capture in her emerging voice-montage.

4

In addition to the receipt of news about the Great War, which brought distant events close to her in England, Stein was using the voice-montage to present direct references to Lockeridge. Two narrative works indicate a source for their voices in Stein's extended residence with the Whitehead family, from 31 July 1914 to 17 October 1914. *Mrs. Whitehead* and *Lockeridge* are governed by a new formation of indented headings. A formation of prose segments is advanced in this second formation by arranging words, or sentences, in the centre of the printed page. These textual divisions show that Stein was widening both the structure, and the subject matter, at early stages of the voice-montage. During her Parisian winter 1914-15, Stein made a sustained investigation of the indented heading formation. These two compositions, located by their titles to her English summer of 1914, are the basis for a later elaboration of this voice-montage formation.

Both *Mrs. Whitehead*, and *Lockeridge*, raise questions about the external factors influencing the transition from wordplay to voice-montage. Stein's artistic output was deeply affected by her surroundings. Whilst discussing these two compositions in detail, I will consider Stein's role of house guest in a social context, and her role of interlocutor with Alfred North Whitehead in a philosophical context. Critics have not established the extent to which Stein was directly influenced by the opinions of Alfred North Whitehead, at the time when she was his guest. However, in considering the emergence of the voice-montage, it is necessary to assess his impact upon the texts of late 1914.

Stein rarely played the role of house guest. In the social circles in which she and Leo Stein had moved from 1903 to 1907, they had preferred to take private accommodation near their friends. In 1902, they had rented a house at Greenhill, Surrey

in proximity to Bernard Berenson, and his acquaintances. During their visits to Florence from 1900 to 1904, they had not stayed at 'I Tatti', Bernard Berenson's home in Vallombrosa. Instead, they had rented rooms nearby. They enjoyed communication with artistic, and intellectual, circles. However, they consistently avoided the direct involvement of residing in another person's home. When Stein and Toklas had accepted Mabel Dodge's invitation to stay at her 'Villa Curonia', in Italy, sexual tensions developed between the three women.⁴⁶

In this context, a visit to Lockeridge brought an unprecedented situation for Stein. Her stay was planned to last for the three-day Bank Holiday Weekend, and it was extended for two and a half months. Consequences of her prolonged role of house guest are evident in the emergence of the voice-montage. *Mrs. Whitehead* and *Lockeridge* register Stein's new attention to the conventions of social intercourse. They quote the politeness in formal exchanges, and the ordinary chat which is the substance of most daily conversations. Inconsequential dialogues, often neglected by authors in favour of communicative statements, became Stein's material for the voice-montage.

Donald Sutherland captures Stein's appreciation of the complex social arrangements in everyday circumstances:

Suddenly she made a little sweeping gesture out in front of her, and said, 'How is one to describe all this?' All this was disconcerting, because there was nothing in front of her but a casual bunch of Princeton boys, who, I thought, were scarcely worth describing, certainly not as we appeared just then. Perhaps we would have been worth describing separately, in single portraits, or doing something more significant or dramatic than just milling about, and perhaps our inner adolescent lives might have been worth describing, but all that was plainly not what she meant by 'all this.' What she meant was the immediate phenomenon before her, the actual group as it moved and composed itself and made noises before her, that for her was adequate subject matter [...].⁴⁷

⁴⁶Mabel Dodge Luhan, *European Experiences* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1935), pp.332-33.

⁴⁷Donald Sutherland, 'Gertrude Stein and the Twentieth Century' in Robert Bartlett Haas, ed., *A Primer for the Gradual Understanding of Gertrude Stein* (Los Angeles: Black Sparrow Press, 1973), pp.140-41.

Mrs. Whitehead represents Stein's desire to transmit the 'immediate phenomenon before her', in that it records the voices of ordinary people saying nothing in particular. Stein chose not to write about Alfred North Whitehead, despite an expectation that she would have conveyed her impressions of the eminent philosopher, distinguished scholar, published author and public speaker. They walked in the countryside together, and they spent many hours talking to each other. Although Alfred North Whitehead's thoughts were shared, his voice is indistinct in Stein's late 1914 voice-montage texts. Instead, she composed a short work inspired by his wife. At a time when Stein was exploring the potential of the voice-montage to catch the ephemeral quality of unconsidered conversation, she paid attention to Mrs. Whitehead's manner of speech. Casual voices in the garden of 'Sarsen Land' in Lockeridge, rather than philosophical discussions, prompted the voice-montage in *Mrs. Whitehead*.⁴⁸

Mrs. Whitehead is an ambiguous record of Mrs. Whitehead's voice. Two opening lines detach the anonymous speaker from the identifiable woman of the title:

But you like it.

They can't any of them be quite as bad because they learned french but I never did.

(*Mrs Whitehead* G&P p.154)

Different pronouns introduce a miscellany of voices. There are people conversing outside these lines, as a speaker, 'I', addresses someone as 'you', and refers to others as 'they'. The speaker of the first line does not necessarily utter the second statement. So, these two lines may express one person's disconnected monologue, or two persons' tangential dialogue. Such indeterminacy deflects precise identification of these lines to Mrs. Whitehead. Deliberate anonymity of the speakers, in contrast with the name in the title, represents Stein's strategy of detachment from her subject. Biographical fact further distances Mrs. Whitehead from the opening lines of *Mrs. Whitehead*:

⁴⁸Other than *Mrs. Whitehead* and *Lockeridge*, there are only two references to the Whitehead family in Stein's work between the departure from England (in October 1914) and the return to Paris, from Mallorca (in June 1916): 'Dear Whitehead and Paul and Woolston and Thorne.' (*For the Country Entirely. A Play in Letters* G&P p.228); 'I do not know that I like large rocks. Sarsen land we call it.' (*Lifting Belly* BTV p.79). Stein had used a name similar to that of Thomas North Whitehead (the eldest son of Alfred North Whitehead), in a composition dated 1909-12: 'Thomas Whitehead is one and being one is one who sometime will be a quite old one [...].' (*A Long Gay Book* GMP p.46).

At Pont-Aven the servants were French, and Evelyn [Mrs. Whitehead] was schooled in a convent at Angers, so French was her native tongue.⁴⁹

Stein's late 1914 voice-montage composition arose from the interesting character, and the domestic role, of Evelyn Whitehead. This contrasts with the later focus upon conversations with Alfred North Whitehead in *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, a version of events which reduced the influence of Mrs. Whitehead.⁵⁰

At the moment when the voice-montage was emerging, Stein was generating a sense of strangeness from ordinary, household exchanges. Indications of a wifely role in the title, 'Mrs.', offer a female context for the tone of domesticity, and security:

She crocheted from this nest. [...] They do so and very pure water. They are safe when they take a bath.

(*Mrs. Whitehead* G&P p.154)

However, the vagueness of these voices, and their lack of engagement with each other, is unsettling. Stein arranged her lines sparsely, to stress the pause between each utterance:

He doesn't look dead at all.
The wind might have blown him.
He comes from that direction.
(*Mrs. Whitehead* G&P p.154)

Stein was experimenting with a paratactic style, which could present disunified voices tugging apart a social group. When they are heard alone, these phrases seem commonplace. They build, not quite connecting, to an uncanny atmosphere of

⁴⁹Victor Lowe, *Alfred North Whitehead. The Man and His Work. Volume 1. 1861-1910* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1985), p.175.

⁵⁰Edward Burns made the suggestion, in a conversation with me on 16 March 1990, that there was an element of necessity in Stein's choice of Alfred North Whitehead as the 'third genius.' She had a writer (herself), and a painter (Pablo Picasso). She required another profession for contrast. Her own 'genius' would probably have been her mentor at Radcliffe College - Professor William James. However, the 'Autobiography' belonged to Alice Toklas, and she had not met William James. Since there was discordance between Stein and Bertrand Russell (See Appendix 2), it is improbable that he would have assumed this final part of the triad.

disconnected talk. Relationships are denied among these anonymous speakers. They may indicate the divergence of Alfred North Whitehead's philosophical discourse from Mrs. Whitehead's chat about household concerns.

In assessing Stein's approach to family relationships in *The Making of Americans*, Clive Bush uses terms which also capture the ambiguity of *Mrs. Whitehead*. His analysis applies to Stein's evasion of a direct description of the Whitehead family:

Stein's sentences seem to present the family abstractly, as abstractly as the limited company. It is neither thing nor process. No one seems in control. Knowledge of what it is varies from member to member. Its group dynamics are hard to pin down and it seems to escape conscious direction.⁵¹

Intimate involvement with family life, at Lockeridge, gave Stein a homely subject for the voice-montage. As the new idea emerged, in 1914, she seized its potential to create an uncanny situation from recognizable speech. A montage technique allowed speakers to introduce disconnected topics, which bring in the 'group dynamics' of different family members, and still it preserved the indeterminacy of interweaving voices.

The dense, prose segment formation, which structured *Crete*, *Gentle Julia* and *In One*, became more spacious when Stein arranged voices on single lines. Her intention was to recreate the acoustics of theatre. Speakers follow each other without a narrative link, and Stein exploited the page space to represent the polyphonic effect of hearing separate voices:

It's one of my favorite ones this.
And yet not this.
Isn't it funny.
It isn't.
(*Mrs. Whitehead* G&P p.154)

Perhaps the dramatic quality of voices, arranged in a single-line structure, was Stein's response to Mrs. Whitehead's speech. Bertrand Russell noted Mrs. Whitehead's theatrical nature:

⁵¹Bush, *Halfway to Revolution*, p.370.

Mrs. Whitehead was in perpetual fear that he [Alfred North Whitehead] would go mad. I think, in retrospect, that she exaggerated the danger, for she tended to be melodramatic in her outlook.⁵²

In response to this statement, Victor Lowe clarified the word 'melodramatic':

A more accurate description would be that she *was* dramatic, even theatrical. Jessie Whitehead agrees with this description. The reason 'melodramatic' does not fit Evelyn is that she had *taste*. She habitually talked of situations in a way that turned them into good theater.⁵³

As her new idea emerged, Stein may have been directly influenced by a particular voice. In this case, the title would refer, not to the portrait of an individual, but to a style of speech which can generate the immediacy of dramatic presentation. Mrs. Whitehead's name is not placed within the text. Yet, the voice-montage imitates her theatrical use of language through a spacious visual arrangement.

Janis Townsend does not believe that Stein was imitating Mrs. Whitehead's manner of speech. She argues that Stein was expressing her own perception of her hostess. Instead of creating a portrait of Mrs. Whitehead, Stein wrote a self-portrait:

Initially, then, this work is about Mrs. Whitehead, but in the course of writing it, Gertrude Stein admits it is impossible for her to write as if she were Mrs. Whitehead, and turns instead to her own response to war-related incidents. She concludes with praise for Mrs. Whitehead, praise based upon Stein's consideration of what her own responses would be were she to have experienced what Mrs. Whitehead was experiencing. Thus a work about Mrs. Whitehead has become a work about Gertrude Stein, and announces Stein's conviction that she can write only in her voice from now on.⁵⁴

Stein may, in fact, be writing 'as if she were Mrs. Whitehead', in the sense that the

⁵²Bertrand Russell, *The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell: 1872-1914* (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown & Company, 1967), p.226.

⁵³ Lowe, *Alfred North Whitehead. The Man and His Work. Volume 1. 1861-1910*, p.243.

⁵⁴Janis Barbara Lubawsky Townsend, 'The Singing Self: Philosophy, Autobiography and Style in Gertrude Stein's Lyrical Mallorcan works (1915-1916)', unpublished doctoral dissertation, Wayne State Univ., Detroit, 1977, p.46.

voice-montage imitates the speech patterns of a particular woman. In addition to the theatrical manner of relating events, there is a subtle presentation of Mrs. Whitehead's utterance of words. Victor Lowe states that Mrs. Whitehead, although English, spoke with 'clipped tones'.⁵⁵ Her distinctive speech was a result of her childhood spent in France, and her learning English, as a second language, later in her life. This aural characteristic is reproduced through short, declarative statements. When Janis Townsend interprets this text simply as 'Stein's conviction that she can write only in her voice from now on', she does not take into account that the work is a montage of voices. Expressions of Stein's new idea established a single authorial voice, in the act of accumulating text from fragments of conversation. However, a single speaker (either Mrs. Whitehead, or Stein) should be placed in the context of a style which thrives upon the sounds of disparate voices.

Using a structure of brief sentences placed on single lines, Stein expanded the dense prose segment formation. Since the pattern of vertical lines is not a consistent device within *Mrs. Whitehead*, it cannot be considered a formation which governs the work as a whole. Stein would further develop the implications of this structure in the 'vertical words' formation, during the Parisian winter of 1914-15 (to be considered in Chapter 2). Its beginnings may be traced to *Mrs. Whitehead*, written in England during the summer of 1914.

The formation which does emerge is that of indented headings. In the manuscript notebook, one-third of a page is left empty. Immediately following this space, is the first indented heading (YCAL HG 99). In this 'second' section of *Mrs. Whitehead* there are two textual divisions created by indented headings:

Corrections.

It is eleven weeks from the middle of September. I glance in a way.

[...]

Next stretching.

Next for that leaf stretching.

I do not state leaf.

(*Mrs. Whitehead* G&P p.155)

⁵⁵Lowe, Alfred North Whitehead. *The Man and His Work. Volume 1. 1861-1910*, p.175.

'Corrections' and 'Next stretching' are the only words on two left-hand notebook pages. They face the text following it, which is placed on the right-hand notebook pages. A spacious arrangement, in the manuscript, is reproduced in the printed version by the double indent of the headings. Indentation is easily overlooked, since it does not have the visual isolation of a centred position on the line. Only two indented headings appear in *Mrs. Whitehead*. It seems to be an interim text. A formation of indented headings is used with a single-line structure, and there are also traces of early 1914 wordplay. This amalgamation of styles is located to Lockeridge in the reference to 'the middle of September.' At this time, Stein was residing with Mrs. Whitehead. She may be reviewing ('I glance in a way') the change in style which had occurred since the beginning of her visit, 'eleven weeks' earlier in July. With this interpretation, she would be contrasting the residue of wordplay with the new voice-montage. As Stein focused the voice-montage upon capturing the actual speech patterns of an acquaintance, she tested different structures to exploit a dramatic rendition of Mrs. Whitehead's voice.

Covering only one half of a printed page, *Lockeridge* is governed by the formation of indented headings. It advances the two indented headings in *Mrs. Whitehead* by dividing the entire work into four headed sections. In the printed version, these headings are visually isolated in the centre of the line, unlike the double indent of *Mrs. Whitehead* in *Geography and Plays*. However, in the manuscripts, the headings of both works are placed on the left-hand page. These headings face the ensuing text, which continues on the right-hand page. Stein used this formation to expand the potential, implicit in voice-montage, to reproduce the acoustics of a theatrical performance. An early dramatic application of the indented heading emphasizes that the late 1914 compositions were the basis for the development of the voice-montage, during the Parisian winter of 1914-15. In 1915, Stein composed a play which is organized by indented headings: *Not Slightly. A Play*. A study of *Lockeridge* places this later work in the context of an increasing sophistication of the voice-montage.

Alignments between the formation of indented headings in *Lockeridge*, and a theatre script, are found in the notebook into which it was composed. The manuscript

of *Lockeridge* was overlooked by the cataloguers of the Stein Collection.⁵⁶ My study of Stein's notebooks allows me to correct this error by revealing that it is written into the third notebook volume of *Not Slightly. A Play* (See Chapter 2). The relevance of this discovery is that these two voice-montage compositions are structured by indented headings:

Another rubber.

I cannot stir without shapes. I simply cannot please more than size. I cannot I can not.

(*Lockeridge* BTV p.178)

God bless you.

I inquired into the exact celebration of visual memory. I met pleasing examples of amiable solicitude. I measured strength.

(*Not Slightly. A Play* G&P p.298)

An implication in the title, *Not Slightly. A Play*, that indented headings can organize a theatre script, also applies to *Lockeridge*. Both compositions place the headings on left-hand notebook pages, with the text following on the right-hand notebook pages. Visual separation, in the manuscript, is reproduced in the printed versions by centring the headings. In the manuscript of *Lockeridge*, the diagrammatic layout of words on the left-hand, and the right-hand, pages is a consistent structural device. In this, *Lockeridge* represents Stein's first experiment in applying the voice-montage to the play form. A future revision of the YCAL catalogue could indicate the links between these two voice-montage compositions, which are found in the same manuscript notebook.

A formation of indented headings has further implications for the theatrical acoustics in *Lockeridge*. For instance, the heading 'Eric' is written as an isolated word on the left-hand manuscript page (YCAL HG 100). By this device, Stein may indicate that Eric is a participant in the drama. Eric would then be given the speech which follows his name:

⁵⁶In the HG catalogue, it is noted that only the typescript of *Lockeridge* is held at YCAL.

Eric.
Why is the under step steep, why are old, no I don't like mirrors.
Eric.

I shall say hurry.

What a kind calling.

(*Lockeridge* YCAL HG 100. BTV p.178. MS & BTS have 'kind calling'. BTV has 'wind calling')

Indented headings complicate the assignment of characters to lines of speech. A director has many options in casting the roles. Two different actors could represent two men, both named Eric. One actor may portray two men, either different, or replicas. Alternatively, one actor might speak twice, and indicate that there is only one man named Eric. Visual isolation of the name may represent a shout in the air by another actor. Such an interpretation would give an unnamed speaker a presence on the stage. A character named Eric could be absent, and he is called to appear on stage. Eric might be addressed, face to face, by an actor without a name.

By referring directly to her visit to England, in the title '*Lockeridge*', Stein encourages an interpretation of this character as a representation of Eric Whitehead. He was the youngest son of Evelyn and Alfred North Whitehead, the brother of Jessie and Thomas Whitehead. A director has the additional option of presenting a likeness to an identifiable young man.

Stein arranges lines of speech in different ways in this extract. In the first case, she places a soliloquy in a paragraph structure. In the second case, she lists short statements within a vertical pattern. Considering the latter structure, Eric may speak only the line 'I shall say hurry', which directly follows his name. Other, unnamed actors would then speak the following sentences. In this early exploration of the indented heading formation, Stein had found a creative ambiguity in its application to theatre script.

A polyphonic presentation of *Lockeridge* is given a different effect in the fourth indented heading. Voices are placed apart upon the page, without character ascription. A visual impression is created of two anonymous, conversing speakers:

I don't know.
It won't be quite the same.
(*Lockeridge* BTV p.178)

The words 'I don't know' are arranged diagonally across the left-hand manuscript page. They face the horizontal lines, which follow on the right-hand manuscript page. Page space is used to present a dialogue which does not quite connect. A pause in the exchange between two unnamed speakers could represent this indented heading. Physical positions on the stage can be choreographed according to the page design. One speaker would be placed centre-stage, the other person would stand near the footlights, on the left-hand side of the stage.

A play, governed by the formation of indented headings, is linked with Donald Sutherland's interpretation of Stein's sweeping hand gesture: 'What she meant was the immediate phenomenon before her, the actual group as it moved and composed itself and made noises before her [...].' In *Lockeridge*, Stein was using references to Lockeridge to jar with anonymous, wafting voices.

Alfred North Whitehead's philosophy had a subtle influence upon Gertrude Stein's late 1914 voice-montage compositions. When Stein was a guest in his home, a period when one would consider any impact to be most direct, his infiltration into the voice-montage is oblique. In 1932, Stein had not met Alfred North Whitehead for eighteen years. Yet, she gave a substantial portion of *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* to relate the conversations they had held during 1914. In *Mrs. Whitehead* and *Lockeridge*, the vocabulary of the voice-montage is drawn from casual chat about household matters, and this implies the domestic sphere of Mrs. Whitehead. Unlocated speakers often discuss the interiors of homes, and the outdoor views of gardens. Thereby, they refer, indirectly, to 'Sarsen Land', the name of the Whiteheads' home in Lockeridge. These subjects, although ambiguous, are more closely aligned with Mrs. Whitehead's role within the family than with the philosophical discourse of Alfred North Whitehead.

However, the voice-montage may have emerged, during the summer of 1914, in response to discussions with her philosopher-host. At a time when Stein was receptive to new ideas, which could guide her away from a wordplay style, the stimulus of intellectual conversations may have prompted the transition. Stein and Alfred North

Whitehead had a language in common.⁵⁷ In the montage of voices, Stein recreated the spirit of Whitehead's philosophy. One belief which he shared with William James, who had taught Stein at Radcliffe College, is particularly relevant to the voice-montage. This is their opinion that experience comes from an accumulation of isolated 'pulses'. Catching the half-heard voice is closer to everyday experience of speech than stabilizing transitory sounds in grammatical completeness. Whitehead believed that pauses between statements were vital to convey this pulsating assimilation of experience:

No language can be anything but elliptical, requiring a leap of the imagination to understand its meaning in its relevance to the immediate experience. [...] Language is incomplete and fragmentary, and merely registers a stage in the average advance beyond ape-mentality. But all men enjoy flashes of insight beyond meanings already stabilized in etymology and grammar. Hence the role of literature, the role of the special sciences, and the role of philosophy - in their various ways engaged in finding linguistic expression for meanings as yet uncovered.⁵⁸

Connections between 'pulses' of experience create a process of cognition by accumulating disparate units of data. Each moment is a complex transition of past, and present, moments of cognition. Alfred North Whitehead indicates that a montage technique can capture the 'leap of the imagination', which is implicit in each moment of experience. It is this 'leap of the imagination' which guides the reading of Stein's late 1914 voice-montage compositions. A reader can recognize each voice in isolation. Each statement is a coherent expression, of the sort that might be overheard on any day. The 'meanings as yet uncovered', the mystery hidden in the ellipses of montage, is the unstated connection between each of the separate utterances. In this, the spirit of Alfred North Whitehead's philosophy is one factor in the emergence of the voice-montage, during the summer of 1914.

It is my opinion that Alfred North Whitehead also influenced the idea of the voice-montage by the activity of his thinking. Stein responded tangentially to straightforward

⁵⁷'As a pupil of [William] James and [Hugo] Münsterberg, Gertrude Stein would have been more than prepared for certain key Whiteheadian issues.' (Bush, *Halfway to Revolution*, p.282). 'Whitehead and Gertrude Stein, both great readers of history, talked easily.' (Lowe, *Alfred North Whitehead. The Man and His Work. Volume 2. 1910-1947*, p.29).

⁵⁸Alfred North Whitehead, *Adventures in Ideas*, p.263. I have quoted from Bush, *Halfway to Revolution*, p.290.

situations. Often, she seized upon the smaller realities of her environment. It would have been against her creative impulse to rely upon the fully-elaborated theories of Whitehead's philosophy. At a moment when she needed new ideas to lead her out of a wordplay style, she would have been stimulated, in her own direction, by the thoughtful presence of Alfred North Whitehead. A glimmer of the philosophical mind, in the context of a garden, is given in a composition arising from Stein's visit to London, in 1913. Like *Mrs. Whitehead* and *Lockeridge*, it is located to England by its title:

Anything that is everything and everything that is anywhere and everything that is everywhere has no special singular purpose. If purpose is intellectual then there is a garden, if there is a garden there is a fountain, if there is a fountain then there is an intellectual purpose.

(*England G&P* p.90)

Unlocated voices in *Mrs. Whitehead*, and in *Lockeridge*, are free to chat inconsequentially about gardens because the 'intellectual purpose' which guides them is the idea of the voice-montage. Unlike the academic mind of Jane Harrison, which is a traceable influence in *Crete*, there is no evidence to align these late 1914 voice-montage compositions directly with Alfred North Whitehead.

When critics apply the philosophy of Alfred North Whitehead to Stein's work, they do not concentrate upon the late 1914 voice-montage texts. Stein's terminology of the 'prolonged present', and the 'continuous present', expressed in *Composition as Explanation* (1926), has attracted an alignment of her later ideas about language with Whitehead's philosophical beliefs:

While the 'prolonged present' simply assumes a situation or theme and dwells on it or keeps it recurring, as in much music, the 'continuous present' takes each successive moment as a new entity and 'begins again.' This technique is related to Alfred North Whitehead's theory of actuality.⁵⁹

⁵⁹Frederick W. Lowe, 'Gertrude's Web: A Study of Gertrude Stein's Literary Relationships', unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia Univ., 1956, p.31.

Stein's method of the 'continuous present' is congruent with Whitehead's description of how the present moment actually occurs and how the individual consciousness 'occurs' *with* the present moment. It is certainly easier to think of the items in *Tender Buttons* as 'occurrences' rather than 'descriptions.' The 'experience' of the object is occurring simultaneously with a multitude of other physical and mental experiences - or prehensions.⁶⁰

An alignment is made easy by the fact that these critics place one theoretical language against another. In the 1926 lecture, through which Stein presented her idea about the 'prolonged present' and the 'continuous present', she was making a public statement about her past work. When a new idea was emerging through the first voice-montage texts, Stein was expressing her thought within the 'composition'. At this time, she did not suggest that Alfred North Whitehead's philosophy provided an 'explanation' for the transition of styles.

Among a multitude of external influences affecting Stein during the summer of 1914, the entire situation at Lockeridge was a rich source for the voice-montage. In *Mrs. Whitehead and Lockeridge*, she mixed fragments of the domestic chatter, the youthful shouts, the newspapers bearing war news, and the expression of a philosophical mind.

5

By the time of Stein's departure from England, on 17 October 1914, the first formations of the voice-montage had been established. In short texts, she had concentrated her expression of a new idea into the formations of prose segments, and indented headings. Readiness for moving away from wordplay was met with the circumstance of a prolonged residence in Cambridge, and in Lockeridge. This fortuitous combination resulted in a series of compositions which formed the basis for Stein's future development of voice-montage formations in Paris, during the winter of 1914-15.

To assess the change in Stein's style during 1914, it is necessary to examine the

⁶⁰Linda Mizejewski, 'Gertrude Stein: The Pattern Moves, the Woman Behind Shakes It', *Women's Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 13 (1986), p.41.

different demands of reading wordplay and voice-montage. In the early 1914 wordplay texts, a reader is encouraged to savour isolated words, and to make imaginative associations amid a sparsely arranged vocabulary. In the late 1914 voice-montage compositions, the reader interprets meanings in the pauses between snatches of conversation. The new challenge for a reader is to place incomplete, but recognizable, dialogue exchanges in a context of an unwritten situation. Voices hover in the air. Whilst communicating with each other, unlocated speakers are indifferent to the reader's confusion. In the wordplay style, one has the sense that Stein is guiding her readers towards the glimpse of pre-determined verbal games. Imposition of the author into her text is modified in the voice-montage. Speech fragments are juxtaposed, without comment, for an appreciation of their haphazard sounds.

Critics have learned to read Stein's style of imagistic word clusters by applying a symbolic, feminist, etymological, or psychological interpretation. They have written less frequently about the challenge of reading a voice-montage style, which disarmingly states its meaning. Stein's poetic wordplay texts are not read within the same critical framework as the later voice-montage compositions. Each requires a different approach.

To demonstrate the different ways of reading these two styles, I have selected a single example from texts representing both wordplay and voice-montage. By focusing upon the same subject, water and water-containers, Stein's different ideas about language are exposed. A change is marked in two ways: first, through her altered expression; and secondly, through the critical response. Three words in the first heading of the wordplay text *Tender Buttons*, 'A Carafe, That Is a Blind Glass', have received extensive critical examination:

For *carafe* is not an old word in French: it entered the language in 1642, as a borrowing from Italian *caraffa*, which is derived through the Spanish *garrafa* from the Arabic *gharrafa*, a drinking vessel (root - *gharafa*, to draw water). This word (itself not attested in ancient Arabic though current today) contains the letters *ghar*; and these letters happen to be identical with the primitive Indo-European root GHAR, meaning to shine, glare, or glow - a root which, via the Teutonic base GLA-S, is the origin of English *glass*.⁶¹

⁶¹Allegra Stewart, *Gertrude Stein and the Present* (Cambridge, USA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1969), pp.88-89.

The opening poem of 'Objects' gives us Gertrude Stein herself as an object, like all the other objects in this inferno that she will describe. She is a glass carafe - female symbol in being a container, but a complex symbol, since this particular symbol is not womanly-soft but male-hard. The carafe is also a spectacle, spectacle in a double sense: an eyeglass that sees and also an object that is seen.⁶²

If, for a moment, we take Stein's 'still life' literally, a fairly 'ordinary' object may be glimpsed here, one made of a 'glass' that is not transparent ('blind'), filled with a liquid (perhaps a wine, *vin 'ordinaire'*) that looks deep purple ('a single hurt color') and that somehow 'points' (upward?). As with most of the objects and foods in *Tender Buttons*, certain recognizable elements emerge, although in a fragmented form.⁶³

Pictorially, the carafe suggests the female body with its rounded, uterine-looking container at the bottom and the spreading outer lip or vagina at the top, which permits the entrance and exit of substances. Such an association is valid since Toklas moved into rue de Fleurus when Stein was composing *Tender Buttons*. It was the first time that either woman had experienced a reciprocal love relationship.⁶⁴

'Glass' is part of the sight axis; yet the word can also mean, quite differently, a vessel to drink out of, a connotation the word 'carafe' in the title makes inevitable. So the word 'glass' means (at least) two different things, and the poem is so arranged as to bring both meanings right to the surface, first by juxtaposing 'glass' to 'carafe,' and second by juxtaposing 'glass' to 'spectacle.' We cannot square the two lines of association; a carafe or a drinking glass has no obvious link to issues of sight. So the words 'a blind glass' are a part of the joke: a carafe is a glass that is not linked to sight, and hence is 'blind.'⁶⁵

The length of each commentary emphasizes the imaginative associations which can be released by reading one imagistic word cluster. Ambiguity within the sparse

⁶²Doris T. Wight, 'Hidden Feminism in Gertrude Stein's *Roses and Rooms*', *Creative Woman*, 8 (1987), p.6.

⁶³Harriet Scott Chessman, *The Public Is Invited To Dance: Representation, the Body, and Dialogue in Gertrude Stein* (Stanford, USA: Stanford Univ. Press, 1989), p.92.

⁶⁴Bettina L. Knapp, *Gertrude Stein* (New York: The Continuum Publishing Company, 1990), p.117.

⁶⁵Lisa Ruddick, *Reading Gertrude Stein: Body, Text, Gnosis* (Ithaca and London: Cornell Univ. Press, 1990), p.196.

presentation of three words invigorates a creative, scholarly elucidation. Many explanations of single words highlight Stein's success with the wordplay style to widen the options for interpretation.

From an entirely different perspective, she used the voice-montage to project the same objects. Water, and water-containers, are also the subject of everyday conversations in the later voice-montage writings. During 1915-16, Stein wrote extensively about the importance of water in a southern climate. Her words have a charm, and an immediacy, which captures the spontaneity of ordinary speech:

Everybody sells water. In this country. Everybody sells water in this country. Is it a hot country. It is not and water is plentiful.
(*For The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters* G&P p.228)

Evian water is very good. Sometimes I am not sure it is put up by them at least now when there is a war. I say it is fresh. When I do not like a bottle I throw it away. I throw the water away.
(*Advertisements* G&P p.346)

I used up oxygenated water.
Do you pronounce it.
(*Let Us Be Easily Careful* PL p.38)

The man who was the son said he knew a man who was in the business of selling mineral water. If we intended to get it by the case he could get it for us as cheaply as the central pharmacy.
(*All Sunday* A&B p.126)

Voice-montage prompts a literal reading, rather than a symbolic, feminist or etymological interpretation. Methods of critical elucidation, which have been applied to wordplay, do not easily transfer. A style of coherent realism allows a critic to read the language straightforwardly, without the need for extensive explanation of single words. However, there is a resonance in these direct voice-montage statements. Stein has completely revised her approach to describing ordinary objects. An essential difference can be seen between wordplay and voice-montage, through the ways she presents her perception of a water-container. Wordplay evades a narrative context. It creates a visual surface, upon which the words are isolated and displayed. Voice-montage enables a reader to look through the words. It promotes the tone of utterance,

and the sound of anonymous voices creating dialogues, or monologues.

Through her voice-montage texts, Stein leads the reader to a sharp awareness of recognizable objects, and ordinary activities. Speakers discuss the purchase of mineral water at a reasonable price, the taste of the water, the difference between 'oxygenated' water and still water, the many water-sellers. From one basic subject arises a range of voice-montage exchanges. Each extract concentrates upon a different aspect of buying water. Stein's presentation of quotidian events brings a subtle alteration of the ways a reader can perceive daily life; with an intense appreciation, or with an unconsidered nonchalance. If the purchase of purified water is not part of a domestic routine, a sudden necessity prompts a realization of the value of water. In a similar way, Stein was encouraging a fresh appreciation of simple language in the voice-montage.

During my research visit to Palma de Mallorca, I had to throw away bottled water. This line from *Advertisements* jolted into my mind. I realized that one can only 'throw' away water if it has been paid for. Otherwise, it is 'poured' away, or literally hurled across a space. One may throw away a bottle of water. This action needs to be clarified as 'throwing away the water-bottle', or as 'throwing away the bottle and the water'. A method of reading the voice-montage is exemplified by this anecdote. Forthright statements can leap into the mind with a clarity which defines afresh the ways of capturing unconsidered actions in a direct style.

One consequence of the altered approach to reading, which marks the change from wordplay to voice-montage, is the attention to textual discrepancies.⁶⁶ Differences

⁶⁶Stein was careful in proof-reading her work before publication (See Chapter 3 for details of her notification of errors in the proofs of *Geography and Plays*). However, some discrepancies occur between her manuscripts, and the texts printed during her lifetime. It remains uncertain whether alterations were made during conversations with Alice Toklas, and thus appear in the typescript. It is possible that Toklas made typing errors, which were accepted by Stein as a valid text. Alternatively, typographical errors may have passed unnoticed by Stein. Each discrepancy requires an examination of manuscript, typescript and published versions. A comparison of these sources sometimes uncovers the context in which a change occurred. In the following examples, I have made a selection mainly from instances in which an error, rather than an alteration by Stein, seems most probable. In each case, both the manuscript and the bound typescript agree, and they conflict with the posthumous publication. I acknowledge that the posthumous publications may have referred to Stein's later typescripts, which she may have authorized.

between words in the manuscript, the bound typescript and the printed version further demonstrate the new demands placed upon the critical reader. It is easy to recognize ungrammatical statements in the voice-montage. Yet, erroneous words may be overlooked in the miscellaneous vocabulary of wordplay. Elucidation of the wordplay compositions remains possible when the published text differs from Stein's original words in the manuscript. It is not that one word can simply replace another, but that the mistake is not noticed in the context of a word cluster.

This is not the case in reading the voice-montage compositions. Here, the syntactic arrangement conforms to conventional speech patterns. When there is an alteration from a grammatical construction, in the manuscript, to an ungrammatical form, in the printed version, the move away from actual speech is noticeable.

An example from one early 1914 wordplay text emphasizes the reader's response to differences between the manuscript and the posthumous publication. It shows how interpretation of the words is unaffected by a discrepancy between Stein's original expression, and a later version:

Why is a sole a dumpling.

A sole is a dumpling because there is swimming.

(*Emp Lace* BTV p.158)

Reading the published words by aural association offers a religious interpretation: a soul (sole) is solid, heavy (dumpling) because there is sinning (swimming). Reading an encoded relationship into the words, aligning Alice Toklas with food, offers a sensuous interpretation: Alice (in the initial 'A') is alone (sole) in being loved (dumpling as soft and white, and as an endearment) because there is energy (swimming), and sexual pleasure (sinning). Reading the words literally offers a culinary interpretation: a meal of fish (sole), dumplings and a sauce (in which fish and dumplings are swimming). Stein has written an ambiguous exchange, which allows a reader to imagine multiple contexts for her words.

These interpretations are relevant despite the fact that the words in the printed text do not represent Stein's original associations. The word 'swimming' does not appear in the manuscript notebook:

Why is a sole a dumpling.
A sole is a dumpling because there is simmering.
(YCAL HG 83)⁶⁷

This line requires a reading more closely aligned with culinary realism. Both fish and dumplings 'simmer' during cooking. Discrepancies between the manuscript, the bound typescript and the posthumous version show that, in the early 1914 wordplay compositions, Stein had created a style which allows many interpretations to arise from a savouring of each word. Nothing in the text looks strange because even unfamiliar words have associations within the verbal miscellany.

Three further examples from *Emp Lace* demonstrate a different aspect of reading textual discrepancies. They show the ease with which a critical reader may overlook a change between the manuscript, and the printed publication, within the early 1914 wordplay compositions:

A curtain, next sugar rest, rent sugar rent not a smell not a smell salt.
(*Emp Lace* BTV p.159)

A curtain, next sugar [rent, next] sugar rent not a smell not a smell salt.
(YCAL HG 83 and BTS Vol 12)⁶⁸

It does get funnier it does get funnier, it is does funnier, it does is funnier,
it does is dunnier.

(*Emp Lace* BTV p.159)

It does get funnier it does get funnier, it is does funnier, it does is funnier
[.] it does is [funnier].

(YCAL HG 83 and BTS Vol 12)

⁶⁷The word 'swimming' appears in BTS Volume 12. It remains uncertain whether the discrepancy was noticed by Stein or Toklas. Stein may have suggested a revision to Toklas, without amending her manuscript. Alternatively, it could have been a typing error, and Stein was pleased with an accident which brought a different word to her lines.

⁶⁸Square brackets indicate the discrepancies in these examples. This symbol is used for the examples of both wordplay and voice-montage.

Shatter a pan cold more a ground lease with mite and less line and check go lights with peaked peaked pats widow grown not a spell soup not a spell soap actually actually in in.

(*Emp Lace* BTV p.161 and BTS Vol 12)

Shatter a pan cold more a ground lease with mite and less line and check go lights with peaked peaked pats widow grown not a spell soup not a spell soap actually actually in in [a row not a loaf or go a loaf or go whole].

(YCAL HG 83)

Textual discrepancies, in these examples of early 1914 wordplay, emphasize the way in which a reader can play with any given vocabulary.

Freedom to interpret anomalous words is not possible in reading the speech patterns of the voice-montage texts. Conventional syntax, and grammatical construction, create a style of recognizable speech. Variation from the anticipated words interrupts the reading:

Yes and there is no necessity the explanation is not in your walking first of walking last of walking beside me the only reason that there is plenty of room is that I choose it.

(*Every Afternoon. A Dialogue* G&P p.258)

Yes and there is no necessity the explanation is not in your walking first [or] walking last [or] walking beside me the only reason that there is plenty of room is that I choose it.

(YCAL HG 130 and BTS Vol 14)

We say the things growing which were planted and they came up regularly they came up as she said they would.

(*I Have No Title To Be Successful* PL p.24)

We [saw] the things growing which were planted and they came up regularly they came up as she said they would.

(YCAL HG 119 and BTS Vol 13)

Inconsistencies are noticed as flaws in a context of recognizable speech. Although the voice-montage statements are straightforward, they are crafted phrases. These extracts have the ease of everyday conversations, and the speakers express their meanings directly. Stein is challenging the general reader to read carefully. Plain speech is integral to the voice-montage. Stein's achievement in this style depends upon the reader's attention to her imitation of ordinary exchanges. Verisimilitude prompts the reader to become aware of the skill with which daily experiences can be framed in simple words.

A new approach to reading the voice-montage reflects the extent to which Stein altered her style during the summer of 1914. Readiness for a change of direction gained strength in 1914. Wordplay had reached its logical conclusion, which was also its furthest point of reduction - the isolated word upon the page. Circumstances fused in contributing to the emergence of the voice-montage. Stein's prolonged visit to England focused her attention upon the English language surrounding her, contrasting with the French voices which she was accustomed to overhear. Contact with Jane Harrison, and talks with Alfred North Whitehead, brought the languages of academia and philosophy to the fore. As a house guest, she adjusted to different domestic routines, and to family relationships. The Great War gave emphasis to a rhetorical style in newspaper reports, and caused Stein's powerful emotions to be controlled in her literary expression.

Stein's idea, of capturing an ordinary environment through fragments of speech, was a spark of great creativity. She swiftly arranged the voice-montage into formations of prose segments, and indented headings. Having found that its simple language was given an artistic complexity by these formations, she returned to Paris ready to experiment further with the voice-montage.

CHAPTER 2

DEVELOPMENT OF THE VOICE-MONTAGE IN PARIS: 1914-15.

New formations characterize the voice-montage texts dated to the Parisian winter 1914-15. A range of structural devices shows that Stein was committing herself to developing the first expressions of her altered style. Increasing complexity of the formations was matched by a broadening of the subject matter. In these compositions, she combined her responses to delays in the publication of her work, to the effects of the Great War, and to the ideas she found in cubist art. This five-month period of intense creativity was a positive reaction to dispiriting factors in her personal circumstances. Stein was resilient in her intention to continue exploring the voice-montage at a discouraging moment in her writing career, and in international affairs.

When Stein returned to Paris, on 17 October 1914, she remained uncertain about the First English Issue¹ of *Three Lives*. A re-issue was no further advanced than it was after her previous visit to London, in January and February 1913. In 1913, she had hoped to interest the English publishers in her work by drawing their attention to her loan of two Picasso 'Nature Morte' paintings to Roger Fry's Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition, at the Grafton Galleries (See Appendix 2 for my research which documents this previously unknown fact). Her efforts in 1913 had not resulted in an English re-issue of the First American Edition of *Three Lives*. When she negotiated with John Lane, in 1914, the outbreak of the Great War threatened to disrupt their venture.

In a text dated to the Parisian winter 1914-15, Stein used the voice-montage to state that she was on the verge of literary recognition:

Then the worst of it was determination. I was determined to succeed.
I met everybody before mentioned and I strangled that thought. Then I
proceeded to cry. It was very simple. I meant to be famous.
(No AFAM p.50)

¹I will use the following terms to distinguish between the publications of *Three Lives*: 'First American Edition' refers to the 1909 printing by the Four Seas Company of Boston; 'First English Issue' refers to John Lane's 1915 re-issue of 300 unsold copies of the First American Edition of 1909; 'First English Edition' refers to the 1920 printing, in England, by John Lane.

A sense of frustration is reproduced through abrupt sentences. Repeated use of the personal pronoun is emphasized by its position at the start of declarative statements. This extract is set within a text which, by its length, affirms that Stein was 'determined to succeed' with her new style. The title of this Parisian work, 'No', expresses defiance against the circumstances hindering a re-issue of *Three Lives*, which would make her 'famous'. Despite a setback in the re-issue of her earlier text, the variety of formations, created during the Parisian winter 1914-15, demonstrates Stein's clear intention to focus upon the current voice-montage.

The Great War was an important factor in motivating Stein to concentrate upon developing the voice-montage formations. Returning to Paris gave her direct experience of the effect of the war:

I suppose hell is lively and the war isn't that. It's getting rather dreary. Too cold. There is no news. We all see each other a great deal. I am doing a lot of work. (3 December 1914. *Letters of G.S. and C.V.V.* p.33)

Two consequences of the Great War affected the formations of the Parisian winter 1914-15. I will analyze both in this chapter. First, Stein's work was influenced by her concern for the physical safety of her friends who were artists, and picture-dealers. Awareness of the disruption to their art made the ideas of cubist painting particularly relevant. At a moment when she was developing the voice-montage within visual structures, she explored the possibility of adapting the techniques of 'papier collé'. Secondly, the war caused Stein to make crucial decisions about her style of writing, and about her vocation as an author. Faith in the voice-montage, and consequently in her role as an experimental writer, was based upon the successful formations composed during this period in Paris.

Stein's determination to develop the voice-montage is seen most clearly in the inventiveness of the formations. From its emergence in the summer of 1914, she elaborated the formation of indented headings in *Not Slightly. A Play*, and in *Pink Melon Joy*. In these works, she divided the text into sections by using indentation, line space and sub-headings. One aspect of her montage style is Stein's inclusion of extracts from other writings. This technique, explored particularly in *Pink Melon Joy*, aligns Stein's development of the voice-montage with the advance of cubist art into 'papier collé'. Division of voice-montage sentences into columns of single words results in a formation

which I have named vertical words, discussed with reference to *No*. This fragmented visual arrangement contrasts with the accumulation of voices in the formations of single sentences, in *One Sentence*, and notes transferred, in *Possessive Case*. Stein's confidence in the voice-montage is expressed through an experiment with documentary realism, seen in *How Could They Marry Her*. This formation enabled her to present the complex emotions arising from her decision to leave Paris. The intensity of Stein's creative attention to the voice-montage, in a period of discouraging external influences, is shown by this variety of formations.

1

Not Slightly. A Play examines the play form through the formation of indented headings. Stein juxtaposes tense voices and a spacious visual arrangement. She is exploring the design of a voice-montage play by contrasting a vocabulary of constriction with a 'playful' structure. The first word of the text, 'Slightly', plays with the word of the title, 'Sightly'. One slight letter can alter the meaning, and a slight, cursory reading will miss the difference. With a negative title, 'Not Slightly', Stein introduces the harsh tone of the play by suggesting that something is not pleasing to the eye. Indented headings acknowledge, and flout, the conventional structure of a theatre script. In this play, Stein is presenting a language expressing negative emotion within a page design of light visual patterns.

Stein exploited the interplay between left-hand and right-hand notebook page space, in imitation of dialogue. An effect is created of speakers choreographed on a stage. In this respect, she was developing the implications of a dramatic structure in *Lockeridge*.² Words and sentences in *Not Slightly. A Play*, which are placed on the left-hand manuscript page, are indented in the published version of *Geography and Plays* (1922). Lines of speech which follow, on the right-hand manuscript page, are set to the left margin in the printed version.³

²*Lockeridge* is not catalogued in the HG chronology at YCAL. It is written into the third manuscript volume of *Not Slightly. A Play* (HG 105). (See Chapter 1).

³Stein authorized the alteration from her notebook pattern to the printed text (See Chapter 3 for my analysis of her careful proof-reading of *Geography and Plays*). Since

Double page spreads in the manuscript notebook are particularly effective where the text is brief. They isolate words, whilst inviting a correspondence between them. A reader can join the division, and interpret the two lines as a dialogue exchange, as an echo, and as numbers together signifying a year:

LEFT-HAND MS. PAGE	RIGHT-HAND MS. PAGE
Intermission. [...] Now I cannot sing. [...] Eighteen.	What does that mean. Now I cannot sing. Twenty three.
<i>(Not Sightly. A Play YCAL HG 105. G&P p.291, p.292 and p.291)</i>	

This layout reproduces Stein's arrangement in her manuscript. It shows her imaginative presentation of the voice-montage, divided by opposing notebook pages. Double line space, and indented headings, in the published version represent the isolation of words in the manuscript double page spread. In cases where the display is sparse, the printed indentation does not render her play with space and meaning.

The importance of the vocabulary of space is seen in the following comparison of the published version, and Stein's use of her notebook pages:

PUBLISHED VERSION

Beside him.
Not in front.
(Not Sightly. A Play G&P p.294)

LEFT-HAND MS. PAGE	RIGHT-HAND MS. PAGE
Beside him. <i>(Not Sightly. A Play YCAL HG 105)</i>	Not in front.

In the manuscript notebook, 'Beside him' are the only words on the left-hand page. They are placed 'beside' the text on the facing right-hand page, and in front of the line

Stein was paying for the publication, the indentation of words (which had been arranged on the left-hand manuscript page) may have been influenced by the increased printing cost of a spacious page design.

'Not in front'. It is literally true that 'Not in front' is not in front. 'Not in front' is placed at the top of the right-hand manuscript page, whilst 'Beside him' is arranged diagonally in the centre of the left-hand page. Therefore, 'Not in front' may be 'in front' if the reader envisages a horizontal line to separate the sentences, rather than the vertical division of the notebook spine. Far more than typographical quibbles, this variation between the manuscript and the published version exemplifies Stein's deliberate placing of the voice-montage to alter its reading. Terms referring to spatial relationships become ambiguous. 'Beside' and 'in front' are displayed in visual isolation to ensure that their meaning is altered by their arrangement on the page.

A note in Stein's handwriting, at the opening of manuscript Volume Two of *Not Slightly. A Play*, gives the instruction: '(Space)' (YCAL HG 105). This indicates that she wanted Alice Toklas to allow a line space in the typescript, between the last sentence of notebook Volume One ('I was so surprised to see that at the bottom of the sealskin.'), and the first sentence of Volume Two: 'Its really not very active.' (*Not Slightly. A Play* G&P p.294). The importance Stein attached to spacing is apparent in other works of the Parisian winter 1914-15, as she explored the visual, 'sightly', formations to display the voice-montage. This private instruction, for space to be introduced into the typescript of *Not Slightly. A Play*, is presented directly in a different formation composed during this period:

I should have told you that between pages when there is no intermission and it is on top there's a space.

Is there any way to arrange it to make a space.

That meant a space and you see you didn't leave it.

That's a title.

(*No* AFAM p.39)

An aggrieved speaker, in *No*, creates an insistent monologue. One interlocutor accuses a silent partner of not paying sufficient attention to instructions for spatial arrangement. Spatial display of a voice, which itself expresses the need to arrange words carefully, is presented differently in *Not Slightly. A Play*. First, the note '(Space)' is a private instruction, and it is not incorporated into the final draft. Secondly, as 'A Play', the division into indented headings exploits theatrical conventions to organize page space. In this extract from *No*, a speech, a scene and the elements of a dramatic script are created through a monologue. Subdivisions in *Not Slightly. A Play* are created by

indented words and phrases. These indented headings become devices to introduce space, and to render a light, perhaps a 'slight', page of text. Voice-montage statements may not immediately cohere but, broken into small segments, they are not intimidating.

The subtitle, 'A Play', provides a more formal structure than the playful division by stray sentences. Stein also organizes her script according to theatrical convention: 'Second Act. [...] Act Three. [...] Act Four.' (*Not Slightly. A Play* G&P p.292, p.293 and p.296). However, she plays with this formula. Rigidity, implicit in the numbered Acts becomes more flexible when 'acts' are used as indented headings, in different contexts: 'Acting. [...] There'll be five acts. [...] Continuation of an Act Five of the Act Five.' (*Not Slightly. A Play* G&P p.299, p.294 and p.300). A fleeting acknowledgement of conventional dramatic scripts emphasizes Stein's use of the formation of indented headings to break free from the limitations of traditional literary structures.

Not Slightly. A Play uses a spacious formation of indented headings as a reaction against the knot of tightly organized, and compartmentalized, intellectuality. Speakers struggle to free themselves from a constricting type of mind which threatens to suffocate creativity, implied in the asphyxiating 'sigh' of the title. I will outline the external influences which gave rise to these tense voices because the tone conflicts with the light visual arrangement.

This play gives voice to Stein's response to her visit to England in 1914. The vocabulary of constraint can be understood in the context of its composition at the beginning of the Parisian winter 1914-15:

I have been doing a good deal of work this summer, one long play, a half of a long thing and a number of short ones all influenced by London under the war. (19 October 1914. *Letters of G.S and C.V.V.* pp.30-31)

In his notes to this collection of letters, Edward Burns proposes that the 'one long play' is *Not Slightly. A Play*. He states that it 'may have been begun in England in 1914 but not completed until 1915'.⁴ I agree that *Not Slightly. A Play* is the play 'influenced by

⁴Burns' note, *Letters of G.S and C.V.V.*, p.31. *Not Slightly. A Play* is text Number 1 in BTS Volume 13, ordering works of 1915. It is dated 1915 in the 1929 *transition* bibliography, and in the HG chronology. There is no other text listed with the subtitle

London under the war.' Furthermore, I believe that it expresses Stein's negative response to the Bloomsbury group, and to the related tensions. My interpretation depends upon a clarification of Stein's reference to London. During her three month visit to England, in 1914, Stein was not in London for more than a few weeks after the Great War had broken out. She was staying at the country home of Alfred North Whitehead, in Lockeridge, when England declared war on Germany on 4 August 1914. After this time, she returned to London only for brief visits to collect letters of credit. When Stein moved to the London home of Alfred North Whitehead, between 24 and 30 September 1914, it was to organize her departure for Paris on 17 October 1914. Thus, her play is 'influenced' by a set of writers who were centred in London, rather than by the city of London.

The Stein correspondence at YCAL shows that her contact with the Bloomsbury group began in the winter of 1912-13. At this time, she had loaned two Picasso paintings to Roger Fry, for his Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition (See Appendix 2). Her relationship with the Bloomsbury group culminated in the publication, by Leonard and Virginia Woolf's Hogarth Press, of *Composition as Explanation* (1926).

Before Stein's visit to England in 1914, there was particularly close contact. Stein had met Clive Bell, and Duncan Grant, at 27 rue de Fleurus in the spring of 1914. During this period, she had corresponded with Vanessa Bell about finding her, and Clive Bell, accommodation in Paris. When she arrived in England, she had plans to move from the Knightsbridge Hotel to rent Desmond MacCarthy's house in London.

Nevertheless, Stein did not fit easily into this intellectual group. She chose not to rent Desmond MacCarthy's house. Her correspondence with Vanessa Bell was more practical than congenial. She had reluctantly acknowledged the commercial benefit of an introduction, by Roger Fry, to a re-issue of *Three Lives*, which she had been seeking in 1913. Fry's introduction was not included in the First English Issue of 1915. Stein's contact with Roger Fry lapsed during the Great War. Communication was resumed, briefly, when he welcomed her home from war relief work in Mulhouse, in 1919 (See

'A Play' for the end of 1914, nor for the beginning of 1915 (See Appendix 1). *Not Slightly. A Play* contains references to England, and *Lockeridge* (1914) is written into the third notebook volume (YCAL HG 105). The length of *Not Slightly. A Play* is an indication that it was composed over a long period. It may have been completed in the winter of 1914, and bound in a volume with 1915 work. This would distinguish it from the 'short ones', which probably refers to such texts as *Crete*, *Gentle Julia* and *In One*.

Appendix 3 for Stein's correspondence with these members of the Bloomsbury group).

There are clues from a later visit why, in 1914, Stein felt disquieted by the intellectual circle based in London. During her visit to England in 1926, there is a hint that Stein was excluded on racial grounds. She was not allowed to penetrate the hermetic Bloomsbury group. A letter from Virginia Woolf to Vanessa Bell, dated 2 June 1926, concerns Edith Sitwell's welcoming tea for Gertrude Stein:

Jews swarmed. It was in honour of Miss Gertrude Stein who was throned on a broken settee [...] Leonard, being a Jew himself, got on very well with her.⁵

Virginia Woolf's derisive tone juxtaposes a grandiose vocabulary ('honour [...] throned') with a harsh declension ('swarmed [...] broken settee'). Susan Hastings adds a sexual motive for this later rebuttal. She suggests that a triangular relationship existed between Stein, Virginia Woolf, and Edith Sitwell:

It is quite probable that Woolf's caustic remarks had motives that were only too personal: a modicum of jealousy cannot be ruled out [...] Woolf appears to have found the interloper, Gertrude Stein, physically repellent.⁶

In 1914, it might have been the pacifist stance of members of the Bloomsbury group, rather than racial or sexual unease, which set Stein apart. Their attitude contrasted with Stein's because she supported the Allied forces and, at the outbreak of the Great War, she was residing with the patriotic Whitehead family.⁷

During the Parisian winter 1914-15, Stein reflected upon her recent acquaintance with English intellectuals through the tense voices of *Not Slightly. A Play*. Her negative

⁵Nigel Nicolson, ed., *A Change of Perspective: The Letters of Virginia Woolf. Volume III: 1923-1928* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1977), pp.269-70. Letter No. 1644. 2 June 1926. Address: 52 Tavistock Square, W.C.1.

⁶Susan Hastings, 'Two of the Weird Sisters: The Eccentricities of Gertrude Stein and Edith Sitwell', *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature*, 4 (1984-85), p.102.

⁷Although not a member of the Bloomsbury group, Bertrand Russell was a vocal representative of the pacifist stance of this intellectual circle. In a work aligned with her residence in Lockeridge, Stein placed a Germanic surname next to the diminutive by which he was known: 'I cannot deny Bertie Henschel is coming tomorrow.' (*Mrs. Whitehead G&P* p.156).

response is given expression in the name of Lytton Strachey, which has a phonetic misspelling. Also, the name of Bertrand Russell occurs in the diminutive by which he was familiarly addressed. These two figures of the Bloomsbury coterie become representatives of an enclosed intellectual network:

Nine shall combine Straichy and purl wilt and borrowed moans.

[...]

What is your name.

As if he felt himself to be one.

I listened to Bertie.

I felt raining.

(*Not Sightly. A Play* G&P p.290 and p.293)

Stein presents an attitude of mental superiority. Against this attitude, she emphasizes the freedom implicit in a montage of ordinary exchanges. She makes a negative comment upon intellectual status through a deliberate declension of these two famous names. The inclusion of a phonetic misspelling indicates that she chose a particular effect in her final draft. She had caught the sound, rather than the accurate spelling, of names in early drafts of other texts. For example, she wrote 'Marie Lorensen' for Laurencin (YCAL MOA NB-J), and 'Newhnan' for Newnham College (*Crete* YCAL HG 92). These two names were later corrected. An amendment implies that they were erroneous transcriptions, rather than an intentional alteration of the names. Stein chose to leave the misspelled name of Strachey, and the diminutive name for Russell, in the final draft of the manuscript, and in the proof-reading for publication of *Not Sightly. A Play*. Bertrand Russell's diminutive is a wry commentary upon his self-importance: 'As if he felt himself to be one.' An unassigned voice re-works the condescending question, 'What is your name', by reducing the philosopher's reputation to a child-like appellation.⁸

Stein met Strachey and Russell, in Lockeridge, during the summer of 1914. In *Not Sightly. A Play*, she concentrates on their voices: feeble sound in 'wilt'; insincere complaints in 'borrowed moans'; and depressing stridency in 'I listened [...] felt raining.'

⁸See also: 'I asked for more Bertie.' (*Johnny Grey* G&P p.173), and 'Pleasant Bertie's own brother.' (*Possessive Case* AFAM p.151). Stein wrote 'Bertrand Russell is foolish.' in the manuscript notebook of the Mallorcan narrative *All Sunday* (YCAL HG 151 A&B p.116). This was altered to 'Richard Russell is foolish.' in the bound typescript (BTS Volume 14).

She wrote of their voices in the same terms eighteen years later:

He was a thin sallow man with a silky beard and a *faint* high voice. [...] But, said Lytton Strachey *faintly*, I have never met him. [...] *Not*, replied Lytton Strachey *faintly*, if I have never met him.

[...]

This argument fussed Mr. Russell, he became very *eloquent*.

(*The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* pp.185-86 and p.186. Emphasis added.)

In *Not Slightly. A Play*, Stein had used the wordplay of 'purl wilt' to capture Strachey's 'faint' voice. One auditor, 'I listened to Bertie', caught Russell's 'eloquent' speech. A spacious formation of indented headings provided a light visual structure, which was a statement of Stein's artistic independence from a hermetic intellectual circle. Two identifiable names gave a precision to the pervasive sense of unease expressed throughout *Not Slightly. A Play*. This biographical context points towards a source for the tense voices in the play.

Knots are a metaphor for the taut atmosphere in *Not Slightly. A Play*. Tense voices, which discuss sewing and knitting, contrast with the easy tones of speakers in the Mallorcan writings, who chat about the same subject. This contrast marks a development of the voice-montage; from the insistent straining of disquieted voices to casual conversations, which have no emotional undercurrents.

Not Slightly. A Play repeats the image of knots in sewing, and in quilting. With this technique, Stein conveys the claustrophobic tightness of a restrictive mind:

When kinds of similar tens that is to say twenty suffering, when similar tens and perhaps fifty kneeling, when similar and jointed and prized and quilted quietly quilted tights quietly quilted tight minds when three innerly expensive shrugs meant more there was a strain and little meaning water spots came to remain.

(*Not Slightly. A Play* G&P p.290)

'Similar tens' could refer to Stein's negative impressions of an English intellectual

network.⁹ 'Similar' implies the conformity of a group, and 'tens' suggests 'tense'. A sense of enclosure arises from the consonance in this long sentence. Repetition of 'similar' leads to the accumulation of negatives: suffering, shrugs, strain, spots. The insistence of 'quilted quietly quilted' requires careful enunciation of the harsh consonants to convey the clicking sound of needles knitting, or the jerking movement of pulling sewing thread taut. Submission, implicit in the act of 'kneeling', is reinforced by the adjective: 'jointed'. To kneel is a physical response to the psychological domination of these 'quietly quilted tight minds'. Stein uses each word to contribute to the attack on an elite: 'innerly' suggests exclusiveness; 'prized' suggests ostentatious flattery; 'expensive' suggests wealthy isolation; 'shrug' suggests a non-committal gesture. Density of the vocabulary builds to the damning indictment that there is no purpose to the 'similar tens', in the criticism that they have 'little meaning'.

In *Not Slightly. A Play*, the tightness of sewing, evoked in the words 'quietly quilted', becomes an insistent metaphor:

A girdle needs stitches. (G&P p.294)

I spent stitching. (G&P p.295)

Commence to sew. (G&P p.298)

To begin to straggle to begin to straggle and much any sealing any sealing without thimbles. Thimbles are so noisy. (G&P p.299)

I will not satisfy many I will not satisfy many stitches. Why are corsets warm. (G&P p.301)

Garments which restrict the female body (the girdle and corsets) are placed within a play which indicates a 'sealing' of women in the activity of sewing. Sewing is described in a tense manner: needs, spent, straggle, sealing, noisy, will not satisfy. In this vocabulary, a director of the play has guidance for the costumes, actions and stage props.

A spacious formation of indented headings is a visual, slightly, release from repeating sentences, which accumulate into dense paragraph units. The tight knot of

⁹The number ten is close to the thirteen members of 'Old Bloomsbury': Virginia Woolf, Leonard Woolf, Vanessa Bell, Clive Bell, Molly MacCarthy, Desmond MacCarthy, Adrian Stephen, Lytton Strachey, J.M. Keynes, Duncan Grant, E.M. Forster, Saxon Sydney-Turner, and Roger Fry. S.P. Rosenbaum (ed.), *The Bloomsbury Group. A Collection of Memoirs, Commentary and Criticism* (Toronto and Buffalo: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1975), p.x.

sewing becomes the 'not' of denial:

Not to act too. Not to act too much. Not to act too much in being horrified. Not to beckon in spaces. Not really to beckon in spaces. [...] Not in cellars. Not in not cellars. Not wanting, not wanting it. [...] Not in the least not in the least private not in the least privately. Not more than the sum not very granted. Not by that straining not by that merriment.

(*Not Sightly. A Play* G&P p.293, p.295 and p.297)

Stein employs an insistent language to mull over the metaphorical not/knot of insular intellectuality. A verbal pattern is created which represents the stasis, implied in the words 'Not to act', against which Stein's sense of her own creativity was 'straining'.

In Mallorca, Stein's attention returned to the image of women knitting. 'Merriment' is evident in the later voice-montage. Speakers express a practical purpose, and a delight in local industry. The following two examples, from the Mallorcan writings, show the future release from tense voices:

The other day we saw a woman knitting she was doing it not so very quickly and then we understood the reason. She was knitting with cotton. That is quite the custom of the country.

(*He Said It. Monologue* G&P p.269)

Wool is higher. It costs one franc more this summer. I have no hard thoughts about wool. Wool is black. [...] I wish to tell you about everything. In the first place the women are capable of embroidering. They sit to do this. We are well satisfied and pleased. [...] It gives me great pleasure to thank you for the stockings you have so kindly knitted for me. I appreciate very much their resemblance to lace work. I believe that I will have pleasure in wearing them when I am at home.

(*Letters and Parcels and Wool* AFAM p.163)

Sewing and knitting have become a source of pleasure for the anonymous speakers. Watching the artistry of women, and wearing the garments they create, prompt expressions of satisfaction. A knot is simply a network of cotton, and of wool. In these later examples of the voice-montage, a context for metaphorical interpretation has been reduced. It is a contrast which emphasizes the tension expressed in *Not Slightly. A Play*.

At the end of her English summer, or at the beginning of her Parisian winter, Stein composed *Not Slightly. A Play*, which was 'not sightly' in its flouting of theatrical

conventions. A formation of indented headings represented a visual rebuttal of the conformity to restrictive literary practices. She chose not to align herself with the Bloomsbury group, and she expressed her discontent with their insularity in a script which disrupts theatrical rules. Vocabulary indicating isolation is registered throughout the play. It creates a cumulative effect: painful, strange, cautious, spoiled, miserable, frightened, mismanagement, obligations, restrained, curses. To understand the knot of tension in *Not Slightly. A Play* is to understand its loosening in the joy of a work corresponding to the formation of indented headings, and also written during the Parisian winter, *Pink Melon Joy*:

I don't realize voices.
(*Not Slightly. A Play* G&P p.298)

What a system in voices, what a system in voices.
(*Pink Melon Joy* G&P p.356)

2

Joyful voices in *Pink Melon Joy* contrast with negative expressions in *Not Slightly. A Play*. Yet, both texts are structured by the same formation of indented headings. A sense of fun raises questions about the precise dating of *Pink Melon Joy*, although it was almost certainly written during the Parisian winter 1914-15, when Stein was living at 27 rue de Fleurus. Since it conveys an alternative experience of the Great War from the tension in *Not Slightly. A Play*, it is appropriate to consider the proposals for a more specific dating. Each option provides a different interpretation of the lighthearted humour, which is its predominant tone.

If the work was composed in the later months of the Parisian winter 1914-15, this would represent a decrease in the constraining influence of Stein's English visit. If both texts were written concurrently, this would emphasize Stein's ability to create diverse texts from differing responses to the war. Stein may have found pleasures despite war conditions, and this would show a positive engagement with her surroundings. I believe each of these factors contributed to the delightful miscellany in *Pink Melon Joy*. Above all, Stein found a release from the dispiriting influence of war by an absorption into the

joy of language.

References to war in *Pink Melon Joy* are sparse and impersonal: 'War is Saturday and let us have peace. [...] I do not forget a war. [...] I read about the war.' (*Pink Melon Joy* G&P p.356, p.359 and p.365). During this period, the Great War affected Stein's life geographically, economically and emotionally. Nevertheless, within the voice-montage it is expressed as a literary experience. She 'reads' about the war, recognizing that hers is a marginal experience. Her purpose is to record the effect of war when it is experienced through the words of others.

Liveliness in *Pink Melon Joy* arises from its variety of voices. Also, its formation of indented headings gives a light page design. A phrase from another text, dated to the Parisian winter 1914-15, offers an insight into the charm of this joyful work: 'frivolity of miscellaneous discourse' (*Possessive Case* AFAM p.127). A 'miscellaneous discourse' stimulates different associations in each reader. *Pink Melon Joy* can be read over and over, every glance brings a fresh awareness of a sentence which had been previously overlooked.

This sense of discovering a new text with each reading is particularly effective in *Pink Melon Joy* because the formation offers a visual fragmentation for its eclectic 'system in voices'. Voices are arranged within sub-headed paragraphs which the reader follows with stops and starts, focusing always upon a new verbal unit. Constant challenges to the attention are re-aligned in each sentence, as the next statement requires a new effort of interpretation. It is a disconnected, lively text, unburdened by the weight of cumulative narrative progress. Above all, it is a work which encourages a lighthearted enjoyment of language:

Anyway Pink melon or joy.

Is that the same.

Pink melon and enjoy.

Pink melon by joy.

(*Pink Melon Joy* G&P p.363 YCAL HG 106. MS & BTS have 'Anyway pink melon or joy.')

The title becomes a refrain. Re-worked within the text, it suggests a sensuous delight in colour ('pink'), in fruition ('melon'), and in the way words can conjure the image of an unnamed object by extracting its essential elements (watermelon by the association of 'pink' and 'melon').

Stein displayed the voice-montage to focus a reader's attention upon the luxuriance of everyday vocabulary. Indented headings isolate ordinary words to prompt a sense of surprise:

Come in.
Splashes splashes of jelly splashes of jelly.

Weather.
Whether he was presented.
I meant to stay.
(*Pink Melon Joy* G&P p.355)

It seems strange to offer any elucidation of the line: 'Splashes splashes of jelly splashes of jelly.' However, these words draw attention to the minutiae which can become material for the voice-montage. A sense of 'frivolity' is prevalent, but the splashes of jelly are integral to the 'miscellaneous discourse'. Stein projects the wonderful miscellany of voices which do not connect. 'What a system in voices' is a joyful exclamation in praise of a liberating eclecticism.

A formation of indented headings in *Pink Melon Joy* allowed a mixture of visual patterns to accentuate the haphazard accumulation of speech fragments. In this, the voice-montage structure promotes the author as the collector of random phrases. Stein was re-creating a particular context by selecting actual data in the media of newspapers, novels and overheard speech. Construction of a new work by selecting stray voices and textual quotations, which can be identified with a particular person or written document, provides the basis of my assessment that Stein was experimenting with a 'papier collé' technique. Before discussing 'papier collé' in depth, I will present my argument that Stein was transferring details from an external world into *Pink Melon Joy*.

Manuscript evidence indicates that Stein was using the hesitations of actual speech as a source for the voice-montage. For instance, on a small sheet of notepaper, headed with the London address of Alfred North Whitehead (17 Carlyle Square, Chelsea, SW), Stein jotted fragments of speech, and the name of a London street (YCAL HG 36 *Tender Buttons: Miscellaneous Autograph Notes*). All the text on this sheet of notepaper is copied *verbatim* into the final draft of *Pink Melon Joy*:

I never see fruit now unless I pick it in my garden. Put it in my garden. Don't put too many. Because it's so much looser. All right. Oh no. I haven't. Chalk.
Great Portland Street.
(*Pink Melon Joy* G&P p.350)

During the Parisian winter 1914-15, Stein used ghost references, echoes of voices from her recent past, as she assembled a text from notes made in England. She transferred ephemeral memoranda into the final work, after the immediacy of its references had passed. 'Chalk' gives an impression of white-grey Portland stone, which was used to construct many of the buildings in Great Portland Street. Stein could have recorded fragments of an actual conversation in 1914, as she asked about the colour of London stone.

'Chalk' is written above 'Great Portland Street', in the lower right-hand corner of the torn notebook page. Both lines are detached from the other voices by their arrangement on the page, and by a different style of handwriting from the sentences which precede them (YCAL HG 36 *Tender Buttons*: Miscellaneous Autograph Notes). Spatial distance and altered handwriting, in the manuscript, could mark the move from an unlocated garden to a named street in London. A geographical move is matched by the change from the casual conversation to the sparse accuracy of description. Different contexts, in which the notes were first jotted, are not reproduced when they are transferred *verbatim* into the final draft. Their original purpose is not conveyed to the reader. Stein was aiming for a montage effect which would create new literary combinations, irrespective of an identification of their sources in a real world.

A method of transcribing notes taken in England is combined with the speech of Parisian acquaintances. Two voices are aligned with Mildred Aldrich, and with Alfy Maurer, by the inclusion of their first names:

Good night Mildred.
Good night dear.
[...]
All buttons aren't round said Alfy.
(*Pink Melon Joy* G&P p.367 and p.369)

Stein was meeting these two friends during the winter of 1914-15. She used the voice-montage to incorporate references to their voices.

Similarly, the name in the line 'A silver designer that is a name, Emile.' (*Pink*

Melon Joy G&P p.372) refers to a Parisian acquaintance. Emile is identified in a letter dated 1 May 1916 from Mme. A. Cardeilhac, 'Orfèvre' at 24 Place Vendôme, Paris. She informed Stein and Toklas that her jewellery salesman, Emile Esmery, was no longer in her employ. Her letter makes it clear that Stein was a frequent customer of this gold and silversmith: 'Je veux espérer que cela ne diminuera, en rien, la confiance dont vous avez toujours honoré ma maison [...].'¹⁰ (YCAL Miscellaneous Letters File Ca-Cz).¹⁰ Like the sheet of notepaper considered above, a written document shows the transference of details from an external world into the voice-montage.

By identifying particular names from manuscript evidence, such as that of Mme. Cardeilhac, one can piece together the construction of *Pink Melon Joy*. During the Parisian winter 1914-15, Stein created a montage from voices around her. Yet, she detached the identity of the speaker from their speech. She noted only the first names of Mildred Aldrich, Alfy Maurer and Emile Esmery. Thereby, she gave hints of actual individuals, but avoided specific references. *Pink Melon Joy* contains particular local details, and unlocated jottings. Both contribute to the cacophony of voices, all gathered under a style of 'miscellaneous discourse'. No distinction is made in the voice-montage between the named speakers in Paris, and the anonymous chatterers overheard in England.

Montage is a style which has a unifying principle, and a disunifying array of components. Stein indicates the miscellany of actual experience, which she imaginatively transforms into artistic structures. In this respect, David Lodge discusses the 'phenomenal particularity' of the novel:

[...] no matter how many circumstantial details the novelist supplies, no matter how carefully he matches his fictional events with the accidents of historical time and place, he can never reproduce the multiplicity, 'givenness' and 'open-endedness' of actual experience. He cannot avoid selection and emphasis, and the aesthetic effects which follow.¹¹

¹⁰Reference to the 'silver designer', and repetition of 'good night', in *Pink Melon Joy* (written during the Parisian winter) is used again in a voice-montage text composed during the Mallorcan year: 'Ladies voices together and then she came in./ Very well good night./ Very well good night./ (Mrs. Cardillac.)/ That's silver.' (*Ladies' Voices. Curtain Raiser* 1916 G&P p.203).

¹¹Lodge, *Language of Fiction*, p.42.

Lodge's assertion that a novelist cannot capture the 'open-endedness' of experience is resolved by the montage technique of *Pink Melon Joy*. Stein sought to 'reproduce the multiplicity' of a particular milieu by exploiting the fragmentary reception of its data. She alluded to actual voices, either named or unlocated. Also, she displayed voices on the page in the formation of indented headings to introduce a visual distance between each new speaker. The relevance of documentary evidence, to understanding Stein's montage technique, is that the 'circumstantial details' of both the anonymous voices, and the identifiable speakers, can be traced to a written source. In addition to the transcription of voices, a development of the voice-montage in *Pink Melon Joy* was the direct inclusion of external texts as part of the 'miscellaneous discourse'.

3

Pink Melon Joy, and other works of the Parisian winter 1914-15, can be interpreted with terms applied to the cubist art movement, in the specific context of their inclusion of external texts. Stein was exploring the adaptation of developments in cubism to the voice-montage. My analysis of the links between 'papier collé' and *Pink Melon Joy* provides a new way of reading the 'montage' aspect of the voice-montage. Contrasting with the fragments of speech, there are extracts which imitate other written sources:

It guards the life the health and the well-being of each user.
Parents encourage its use.
You can be the subject of wild admiration in ten days if you care to.
The skin has the tint of purity.
[...]

The maid a very pretty girl somewhat showily dressed in a costume composed of the royal colors fixed curious eyes down a long passage and a short one.

(*Pink Melon Joy* G&P p.365 and p.364)

These two styles, akin to the advertisement and the romantic novel, appear frequently in *Pink Melon Joy*. Extracts are detached from their context, and Stein did not intend their identification with an originating text. She wanted the reader simply to take pleasure in recognizing different literary styles.

Stein's use of external, written documents brings precision to the debate on an

alignment between her work and cubist art. Critics have explored cubist qualities in her wordplay.¹² Randa Dubnick has suggested that Stein's alteration of style in 1912, from the repeating of similar statements to the introduction of a varied vocabulary, corresponds with the innovations in pictorial art:

Before 1912 Stein's writing emphasized syntax and suppressed vocabulary. The resulting prose style resembles the visual obscurity produced by analytic cubism during those same years. Stein's second kind of obscurity, created around 1912, which suppresses syntax and emphasizes vocabulary, resembles the kind of visual obscurity produced by synthetic cubism.¹³

Stein's use of external, literary material within her work of the Parisian winter 1914-15, particularly in *Pink Melon Joy*, links a specific aspect of the voice-montage with 'papier collé'. 'Certainties' was the term Picasso and Braque used to express their incorporation of real material into pictures, rather than painting an imitation of it. The first 'papier collé', entitled 'Fruit-dish and Glass', was composed by Georges Braque between 3-12 September 1913. He played with the art, and the artifice, of 'faux bois' paper: '[...] the painted imitation wood being replaced by a printed strip of paper imitating wood'.¹⁴ 'Certainties' created new depths and references:

¹²See Marianne DeKoven, 'Gertrude Stein and Modern Painting: Beyond Literary Cubism', *Contemporary Literature*, 22 (Winter 1981), pp.81-95; Wendy Steiner, *Exact Resemblance to Exact Resemblance: The Literary Portraiture of Gertrude Stein* (New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1978) Chapter 4 'Literary Cubism: The Limits of the Analogy' pp.131-61; Marjorie Perloff, 'Poetry As Word-System: The Art of Gertrude Stein', *American Poetry Review*, 8, No.5 (1979), pp.33-43.

¹³Randa Dubnick, *The Structure of Obscurity: Gertrude Stein, Language, and Cubism* (Urbana and Chicago: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1984), p.104. Analytic cubism was developed in 1909. It fragmented the image with overlapping planes, and it used similar shades of paint. Synthetic cubism was advanced in 1912 to introduce a collage of disparate elements, and colours, into the composition.

¹⁴Douglas Cooper, 'Braque as innovator: the first *Papier Collé*', Isabelle Monod-Fontaine with E.A. Carmean, JR., *Braque: The Papiers Collés* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1982), p.35.

Short or truncated words, musical references and figures, which are easily read, serve to identify certain forms and evoke the setting. But Braque and Picasso found that this lettering was also a useful compositional element, because it provided fixed points within the pictorial space to which the eye could refer as it deciphered the whole composition.

After that, it was only a short step to include in a picture some 'real' element representing itself where previously there would have been a re-creation of it in paint.¹⁵

Stein was aware of the artistic developments which Picasso and Braque had made from the original idea of 'papier collé'.¹⁶ Advances which they were making in 'papier collé' were halted when Braque was mobilized in the French army, in 1914. With Braque's departure, Picasso lost a creative collaboration. Stein's concern for the safety of the artists, and for the future of their art, is evident in her letters (See Appendix 3).

During the Parisian winter 1914-15, the development of synthetic cubism into 'papier collé' was particularly relevant to Stein. At a time when she sought to develop her own idea of juxtaposing fragments of ordinary speech, it was a logical step to adapt the idea of 'papier collé' to the voice-montage. The language of newspaper advertisements creates a striking 'compositional element' in *Pink Melon Joy*. A sudden change of style corresponds with Douglas Cooper's statement that the 'fixed points' in the 'papiers collés' juxtapose tones and references. A new perspective is introduced into the voice-montage by interspersing dialogue exchanges with external texts.

My alignment of the voice-montage with 'papier collé' paintings should be qualified. Stein re-wrote the external texts. She did not paste advertisements, or book pages, directly into *Pink Melon Joy*. Thus, her work remains at the corresponding pictorial stage before the incorporation of 'faux bois' paper. Nevertheless, the inclusion of external, literary texts into her composition represents a development of the voice-montage, which has similar innovative concerns with the 'papier collés'.

An interpretation of *Pink Melon Joy*, employing this language of art criticism, can be applied to other texts of the Parisian winter 1914-15. Quotation of an advertisement, calling for nurses to serve with the 'Urgent Fund for Serbian Wounded', gives a sense

¹⁵Cooper, 'Braque as innovator', p.18.

¹⁶Georges Braque was a frequent visitor to Stein's home at 27 rue de Fleurus, Paris. However, up to the Parisian winter 1914-15, Stein does not seem to have owned any of his paintings. (Mellow, *Charmed Circle*, p.94). In 1913, Stein had written a word portrait entitled *Braque* (G&P p.144).

of immediacy to *How Could They Marry Her*, to be considered later in this chapter. Similarly, Stein incorporated Patrick Henry's speech in the Virginia Convention on 23 March 1775 into *Possessive Case*. The progress of this literary reference is a measure of Stein's experiment with the insertion of elements from a context outside her own composition:

ORIGINAL - EXTRACT FROM PATRICK HENRY'S 1775 SPEECH

It is natural for men to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth, and listen to the song of that siren till she transforms us into beasts.¹⁷

NOTE - STEIN'S TRANSCRIPTION OF THE SPEECH INTO A NOTEBOOK

Mr. Beffa. It is natural for man to indulge in the illusions of hope. It is natural to realise the help there is and to alter the time to take.
(YCAL HG 36 *Tender Buttons*: Miscellaneous Autograph Notes)

TEXT - FINAL DRAFT COPIED *VERBATIM* FROM THE NOTE

Mr. Beffa, it is natural for man to indulge in the illusions of hope. It is natural to realise the help there is and to alter the time to take.
(*Possessive Case* AFAM p.125)

TEXT - FINAL DRAFT CLOSER TO PATRICK HENRY'S 1775 SPEECH

It is natural to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are apt to shut our eyes to that siren until she allures us to our death.
(*Possessive Case* AFAM p.138)

Stein's preliminary note slightly altered the wording of the original document. Yet, she kept her version similar enough to allow its identification. She incorporated her note in two different ways into the final draft of *Possessive Case*. In this progression from original text to final draft, the originating documents were both her own preliminary note, and Patrick Henry's speech. In the process of constructing *Possessive Case*, three variations upon an actual speech arose from one identifiable, written source. Thus, documentary evidence exposes Stein's method of incorporating external texts into the

¹⁷Patrick Henry, Speech in the Virginia Convention, 23 March 1775. Identified by Linda Simon, *The Biography of Alice B. Toklas*, p.278.

voice-montage.

Dating references to external documents provides an approximate dating of the compositions into which they were incorporated. In this respect, the voice-montage works of the Parisian winter 1914-15 are further aligned with the 'papier collé' technique. During the previous winter, of 1913-14, Georges Braque had placed dated material on his canvases. For instance, he had displayed a programme of the opening night of the Tivoli cinema in Sorgues, dated 31 October 1913.¹⁸ Pierre Daix has dated one of the oldest identifiable newspaper clippings in Picasso's 'papiers collés' to 10 November 1912, in *Guitare, partition et verre*.¹⁹ Although closely connected with the ideas, and the art, of these two painters, Stein did not use their technique in precisely the same way. She adapted their idea of including dated material in a composition by inserting references which can be traced to dated sources. It must be repeated that she did not paste that dated source directly into her work.

Stein did not provide extensive documentation to date her work with accuracy. Bound typescript volumes at YCAL offer a chronology only within a calendar year. The 1929 *transition* bibliography also dates her work within a calendar year. In letters, Stein often referred to 'a long piece', or 'a play', without giving its name. Cooper and Daix establish a *terminus a quo* for the 'papiers collés' by dating the texts they contain. This process of locating the real elements in a composition has a literary equivalent in Stein's reference to external texts:

Do you see what they are doing with post cards allowed to be sent by the soldiers.
(*Possessive Case AFAM* p.155)

Infinite replication and utter uniformity - those are the ideas attached to the Field Service Post Card, the first wartime printing of which, in November, 1914, was one million copies.²⁰

¹⁸Cooper, 'Braque as innovator', p.20.

¹⁹Pierre Daix, 'Braque and Picasso At The Time of The Papiers Collés', *Braque: The Papiers Collés*, p.40.

²⁰Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York and London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1975), p.186.

Possessive Case is dated 1915 in the YCAL HG chronology because it is included with other texts of that year in Bound Typescript Volume 13. However, it is possible to be more precise. Beyond November 1914, Stein would have been aware of the new Field Service Postcards introduced at that time. Her swift incorporation of this external text into the voice-montage would determine the date as late 1914, or early 1915.

Another work of this interim period in Paris, which can be dated by identifying the external text to which it refers, is *M. Vollard et Cezanne*. It is dated 1912 in *Portraits and Prayers*, and it is listed in the HG chronology with texts of 1912. However, it is probably dated 1915, which is the date given in the 1929 *transition* bibliography. The final draft is written into the same manuscript notebook as *When We Went Away* (HG 111), which is dated 1915. As Stein generally did not re-use notebooks after a lapse of time, it is likely that both works were written concurrently, or in close succession. In many draft typescripts (which organize texts either for Bound Typescript Volume 13 for 1915, or for the 1929 *transition* bibliography), the sequence is consistent: *No*; *M. Vollard et Cezanne*; *When We Went Away* (YCAL Miscellaneous Box F).

Two letters to Henry McBride offer rare examples of Stein dating a work. They provide evidence that *M. Vollard et Cezanne* had its source in another text:

It's about Vollard. He has just finished a book about Cézanne and it's really xtremely good, he's written it and it's got lots of pictures. [...] I have done rather a nice sketch of him.

(27 March 1915. YCAL McBride correspondence)

By the way did Vollard give you his book and what did he say. I did a little skit on him. [...] Its name is M. Vollard et Cézanne.

(14 August 1915. YCAL McBride correspondence)

Re-dating *M. Vollard et Cezanne* to the Parisian winter 1914-15 emphasizes Stein's response to art at a time when she was arranging the voice-montage to visual effect, in various formations. There are two factors to be distinguished here. First, Stein's composition can be dated by her reference to a written document. Ambroise Vollard (1867-1939) had published a book entitled *Paul Cézanne* in 1914.²¹ Secondly, the stimulus for this work arose from the picture-dealer whom she knew: '[...] a nice sketch

²¹Ambroise Vollard, *Paul Cézanne* (Paris: Galerie A. Vollard, 1914).

of him. [...] a little skit on him [...].' In terms of interpreting Stein's text as an adaptation of a 'papier collé' technique, the focal point is her inclusion of a reference to an external, dated text.

In the final draft, Stein re-organized lines jotted on a note fragment. She moved the position of her title, and changed a section written in French. A double line space, in the final draft, distinguished the text which was transferred from a preliminary note:

PRELIMINARY NOTE

M. Vollard et Cezanne.
Histoire des femmes.
M. Vollard et Cezanne.
Histoire des bonnes.
(YCAL Miscellaneous Box F)

FINAL DRAFT

M. Vollard et Cezanne.
Histoires des bonnes.
Histoires des femmes.
(*M. Vollard et Cezanne* P&P p.38)

Douglas Cooper analyses Picasso's artistic use of written material in terms which have relevance to Stein's incorporation of note fragments referring to external texts. His art criticism is particularly apt in the interpretation of voice-montage works in which Stein mentions painters, and picture-dealers:

The inscriptions can overlap and be broken up in a like manner - they are never complete. Not only to conserve their allusive force and mystery, but also because, to contribute from the outside to the composition, they must show themselves at the same time both independent and open to integration in the painting.²²

In *M. Vollard et Cezanne*, Stein altered the order of her four-line preliminary note. Also, she chose not to place the notebook page directly into her final draft. The note is 'open to integration' within a longer work, and it maintains an 'allusive force' by its identification with a particular book. Stein employed various strategies of detachment: the original sheet of paper is not pasted into the final draft; the draft is re-arranged, and

²²Cooper, 'Braque as innovator', p.31.

a line is erased; the fragment is isolated in the text by two different languages, and by line spaces above and below the three-line extract. In these ways, Stein was creatively adapting the idea of 'papier collé' to the requirements of the voice-montage.

New voice-montage formations were influenced by Stein's contact with the artistic community in Paris, during the winter of 1914-15. By naming a picture-dealer, and a painter, in *M. Vollard et Cezanne*, Stein emphasized that she was gathering ideas, and subjects, from the artistic milieu. An imaginative response to paintings, to painters, and to those who sold paintings, is registered in different works of this period. Broader references to art re-enforce my belief that Stein was developing the voice-montage by adapting the technique of 'papier collé'.

No was composed at the same time as the re-dated *M. Vollard et Cezanne*. In this work, Stein noted the name of another picture-dealer with whom she was acquainted, Wilhelm Uhde:

I want to tell about Uhde. He was the individual who came here and had no hair. This does not manage to reclaim him.
(*No* AFAM p.52)

Stein's naming of Wilhelm Uhde makes a direct reference to the advances in cubist art. She can create several inferences from this surname. By mentioning an actual acquaintance, she links the text with her life at that time. Also, she uses the picture-dealer to represent the innovative artistic movement which he supports. Uhde had bought the early cubist paintings of Picasso, and of Braque. In 1910, Picasso had painted *Portrait of Wilhelm Uhde* in the fragmented style of analytic cubism. During the Parisian winter 1914-15, there was an additional reason to incorporate the name of Uhde within the voice-montage. He had been forced to leave Paris for Wiesbaden at the outbreak of war, and he could not return.²³ Stein was aware of the serious

²³Liliane Meffre, 'Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler et Wilhelm Uhde, Le Marchand, et L'Amateur', *Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler: Marchand, Éditeur, Écrivain* (Centre Georges Pompidou: Musée National d'Art Moderne, 22 Novembre 1984 - 28 Janvier 1985), p.80: 'A la déclaration de guerre en 1914 Uhde et Kahnweiler, sujets allemands, doivent regagner leurs pays. [...] Uhde, très malade, quitte Paris en toute hâte pour Wiesbaden.' Edward Burns has corrected Meffre's statement by informing me that Kahnweiler was

consequences for artists whom he was unable to support, and she recognized the danger to his art collection. In their different media, Stein and Picasso represented Uhde in styles which question the reliance upon direct information. They both fragmented the elements of visual detail. Stein wrote that 'he had no hair', and then emphasized that this feature cannot capture a miscellaneous perception of the individual. Random details convey a disjointed impression, which does not attempt to 'reclaim' Uhde in a single, descriptive statement.

Stein was responding to artists, as well as to picture-dealers, during this period. Her responsiveness to the visual impact of cubist art is exemplified in *Johnny Grey*. In the title, she translated the name of a Spanish artist: Juan Gris.²⁴ Her arrangement of the voice-montage into the formation of vertical words is thereby aligned with his paintings, which distort pictorial representation. She experimented with fragmenting sentences into single words, and arranging them in a vertical list. Juan Gris' development of cubism is a model for her design of vertical words:

Tried.
To be.
Just.
Seated.
Beside.
The.
Meaning.
(*Johnny Grey* G&P p.172)

Juan Gris influenced Stein's voice-montage, during the Parisian winter 1914-15, because their recent friendship had been broken by a misunderstanding about the purchase of his pictures (See Appendix 2). Within the text, there are references to pictorial art: 'I understand a picture. [...] A picture with all of it bitten by that supper.' (*Johnny Grey* G&P p.168). This break in their friendship is 'independent and open to integration', as Douglas Cooper had stated. Evasive voices give only hints about the artist, and about the dispute over money: 'He said he was a Spanish family. [...] I was disagreeing with him. [...] If you give money.' (*Johnny Grey* G&P p.170, p.167 and p.168).

not made to leave Paris in 1914, he was in Italy and not permitted to return until 1920.

²⁴Stein translated a pseudonymous name. 'Juan Gris' was born José Victoriano Carmelo Carlos González Pérez.

A reader is not intended to identify Juan Gris as the inspiration for Stein's formation of vertical words. His presence is part of the 'allusive force' of the voice-montage. Intimations of specific details emphasize the distance of the text from the actual disagreement, from which it may have arisen. Henry M. Sayre uses the terms of 'papier collé' to analyze four lithographs by Juan Gris for the 1926 publication of Stein's composition *A Book Concluding With As A Wife Has A Cow: A Love Story*:

In the first place, I think we must take them [the representational lithographs] seriously as illustrations of the text. But they serve the text in a radical way - not unlike the introduction of a sheet of newspaper into the abstract design of a Cubist canvas, Gris' lithographs draw Stein's abstract investigation of words back into the world of things. Stein herself was conscious that this was the purpose of *collage*.²⁵

A complex interaction between art and life is uncovered here. Juan Gris, and his painting, become 'certainties' in two of Stein's works, dated eleven years apart. The formation of vertical words, in *Johnny Grey*, was not continued in the Mallorcan texts. It was a transitory experiment, arising from a particular situation during the Parisian winter 1914-15. Stein's formation reflected her awareness of the developments in Juan Gris' cubist art, and of sudden changes in his financial circumstances.

Stein's development of the voice-montage was influenced, at this juncture of her career, by an appreciation of the situation of artists who were threatened by the Great War. Many painters were dispersing. Their voices could not be heard by Stein, to be incorporated into the voice-montage. Both the art, and the individuals, were in danger. Douglas Cooper gives one example: '[...] the continuity in Braque's work was broken at the end of July 1914 when he was mobilized in the French army.'²⁶ A note by Eva [Gouel] Picasso, added to a letter sent by Pablo Picasso from Avignon, to Stein in England, shows the concern with which this close artistic community monitored the various departures:

²⁵Henry M. Sayre, 'Imaging The Mind: Juan Gris and Gertrude Stein', *Southern Humanities Review*, 11 (1977), p.213.

²⁶Cooper, 'Braque as innovator', p.20.

Derain et Braque sont partis il y a longtemps et nous n'avons pas de nouvelles depuis quelques jours. Derain est bicycliste à son régiment, qui est à Libieux en Normandie - Braque à du passé Sous-Lieutenant Juan Gris est à Collioure, et, sans argent, je ne sais pas comment il va l'arranger. Matisse est à Paris, il peut peut-être être appelé.

(11 September 1914. YCAL Picasso correspondence)

Stein incorporated various aspects of 'papier collé' into the voice-montage. It influenced the structure, and the subject matter, of her texts. By naming artists, either directly or in translation, Stein indicated her keen response to cubist art during the Parisian winter 1914-15. This was a time of crisis for many artists. They were threatened with death in combat, with poverty if they remained in Paris, with expulsion if they were of German nationality, and with the interruption of their work. This context adds an urgency to Stein's references to painting. Furthermore, it reflects a complex interrelationship between the development of voice-montage formations, and external factors in her environment.

Stein's concern for artists, and for picture-dealers, in Paris had an impact upon the direction of her own work. Ideas guiding cubism stimulated her consideration of the visual arrangement of the voice-montage. The results were the formation of indented headings in *Not Slightly. A Play*, and in *Pink Melon Joy*, and the formation of vertical words in *Johnny Grey*. When Stein looked back at the delicate cross-currents between art and life, she concluded that there had been an alignment between the composition of cubism and the composition of the Great War:

Really the composition of this war, 1914-1918, was not the composition of all previous wars, the composition was not a composition in which there was one man in the centre surrounded by a lot of other men but a composition that had neither a beginning nor an end, a composition of which one corner was as important as another corner, in fact the composition of cubism.

(Picasso p.11)

Stein's retrospective comment has a sureness which belies the complexities in the voice-montage texts, dated to the Parisian winter 1914-15. Literary merit in these works lies in an ambiguous interrelationship between Stein's own compositions, her attention to the development of 'papier collé', her fears for friends in the artistic community and her experience of the pervasive tensions of war.

As for me I have done quite a lot of work. I have written another play, a couple of longish things and more little ones. One recent one in quite a new way that I am very pleased with and at present I am writing a novel.

(20 January 1915. YCAL McBride correspondence)

There isn't any news. I am writing sentimental novels and I like doing them, three at a time. They are very good I think only just begun.

(3 February 1915. *Letters of G.S. and C.V.V.* p.36)

These 'novels', written 'three at a time', are probably: *No, One Sentence* and *Possessive Case*. My examination of the texts dated to the Parisian winter 1914-15 has led me to conclude that only these three works qualify for the description of 'novel'. Each is structured by an accumulation of voice-montage statements, which creates an effect of narrative. An arrangement of sentences into continuous prose lines, and into paragraphs, contrasts with the divisions of indented headings in *Not Slightly. A Play*, and in *Pink Melon Joy*. Also, these three texts are the longest compositions of this period. *No* covers thirty six printed pages, *One Sentence* covers thirty four printed pages and *Possessive Case* covers forty eight printed pages. They differ from the 'little ones', which could refer to a shorter work like *Study Nature*, which covers just one and a quarter printed pages. It is their dense structure, and their length, which enables them to be loosely categorized as 'novels'.

No, One Sentence, and *Possessive Case* are unified by Stein's generic term. Nevertheless, each is governed by a new formation. In *No*, the formation of vertical words displays voice-montage statements in columns of single words. An alternative approach is seen in *One Sentence*, in which the formation of single sentences accumulates dense paragraphs. A process of creating a montage text is uncovered in the formation of notes transferred, in *Possessive Case*. Here, Stein copied fragments of earlier jottings, without alteration, into the final draft. Thus, although similar in their 'novel' appearance, these works are guided by three different formations.

Stein's humour in calling them 'sentimental novels', and her energy in writing them concurrently, indicate that she is playing with literary conventions. In a letter to Harry Phelan Gibb, Stein uses the term: 'a long narrative poem' (25 June 1931. YCAL Gibb correspondence). Her phrase crosses generic boundaries, and it is appropriate to the

study of *No*, *One Sentence* and *Possessive Case*. A balance of poetry and prose captures the lightness of definition in these three 'long narrative poems'. Each is a novel without plot, without description, without unity of time, place or character. It is as if speech was extracted from many novels, and placed together at random. From this miscellaneous selection, the reader reconstructs a new novel by following tangential, unlocated voices. There may be a causal, novelistic progress behind these works - but it is the slightest shadow. Richard Bridgman, for instance, seeks to elicit a plot from *One Sentence*. His synopsis remains vague: 'Its subject may be a family or perhaps a fixed circle of friends.'²⁷ In these three 'novels' Stein takes speech out of the limits of quotation marks, withdraws the allocation of words to named characters, and gives voices the freedom to construct their own story. She liberates speech from cumbersome novelistic traditions, allowing a reader to hear the independent vitality of each voice.

No is an abrupt text. It opens with the juxtaposition of a vertical word list and a horizontal paragraph of short sentences. The initial impact is one of visual confrontation of styles. In *No*, Stein was presenting different arrangements of the voice-montage. Overall, the text conforms with the 'novel' structure, which aligns it with *One Sentence* and *Possessive Case*. Within this pattern of accumulated sentences, and dense paragraphs, she experiments with the formation of vertical words. Stein's technique of displaying words in columns, in *No*, is most clearly demonstrated by selecting a single aspect of the work - that of narrative descriptions of a room.

By isolating this subject, one can see the ways in which Stein absorbed the influences, especially the disruptions, of her situation in Paris. Furthermore, this approach reveals how she created innovative formations in which to present her responses. Photographs of the interior of her home at 27 rue de Fleurus show that there was a major refurbishment before, and after, Stein's visit to England in 1914. Edward Burns has concluded²⁸ that a stove was removed, and a fire-place was added, in the atelier where Stein wrote. Elsewhere in the apartment, walls were demolished and new

²⁷Bridgman, *Gertrude Stein in Pieces*, p.143.

²⁸I thank Edward Burns for this information, given during a conversation on 25 August 1991. His conclusions are based upon a comparison of photographs of the atelier, and upon a personal visit to 27 rue de Fleurus.

rooms were created (See Appendix 2).

When Stein returned to Paris, in October 1914, there was a further modification of the atelier. On a loose notebook sheet, she drew a wall plan for the re-hanging of pictures, when the refurbishment was completed. The number of canvases had been reduced after Leo Stein's departure, in April 1914. This wall plan indicates that the remaining pictures were arranged to fill the wall space, and to combine colours. In Stein's handwriting, within three boxes drawn side by side, are descriptions of the pictures: blue nude; chapeaux; Rose nude.²⁹ Inclusion of the names of artists, and of picture-dealers, is one aspect of the voice-montage in texts of the Parisian winter 1914-15. In addition, visual structures in the formations may have been affected by Stein's alteration of the positions of their pictures in her own rooms.

The reduction of the art collection at 27 rue de Fleurus, and her organization of the remaining paintings to greatest effect, influenced the development of voice-montage formations. In terms of a domestic novelistic plot, the first paragraphs of *No* imply an autobiographical context:

That was finished. After that glazing. This means glass. It came quicker. More quickly than otherwise. We went away. Not yet. We chose painting. We timed that and we changed everything. It was exasperating we were patient we said it again and meant everything. It was finely, finally finely done. Not finely done. We were pleased.

Then we wanted silver. We wanted steadier fire, we even did not want money. Then we placed an order. This was satisfactory. Anybody can sit.

Not as before.

(*No* AFAM p.35 HG 110. MS & BTS have 'Then we wanted silver.' AFAM has 'When we wanted silver.')

In the process of composing *No*, Stein explored the structures into which she could place the narrative description of an interior. Essential details of the paragraphs above (the room, the fire-place, the chairs, the silverware) were re-arranged within the same text. A formation of vertical words gives the impression of a list. Words have the appearance of memoranda, reminding the author which items could be included in the more elaborate paragraphs of a 'novel':

²⁹YCAL Miscellaneous Box A. There is a note, in Alice Toklas' handwriting, at the top of the page: 'Plan for rehanging pictures Oct '14 27 rue de Fleurus.'

room
Pretty
all
and
I fire
chairs
Pretty
silver
good

(No AFAM p.35 HG 110. MS & BTS have 'Pretty' AFAM has 'pretty')

Items are extracted to create a sparse image - both on the page, and in the room. Vertical words show how a few nouns can seize the essential details of an interior. At a moment when Stein was organizing a new household with Alice Toklas at 27 rue de Fleurus, she tested various visual structures through which to record the intimacy, and the ordinariness, of re-arranging furniture. She used the formation of vertical words to assess the capacity of the voice-montage to describe a furnished room.

Vertical words represent a different approach to a 'novel' from the narrative description of rooms in Stein's previous novel: *The Making of Americans*. In a realistic prose style, used at the beginning of the work, an interior is described through a catalogue of physical objects. Rooms in Julia Dehning's new home are conveyed in detail. Moreover, they include the same items as those contained in the extracts from *No* (a room, chairs, a fire-place):

The chairs were made after some old french fashion, not very certain what, and covered with dull tapestry, copied without life from old designs, the room was all a discreet green with simple oaken wood-work underneath. The living rooms were a prevailing red, that certain shade of red like that certain shade of green, dull, without hope, the shade that so completely bodies forth the ethically aesthetic aspiration of the spare American emotion. Everywhere were carbon photographs upon the walls sadly framed in painted wooden frames. Free couches, open book-cases, and fire places with really burning logs, finished out each room.
(*The Making of Americans* p.31)

Heavy ornateness is conveyed through an accumulating description of colours, objects and textures. Sentences pile together, capturing the claustrophobic impact of a luxurious interior. In the vertical words formation, a spacious lightness in the 'Pretty/ silver' room is caught by the break of each new line. A halt is made in the vertical display by a horizontal combination: 'I fire'. It inserts a wordplay effect into the list. A stark, poetic

style contrasts with the dense, prose re-emphasis, suggestive of social pretension, in 'fire places with really burning logs'.

Earlier, at the time of drafting *The Making of Americans*, Stein noted the problems of narrative description. She appreciated the limitations of a realistic style which merely catalogues details:

Zola when he describes a shop has a conviction about description, the description does not give him an emotion all the emotion he has is romantic and so his description is purely photographic or listic, that is as lists, and so they have no esthetic quality.

(YCAL MOA NB)

Stein's term, 'listic', is appropriate to describe the formation of vertical words in *No*. However, she displays the list literally, thereby giving it an 'esthetic quality.' Not absorbed within a novelistic structure, the features in this room are savoured as individual objects, and as single words. A list does not need to be arranged vertically. Stein's application of voice-montage statements to this formation provides a visual exaggeration of lists, which are buried within descriptive prose. By isolating ordinary images, she conveyed the stillness of a room through a sparse organization of words.

One aspect of *No*, which distinguishes it from the other two 'novels' of the Parisian winter 1914-15, is its incorporation of other formations. It is structured by two formations: vertical words, and indented headings. In this, it condenses various experiments with the display of the voice-montage. Notebook Volume One has a more dense structure than the text which follows in Volume Two, and the latter is guided by a different formation. Sentences in Notebook Volume One are, at first, arranged in the formation of indented headings:

Now the narrative.

If a cloud settles on a bank and an ell is a measure and nonsense is vigorous
he gives advice.

[...]

A communication.

When they get through starting they are about. Not above there. Not
appealing.

(*No* AFAM p.36 and p.39)

A development is marked in the formation of indented headings. In *No*, sentences and paragraphs accumulate into longer units than is characteristic in *Not Slightly. A Play*, and in *Pink Melon Joy*. Also, there is less interplay between the words of the heading and the text which it divides. Thus, the paragraph structure creates a more dense visual effect. There are just four indented headings in Notebook Volume One. Of the four manuscript notebooks, it is the only one which places the voice-montage within this structure. In reading the printed version, an impression is given of an arrangement which is explored, and is subsequently abandoned.

The change to a formation of vertical words begins with the first lines of Notebook Volume Two. At the point where Stein repeats the title, she begins a new structure:

Four of them came this evening. Five of them came this evening but that
was not important. What is important is white stockings. Mention the age and
send back some more and say you want to be worn. Worn out. Every one tired.
Disappointments. Black satin. Large papers and sacks. I do not say description.
I say annoyance. She moved. Poor forever. Lot.

No.

Sanction.

Seas or baths.

Letters and lessons.

(*No* AFAM p.43 HG 110. Notebook Volume Two begins with the word 'No.')

Notebook Volume One may have been composed separately from Volume Two. Guided by a different artistic intention, it could have been absorbed into a single text at a later date. On a single sheet of paper, there is a preliminary draft of the opening sentences of Notebook Volume Two. It consists of six lines. Beginning 'Seas or baths', it ends with 'Expense and able to be beside himself.' (*No* AFAM p.43 YCAL Miscellaneous

Box A). These lines are transferred *verbatim* into the final draft of *No*. However, the title and the first line ('No./ Sanction') are not drafted on the same note fragment. These two lines, marking the juncture of two formations, may have been drafted on a note which is not preserved at YCAL. The change of page design, at the point of a change of notebooks, suggests a dislocation in the process of composition. By joining different formations, Stein's experiments with the voice-montage range from factual sentences, to the disjointed extraction of impressions arranged within paragraphs, to the splaying of words into columns.

After the division marked by the word 'No', Stein creates a poetic effect from vertically arranged sentences:

I.
Wish.
I.
Could.
Draw.
You.
Fairer.

(*No* AFAM p.49 HG 110. MS has all end stops)

Stein's punctuation, in her manuscript notebook, creates a pause at the end of each line. She disconnects the reading of this single sentence by a grammatical, and a visual, break between every word. These words can be combined, without end stops, into one sentence. In this respect, the reader is encouraged to follow an Oriental patterning of language. Isolated words create a pictorial impression, which is also a comment upon the inability to render individuals in art with accuracy: 'I wish I could draw you fairer'. Vertical words 'draw' a pattern upon the surface of the page. Free from narrative description, these words are not tied to the representation of the person who is addressed.

Another instance in which the formation of vertical words acts as a commentary upon the montage technique occurs when it is placed in proximity with a different layout. Stein juxtaposes speech arranged in vertical words, and in a conventional sentence, to imitate the abruptness of the challenge expressed within the statements. A challenge is also made to the reader to assimilate conflicting patterns:

What
Ever
Did
You
Say
That
For.
I have been foolish excitable and irritable.
(*No* AFAM p.54)

Jolts in the vertical spacing of words re-create the tension of the interrogative voice, and the design is a visual representation of a carefully enunciated question. The speaker of the horizontal line can be interpreted as giving a response to another speaker. If one envisages the changed word arrangement as indicating two different voices, the two sentences will create a dialogue. Alternatively, the sentences may be heard as a monologue if one interprets the question, and then the explanation, as a continuation of the same voice. A sudden change in linear pattern serves to emphasize the language of disturbance.

In *No*, the formation of vertical words does not re-organize grammatical sentences in each instance. A reader is free either to combine lines into dialogues, or to leave each line as an isolated word. These are more than simple typographical arrangements. By testing this formation, Stein was exploring the effect of separating each unit of one sentence to mimic vocal rhythms. She distorted the voice-montage to highlight the loss of emphasis which occurs when speech is assimilated into representational prose.

In this 'novel', *No*, Stein separated the voice-montage into sparse columns of speech. The title represents this fragmentation by dividing the generic term: no - vel. She questioned the conventions governing novels by transcribing voices which communicate with each other, but which do not project a causal plot. This disjointed arrangement of voices does not need to refer to anything in particular, except to present the sort of speech which constitutes most daily exchanges. Her isolation of ordinary statements exploits the area of a page to give a visual impression of the vacuousness of inconsequential dialogue, and of the necessity of achieving a response. White page space is a powerful means of capturing the emptiness of trivial exchanges:

Buy that.
I don't.
Have to.
Why.
Because it's mine.
Is it.
Yes it is.
Is it.
(*No AFAM p.67*)

Stein was not using the banality of speech to transmit a message about the human condition. Such an interpretation would place the dialogues in *No* as precursors to Samuel Beckett's exchanges. Rather, snatches of everyday conversations provided her with a recognizable material upon which she could base experiments with the visual display of language. If the dialogue quoted above had been assigned to Vladimir and Estragon, it would not be out of place in *Waiting for Godot*. However, at this point in the development of the voice-montage, Stein was grappling with the presentation of narrative speech.

There is evidence within the text that Stein recognized her struggle with the rules of constructing a traditional novel. She used this recognition as a subject for her voice-montage 'novel'. One indented heading expresses a resolution to begin a conventional prose style: 'Now the narrative.' (*No AFAM p.36*). Yet, the text before, and after, does not register a change in style, indicated by the purposeful 'now'. Later in the work, she locates a new direction - again with no discernable alteration of style: 'Now I change the subject, I will change to a description of our leisure.' (*No AFAM p.37*). It is in *One Sentence* that Stein changes the subject, and changes the narrative style. In this 'novel', the 'leisure' she describes is not her own, but the assemblage of voices from a glittering socialite world.

Within one composition, Stein combined two formations: vertical words and indented headings. This variety allowed her to use a visual display to enforce her statement in *No*, quoted at the beginning of this chapter, 'I was determined to succeed':

I will not be frightened.
I will not be worried.
I will not be heavy.
I will not be sad.
I will not be objected to.
(*No AFAM p.67*)

A sense of momentum is created in this 'listic' arrangement. By repeating a formula, Stein gives prominence to emphatic statements of intent: 'I will not be [...].' The visual display of these declarative sentences is striking in its insistent reiteration. Stein would move on to arrange the voice-montage into other experimental formations in the Mallorcan writings. Later structural innovations arise from her determination to focus upon an expansion of the voice-montage during the Parisian winter 1914-15. *No* represents a source of future advances in its combined formations of indented headings and vertical words.

5

One Sentence gives the impression of clamorous voices. In a formation of single sentences, Stein accumulated miscellaneous voice-montage statements. Often listed on a new line, single sentences combine to create a dense visual, and aural, effect. She avoided the spatial relief of indented headings, and vertical words, to concentrate the impact of this 'novel' upon its crowding speakers. Single sentences, and short paragraphs, build to hint at a narrative progress. Yet, they deny novelistic cohesion. Unlocated speakers make tangential comments throughout the text, they seem not to be talking to each other. The din is energetic, and invigorating to overhear.

Stein realized that a 'novel' could exploit the dislocation of voice-montage sentences. Erasures on the first manuscript page indicate that she was focusing upon the sentence as a unit of speech. Furthermore, these amendments demonstrate that she was setting aside the fragmentation of single words as an organizational device:

One Sent tense.

Sentence.

One Cent Ten

sentence.

One sentence

(YCAL HG 104. The first four sentences are lined through.)

The only title which is not lined through is the 'one sentence' without wordplay. Stein's final choice of title offers a way to read this long work - as an accumulation of juxtaposing 'one sentences'. They are grammatical units, each clearly stating its

meaning. Yet, each sentence is alone since it does not connect with any other 'one sentence'. A sense of vitality in this 'novel' arises from the way each sentence veers off in a new direction, creating an unpredictability where the next sentence will lead. This uncertainty enables an isolation of each utterance, through which Stein aims to restore emphasis to single sentences. She rejuvenates the sentence unit, which might otherwise be glossed in a conventional progression of description and plot. The bizarre effect is that Stein has taken the style of a typical nineteenth-century novel, and has assembled random expressions by its characters.

A move away from the lighthearted aspect of wordplay is recorded in the opening paragraphs:

Old review. Old review respects render shy not and or lock behind fraying. Fraying. Suppose a fringe has died. A little example does make it thin it makes it very colored very colored white.

She means nothing wrong but the love of talking is so strong in her that I think it necessary to check it whenever I can.

(*One Sentence AFAM* p.73)

An authoritarian voice silences exuberant chatter. It is the 'strong' flow of illimitable expression, rather than the subject of the talk, which disturbs the controller. The length of *One Sentence* testifies to Stein's pleasure in creating voices which gossip, speculate and chat unhindered by serious contemplation. At the beginning of her long 'novel', Stein was employing impressionistic word clusters to conjure a negative context, from which the voice-montage is liberated. There is a sense of decay in her vocabulary (fraying, fringe, died, little, thin, white). Against these death-like images, the anonymous woman's 'love of talking' struggles to be heard.

Stein organizes unlocated voices to promote their energy and diversity. She gives each 'one sentence' the isolation of single line space, or places it within a short paragraph. Only once, within *One Sentence*, is a sentence given further isolation by double line space. It is the visual arrangement of a statement of intent, which aligns it with the determination expressed in *No*. Stein's resolve to accentuate this vigorous declaration is indicated in her manuscript. She wrote private notations as instructions for Alice Toklas to allow line spaces in the typescript. Orders in parentheses emphasize that Stein wanted the typescript to be an accurate representation of the notebook arrangement:

They had the same trimming.
(Space)
I know what I want.
(Space)
A little railing and closets.
(*One Sentence* AFAM p.74 YCAL HG 104)

This isolated statement, 'I know what I want', has the straightforward tone which characterizes most voices in *One Sentence*. It also exemplifies a burlesque quality in this 'novel'. The determined exclamation is set apart from other sentences, but the speaker is no more clearly realized than all the other unlocated voices. What the speaker wants is known only to the anonymous individual who talks into the 'space'. Stein arranges her text by speaking to Alice Toklas through the manuscript notations, and by ensuring a double line space in the typescript. Her intention is to project, in one instance of exaggerated spacing, the autonomy of each voice-montage sentence.

A formation of single sentences allows Stein to surprise the reader by interjecting references to death into a context of social voices. A contrast, between clear statement and lack of reference, arises from a montage technique in which 'one sentence' does not connect with another. *One Sentence* gives the impression of carnivalesque variety; the subject of each sentence clashes with others in a miscellany which has the sudden incongruity of different participants in a parade. Thus, Stein is able to create a macabre atmosphere through the voice-montage when lightly comic sentences are juxtaposed with evocations of destruction.

Stein interrupts the socialite chatter with voices which talk of death:

If Isabel is satisfied I must be so.
He is disposed to be lectured and mirth real mirth is calm. Cutting up
rhinoceros.
[...]
They killed and salted some kangaroos.
They have never returned.
She covered her face with a handkerchief and was in such a state that they
were quite frightened. Fanny would not dance all night.
(*One Sentence* AFAM p.84 and p.99)

A framework of dislocated sentences means that these references to the slaughter of

exotic animals do not connect with the social voices which surround them. In *One Sentence*, these statements about death are given no context which might suggest Africa or Australia. Crowding speakers ensure that these 'one sentences' are isolated elements within the miscellany. Wild beasts (rhinoceros and kangaroos) juxtapose with named women (Isabel and Fanny). Social activities (lecturing, laughing and dancing) are opposed by acts of brutality (cutting up and killing). Yet, a unity of tone smooths the surface of the language. Turbulence lies in the actual meaning of the verbs, below the consistently unemotional, factual style.

A comment by William Vaughn Moody, upon Stein's Radcliffe Theme of 22 May 1895,³⁰ provides a vocabulary to interpret this interjection of *non sequiturs*. His words illustrate Stein's use of the same detached tone to present conflicting events:

The laboratory atmosphere still pervades the lines, and gives the work a certain artificial hardness and nakedness which is unartistic.
(YCAL Stein Miscellaneous Letters, MSS & Memorabilia. Radcliffe Themes 1894-95)

Although William Vaughn Moody felt that the 'artificial hardness' in her earlier work was 'unartistic', his term captures exactly Stein's purpose in *One Sentence*. Each sentence has a scientific exactness, expressed in plain diction. Each sentence can be analyzed in isolation, and each contributes to the cumulative result. Any emotional response to death, to the cutting up and the killing, is controlled by the 'nakedness' of unelaborate sentences.

An unlocated slaughter, of the rhinoceros and the kangaroos, is presented within the same style of 'laboratory' detachment as the implication of human death in the Great War. Reference to war pierces the text, in the midst of chattering voices:

³⁰William Vaughn Moody was Stein's tutor in 1894-95, for the English 22 class at Radcliffe College. The Daily Themes were short writing exercises. This theme is entitled 'The Temptation', and it describes the close physical contact between a girl, named Hortense, and a man who pushes his body against hers in a crowd. The sexual power of the incident is controlled by a sparse style.

This is a bad sunny shot gun.
It is for sale.
She is rather pretty, he is the same little man.
[...]
Fanny came away before supper.
The bullets are very bad.
She is a deeply injured woman.
Fanny and I are alone the weather is fine and hot.
(*One Sentence AFAM* p.98 and p.105)

By what is montage characterized, Sergei Eisenstein asked in his essay 'The Cinematographic Principle and the Ideogram' (1929). He gave his reply: 'By collision. By the conflict of two pieces in opposition to each other. By conflict. By collision.'³¹ Eisenstein's juxtaposition of units in film montage offers a vocabulary from another artistic medium to interpret the voice-montage. Applied to *One Sentence*, the word 'conflict' has a double meaning: first, it refers to sentences which suddenly introduce the subject of death; secondly, it refers to the conflict of the Great War. Stein's contextual isolation of each sentence can be compared with Eisenstein's film shot, which he calls the 'montage cell'. Meaning emerges from the 'collision' of dislocated statements, and Stein's intention was to collide inconsequential talk with references to death and war.

Experience of war on the home front is condensed into sparse images. Stein re-creates a world of triviality, and of indifference, in her social voice-montage. Unlocated speakers continue to chat, oblivious to infiltrating statements about war:

He is dead.

They hoped their feeling was an only son. How I feel for them. They are composed and very transfixed.

I never saw Isabella look more handsome so handsome.

She has a very pretty house and garden. We stayed until seven came home. Isabella looked beautiful. She had on a hat with yellow flowers and they said that daylight hurried her wonderfully.

(*One Sentence AFAM* pp.83-84)

³¹Sergei Eisenstein, *Film Form: Essays in Film Theory*, ed. and trans. by Jay Leyda (San Diego, New York, London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers, 1949), p.37. Another statement Eisenstein made in this essay aligns his 'cinematographic principle' with Stein's voice-montage: 'It is exactly what we do in the cinema, combining shots that are *depictive*, single in meaning, neutral in content - into *intellectual* contexts and series.' (p.30).

Montage 'collision', between the death of an only son and a hat with yellow flowers, is without narrative elaboration. It polarizes the male and the female worlds; the worlds of horror and of cultivation. Stein's realism in her formation of single sentences, the 'montage cells', lies in her acknowledgment that the war affected many lives only intermittently. It is an honest approach for a writer who lived the early part of the Great War on the sidelines, and who had no family members under the threat of death in combat.

Stein's lack of commentary represents a fidelity to her experience of the war during the Parisian winter 1914-15. This extract documents a death which is unnamed, less vivid than the bright colours on a particular hat. Isaac Rosenberg wrote of small details, those nearest him, in 'Break of Day in the Trenches'. The white-dusted poppy, and the yellow flowers, arise from the same intense appreciation of a fragile beauty in the midst of war. It is the difficulty of understanding the large events that focuses the gaze, with such clarity, on the minutiae of immediate surroundings. Stein presents the chasm in isolated 'one sentences'. She sought to emphasize the slaughter of war, and a flower-filled world, through the collision of montage.

By this awareness of conflict in *One Sentence*, a context is established for the cruelty of superficial judgements in the socialite voices. A formation of single sentences assumes a macabre insistence. Anonymous figures speak on and on, oblivious to the interjections about death. In this, Stein was drawing on her own sense of dislocation from the war. One characteristic of the voice-montage in this 'novel' is the tone of detachment in the social exchanges. Speakers make harsh, or informative, comments which receive no response. There is a sense that the author is an eavesdropper upon gossiping voices.

Stein distances herself from the voices which she overhears by creating a glittering fictional society:

I never heard anyone play so delightfully in diamonds.

[...]

White satin is very beautiful, gold is very beautiful.

[...]

It was black velvet up to her throat with a great many diamonds etcetera.

[...]

To borrow emerald and diamonds and feathers and pink satin is very plain.

(*One Sentence* AFAM p.91, p.87, p.87 and p.100)

Such rich habiliment contrasts with Stein's own sandals and woollen stockings, which emphasizes that she uses unlocated speech to create a fictional world. Random descriptions are spread throughout the text, appearing unexpectedly like a sudden glint of the jewels. However, there is a sparseness amid the splendour in these 'one sentences' of wealthy detail. Stein implies the indifference of the bejewelled women to the intrusion of war. Intermittent descriptions of a luxurious environment establish a context for voices concerned only with social display. No event takes place to offer these characters the progressive action of a plot. A marriage and a ball are spoken of, but the focus of this long 'novel' remains with the socialite speakers who provide isolated and static images of their superficial world.

Patricia Tobin terms the traditional novelist's insistence on causal events the 'genealogical imperative'. She analyses a conventional narrative style, against which Stein was asserting her fragmented 'one sentences':

But look what temporal process yields: the novelistic character coasting down the river of flux and change, afloat among the fragmented multiplicity of events and the unstable proliferation of details, passing through a random *before/after* temporal sequence that is ultimately devoid of order and intelligibility. [...] Conventional novels, facing the unfathomable fullness of the fragments, rush to reduce their indeterminacy within the coercive order of narrative linearity.³²

In *One Sentence*, two particular, 'temporal' events (a marriage and a society ball) are overwhelmed by miscellaneous voices. Stein makes no discrimination in promoting the single plot over the many plots, about which her speakers gossip and make judgements. Patricia Tobin states that a causal structure reduces the 'unfathomable fullness of the fragments', which comprise the novelist's actual experience. It is a problem which is

³²Patricia Drechsel Tobin, *Time and The Novel: The Genealogical Imperative* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1978), p.4 and p.45.

resolved in the tangential formation of single sentences.

By transmitting miscellaneous data, Stein's 'novel' presents the chaotic side of William James' pragmatic philosophy. William James argued that the mind must select the impressions to which it pays attention. Otherwise, the body cannot function actively. The confusion of unlocated voices in *One Sentence* has the energy of variety. Yet, the cumulative effect is one of inactivity amid a mass of information. William James feared such inactivity would occur if the mental capacity to select data was diminished.³³ There is no evidence in Stein's notes at YCAL that she was constructing the montage of *One Sentence* in direct response to William James' theories. She does, nevertheless, explore an artistic expression of his philosophy of 'fragmented multiplicity', which Patricia Tobin cites as a disruption to the linear progression of conventional narrative texts.

At the centre of this 'novel', there is something unwritten. Speakers circulate around it, judging others and giving themselves away. There is a silence, despite the clamorous voices of *One Sentence*. Stein's unnamed talkers judge absent people, and they comment upon dramas taking place elsewhere:

She is coarse and vulgar and her movements are not graceful, she has ugly long teeth. She is not good looking or ugly and she has no particular expression in her countenance.

[...]

He is very handsome, he looks very handsome. She is a very amiable young woman tall and dark and has a point and fortune and I cannot say that he would be to my taste.

[...]

She is regularly parted from her husband and has six youngest daughters and he is a strange good for nothing man. He is uncommonly ugly and those who know him quite advise him. She complains of not seeing a daughter.

(*One Sentence* AFAM p.89, p.83 and p.87)

Many voices hint at different plots, but there is no elaboration of any one event. Stein's novelistic style filters the physical descriptions of anonymous men and women through

³³The influence of William James upon Stein's work has been assessed by Lisa Ruddick. See: "'Melanctha" and the Psychology of William James' (*Modern Fiction Studies*, 28 No.4 (Winter 1982-83), pp.545-56); and *Reading Gertrude Stein: Body, Text, Gnosis* (Ithaca and London: Cornell Univ. Press, 1990). The latter study ends with texts dated 1913, and therefore it does not analyze *One Sentence*.

the transitory judgements of unlocated speakers. Voice-montage creates the spectre of a novel. Without cumbersome authorial explanation, voices in *One Sentence* hover in mid-air. It is as if the author is overhearing gossip, without knowing the participants. Disconnected utterances in this 'novel' intimate salacious stories, about which only the speakers have information. The literary achievement of *One Sentence* is the accuracy with which Stein caught the tone of casual social exchanges, and offered glimpses of various plots beyond the text.

Patricia Meyer Spacks discusses the ephemeral quality of gossiping voices. She acknowledges the difficulty for a novelist to seize the temporary intensity of gossip:

Yet the instability and the privacy of its manifestations protect it from observation. A participant-observer could not take notes; and memory does not preserve the evanescences of such talk - partly because its substance often has less importance than its complex, hard-to-define tone. [...] Given its lack of immediate modification and response, written gossip can never correspond precisely to the oral form it in some respects mimics.³⁴

Stein's success in capturing the 'evanescences' of gossip in *One Sentence* reflects the versatility of a voice-montage style. Anonymous speakers are overheard as gossipers because they comment, often unfavourably, about absent figures. Frequently exposing personal details about other characters' appearances, or about their relationships, the subject of conversation is intriguing to an eavesdropper-reader, a corresponding figure to Spacks' 'participant-observer'. A formation of single sentences constantly introduces new directions to the chatter, and the reader is left to guess the outcome of the stories.

A montage technique, which creates a silence between sentences, can be contrasted with Stein's previous treatment of the subject of gossip. She wove intimations of judgemental voices into a repeating style in *Elise Surville* (1908-12). Stein brought an anonymity to the voices by detaching the actual subject from the character named 'Elise Surville', the woman who is portrayed within the text. The manuscript indicates, as the printed version does not, that this word portrait arose from Nina Auzias (YCAL HG 10).

³⁴Patricia Meyer Spacks, *Gossip* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1985), p.48 and p.72.

She was a model in Paris, whom Leo Stein married in March 1921.³⁵ Leo Stein's correspondence dated to 1908-12, the period when Stein was composing *Elise Surville*, shows that Nina Auzias' love affairs were the subject of talk.³⁶ The pervasive language of 'selling' and 'kind of them' works with subtlety. Avoiding directly gossiping voices, Stein hints at other peoples' discussions of Elise Surville's behaviour:

Some said of this one yes she is of such a kind of them and then later some of them said of this one, any one could be doing as much laughing and as often as this one was doing this thing and not be of such a kind of them, perhaps this one is not of such a kind of them. [...] This one could be one making a living by selling something, sometime this one might be one making a living by selling something.

(*Elise Surville* Two p.317 and pp.317-18)

An indeterminate event, about which judging voices circulate, is captured in a different style by 1912.³⁷ *Portrait of Mabel Dodge at the Villa Curonia* has been interpreted as Stein's encoding of gossip about Mabel Dodge's relationship with her son's tutor, in the absence of Edwin Dodge.³⁸ Stein re-created a secretive atmosphere with sentences which state their meaning evasively. A situation must be extrapolated from indirect information, like the gradual discovery of indiscrete acts:

All the attention is when there is not enough to do. This does not determine a question. The only reason that there is not that pressure is that there is a suggestion. There are many going. A delight is not bent. There had been that little wagon. There is that precision when there has not been an imagination. There has not been that kind abandonment. Nobody is alone.

(*Portrait of Mabel Dodge at the Villa Curonia* SW p.466)

This language is oblique. Stein inserts a 'suggestion' of liaisons among a crowd of

³⁵'Nina and I were married the other day.' Letter from Leo Stein to Fred Stein, dated 5 March 1921 (*Journey into the Self*, p.85). Eugénie Auzias was known as Nina of Montparnasse (Simon, *The Biography of Alice B. Toklas*, p.78).

³⁶Leo Stein, *Journey into the Self*, pp.29-31.

³⁷*Portrait of Mabel Dodge at the Villa Curonia* is dated 1911 in the HG chronology. It is re-dated to 1912 by Edward Burns (*Letters of G.S. and C.V.V.* p.25).

³⁸See Brinnin, *The Third Rose*, p.168 and Mellow, *Charmed Circle*, p.169.

pleasure-seekers. Outwardly, many people take a trip in a wagon. Yet, physical activity masks a vocabulary of enquiry: suggestion, question, reason, imagination. Mabel Dodge's portrait revolves around the denial in the second paragraph: 'That was not an adulteration.' (*Portrait of Mabel Dodge at the Villa Curonia* SW p.465). Amid sentences which have no immediate connection, Stein simply expresses the sadness of lives constantly under scrutiny: 'Nobody is alone.'

Thus, Stein had been able to suggest hidden actions through two previous styles. She had employed interweaving repetition, and then a collection of disparate statements, to hint at the subject of gossip. A progression is marked in *One Sentence*. Voice-montage presents forthright comments, and still it disguises the events about which the participants converse.

Unlocated voices in *One Sentence* create an acoustic effect of clamorous confusion. Stein had developed the formation of single sentences to allow voices to be heard alone, free from authorial comment. Many people speak in this voice-montage 'novel', or perhaps there is only one speaker. There are many judgements expressed, but no acts to give them foundation. Unnamed characters talk of ugly women, and of handsome men. Numerous speakers hint at liaisons, and Stein captures the sad claustrophobia of lives on perpetual display.

Stein has extracted gossiping voices from the context of a causal story, which they would propel in a conventional novel. Thereby, she has given gossipers a disembodied role, of which Patricia Meyer Spacks notes:

Given the emphasis on content rather than process, the purveyors of gossip often lack fictional 'character,' existing for the sake of their utterance, not defined by it.³⁹

Characters in *One Sentence* exist 'for the sake of their utterance'. None of these unnamed figures are defined by their inconsequential words. They have no responsibility to expose a plot, nor to move a story in new directions. Each speaker seems simply to enjoy the unlocated exchanges. Stein's evocation of an unconcerned society is captured in its gossiping voices. It is this social milieu which is pierced by the 'conflict' of sudden references to war. A formation of single sentences enabled Stein

³⁹Spacks, *Gossip*, p.8.

to create a collision between two incompatible environments.

6

Possessive Case is a 'novel' constructed by the interweaving of different eddies of conversation. Whereas speakers in *One Sentence* gained a self-centred vigour from their indifference to each other, their voices contrast with the mutual exchanges in *Possessive Case*. In some cases, unlocated dialogues emerge briefly, and are then quickly interrupted by tangential statements. In other cases, only one side of a discussion is recorded. Such a technique creates the disjointed effect of eavesdropping upon many people talking on telephones, where the respondents cannot be heard. There is a more gentle tone as speakers communicate with each other, and express their unified reactions to a natural environment.

Stein's method of arranging these inter-dependent exchanges is uncovered by a study of her manuscripts. *Possessive Case* is governed by a formation of notes transferred, a description based upon her organization of preliminary notes into the final draft. By assembling disparate scraps of paper, and by alternating her own handwriting with that of Alice Toklas, Stein was exploring the ownership of a montage text. Her manuscripts show that she was questioning the creative role of an author who transcribes, and then arranges, words once belonging to other speakers. This quandary is revealed by the fact that Stein was considering an alternative title:

A study in ^{^of^} Possessives
(YCAL HG 109. 'of' is written above 'in')

Possessive Case is a 'study' in the construction of language through grammar (the possessive/genitive case), and in the ownership of a text (the possessor). Stein assembled anonymous voices, which she had transcribed in previous notes, and dictated words to be written by Alice Toklas in the final draft. Units of dialogue can be traced to preliminary notes, and the conversational exchanges are most clearly understood by examining the method by which Stein constructed *Possessive Case*. Her creation of a long final draft, from an assemblage of short manuscript fragments, shows the process by which Stein built a montage 'novel'.

It is the conversational tone, in the notes transferred *verbatim* into *Possessive Case*, which highlight Stein's method of constructing a voice-montage 'novel'. *No* and *One Sentence* could also have been assembled from preliminary drafts, but only one note fragment for these two texts is extant at YCAL.⁴⁰ Therefore, the preservation of extensive notes for *Possessive Case* is of utmost importance. Preliminary notes indicate a process through which real dialogue exchanges were transferred into text. Three stages of composition can be deduced:

- i) actual, overheard speech
- ii) preliminary notes
- iii) final draft

My study of the manuscripts, and of the miscellaneous files, at YCAL has led me to conclude that Stein jotted notes of voices overheard during her visit to England in the summer of 1914. I have further concluded that she transferred these notes directly into text during the Parisian winter 1914-15.⁴¹ I believe that jostling voices were hurriedly recorded on notebook fragments at a time when sustained attention to a single, lengthy composition would have been difficult.

It is most probable that Stein waited until her return to Paris for the seclusion to copy her notes into the long work, *Possessive Case*. Notes transferred consist of single

⁴⁰After extensive research in the Stein Collection, I found only one preliminary note for the composition of *No*. It consists of six lines, beginning 'Seas or baths.' (YCAL HG 110), and it has been discussed earlier in this chapter. Notes do not seem to be preserved for *One Sentence*.

⁴¹My conclusion is also based upon my piecing together of evidence about Stein's social circumstances during her visit to England (from 6 July 1914 to 17 October 1914). The importance of this biographical research is that it indicates pressures upon Stein's writing time. Such pressures resulted in preliminary notes, which were incorporated into a final draft of *Possessive Case* after the return to Paris. Letters from Mrs. Lina Mirrlees, to Stein in Paris, offered a busy social schedule during the ten day visit to 11 Cranmer Road, Cambridge. Also, letters from Emily Dawson suggest that the agenda in London was filled with day trips, such as that to Hampton Court. These social commitments disrupted Stein's routine of concentrating on her work during the night, and sleeping late. This situation would not have been eased by the adjustment to a busy family situation at Lockeridge. Finally, when Stein and Toklas moved from Lockeridge, to the London home of Alfred North Whitehead, they were active in preparing for their departure to Paris. (See Appendix 2, and Appendix 3, for my investigation of Stein's social context in England during this period).

leaves, torn from different note-pads. Some notebook pages are small, pocket-sized. Others are lined school-book pages. The latter seem to be English mathematic books because French mathematic books are lined differently. These preliminary drafts have never been identified with the texts into which they were copied. They are miscatalogued in the Stein Collection at YCAL as '*Tender Buttons: Miscellaneous Autograph Notes*' (YCAL HG 36). A future revision of the catalogue should place the preliminary notes for *Possessive Case* with the notebooks containing the final draft. This would improve the accuracy of the catalogue, and it would assist the detailed study of Stein's method of composing *Possessive Case*.

Ulla Dydo has termed the early notebook drafts 'carnets', and the larger notebooks which constitute the later draft, 'cahiers'. She emphasizes that preliminary notes give insights into Stein's creative process:

Even when the source of her verbal material can be discovered, the more important and difficult question is *how* and *how successfully* she composes the word ideas derived from her sources. [...] As she said over and over, she wrote literature, not references. It is the construction, not the references, that creates her art and her meaning. The little *carnets* included with the larger manuscript *cahiers* preserve the links from life to literature.⁴²

Stein took preliminary notes in both early, and late, periods of her career. These notes served different purposes at different stages in her exploration of language. In her first compositions, she used notes to remind herself of characters, and of plots. This early dependence upon reference notes differs from the private messages to Alice Toklas in Stein's later notebooks. The miscatalogued notebook pages which are transcribed into *Possessive Case*, and into other texts of the Parisian winter 1914-15,⁴³ represent an interim stage between the early, and the late, notebooks. I believe they were a direct consequence of Stein's adaptation to her role as house guest during the summer of 1914.

⁴²Ulla E. Dydo, 'Reading the Hand Writing: The Manuscripts of Gertrude Stein', *A Gertrude Stein Companion: Content With The Example* ed., Bruce Kellner (New York, Westport CT, London: Greenwood Press, 1988), p.93 and p.95.

⁴³I have traced the notes, catalogued at YCAL as '*Tender Buttons: Miscellaneous Autograph Notes*', to the following compositions: *Pink Melon Joy*; *Johnny Grey*; *How Could They Marry Her*; and *Possessive Case*. Miscellaneous Boxes A-G contain note fragments traced to: *M. Vollard et Cezanne* and *No*. All these texts are dated to the Parisian winter 1914-15.

Notebooks for *The Making of Americans*, and notes at the top of many pages of the first draft, represent Stein's early use of preliminary notes. Leon Katz refers to their purpose as 'workshop texts' for the final composition.⁴⁴ These early notebooks, and single-page fragments, have extensive character analyses which are not used directly within the final draft:

In finishing long book

Besides about death, put in about trained intellects thinking people won't be understanding. Like Alice perfectly simply realising that Nelly would not answer that postal about the mistaken letter

Beginning of end of Long book.

Any one has come to be a dead one.

Then go on to tell about various ages in men old age and

(YCAL MOA NB Box 2 folder 41-60 #55 and #54. This is the complete text written on one side of two loose notebook pages.)

Private notes in Stein's handwriting, at the top of many pages of the first draft of *The Making of Americans*, are reminders of what she should include in the work of the following night. They are also personal messages of self-encouragement:

Go on with description of Harriet and why she was damned.

[...]

Use to begin Weber & Albert Johnson that's [just] the way I do it and it comes simple why should you say it is complicated. Do you see.

[...]

How Julia came to know each of them and so ^for now^ finish them and her up.
(YCAL MOA 2 (1st Draft) Vols. 20, 32, 66. 'just' is lined through.)

Marianne DeKoven distinguishes the direct style of these notes from the repeating style of *The Making of Americans*, which they organized:

⁴⁴I thank Leon Katz for permission to use his phrase. Quoted from a letter to me, dated 25 March 1992.

The notes give evidence that she was capable of expressing her ideas, her analyses, her observations in a conventional style: that she considered such conventional expression adequate to a truthful rendering of her intended content, but not adequate to her intentions for literature.⁴⁵

Precise references, in the early notes, were essential for Stein at a time when she was interweaving nuances between repeating statements. These notes enabled her to organize groups of fictional characters, and to record the acquaintances on whom they were based.

The purpose of preliminary notes altered in her later work, when Stein used her notebook pages for private messages to Alice Toklas. Ulla Dydo has studied the 'carnets' at YCAL, dated to 1923-32. She states that Stein continued to make notes, on her manuscripts, which were not intended to be incorporated into the final draft:

Often she began work in a *carnet* by pencilling little love notes, jingles, intimate addresses, and sometimes drawings to Toklas. These notes are written in a tiny, thin, 'secret' hand to offset them from actual composition.⁴⁶

Stein's early notebooks contrast with her later jottings because their intended audience was different. The former were private memoranda, whilst the latter were intended to be read by Alice Toklas. They also differ in a distinction between a practical, and an intimate, intention.

A conversational style, in early drafts for *Possessive Case*, sets their purpose apart from these earlier, and later, examples of preliminary notes. Arnold Rönnebeck speculated that, in the years before her visit to England in 1914, Stein had consistently made notes of voices around her:

⁴⁵Marianne DeKoven, *A Different Language: Gertrude Stein's Experimental Writing* (Madison, Wisconsin: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1983), p.50.

⁴⁶Dydo, 'Reading the Hand Writing', p.87.

During my six years in Paris, until the outbreak of the war in 1914, I was in the habit of keeping a diary of conversations or discussions which for some reason or other seemed to me important enough to preserve. Gertrude Stein must have had the same habit, a habit not surprising on the part of one who is evidently fascinated by the spoken or written word.⁴⁷

Notes jotted during the summer of 1914 are the only extant 'diary of conversations', which Rönnebeck suggests Stein kept before the Great War. I have traced these notes to six works, all dated to the Parisian winter 1914-15. Extensive notes, transferred into a narrow band of texts, indicate that this particular method of note-taking arose from the new pressures of her three months in England.

Stein copied notes, which record conversational voices, *verbatim* into texts of the Parisian winter 1914-15. Their subject matter, and the method by which these fragments were incorporated directly into the final draft, mark an important intermediary stage in the role of her preliminary notes. They are not comments about future composition, and they contain no intimate messages to Alice Toklas. An altered purpose distinguishes these 1914 notes from those identified by Leon Katz, and by Ulla Dydo.

From the assemblage of small notebook pages, Stein constructed voice-montage texts. Of the fragments extant at YCAL, only one set of seven pages are numbered. There is no discernable sequence between the smaller notebook pages. During the winter 1914-15, Stein could arrange these loose sheets in any order she chose. The final text may bear no resemblance to the order in which the notes were made, nor to the sequence of the original conversations. There is no variation between the snatches of dialogue recorded in the initial jottings, and the final draft. A formation of notes transferred governs *Possessive Case*, and it uncovers the method by which Stein caught the immediacy of ephemeral voices.

A lengthy 'novel' allowed Stein to give sustained attention to the montage of preliminary notes. Approximately one fifth of *Possessive Case* is located to fragments

⁴⁷Arnold Rönnebeck, 'Gertrude Was Always Giggling (Memories of Gertrude Stein, Picasso, and Others)', *Books Abroad*, 18 No.4 (October 1944), p.6. Rönnebeck bases this assumption on his transcription of voices at a dinner party at 27 rue de Fleurus, before 1914: 'I wrote down the conversation the same night, and it checks almost verbatim with the conversation as related by Gertrude Stein in *Alice B. Toklas*.' (p.6).

preserved at YCAL. It is probable that substantial portions were copied from notes no longer extant. A style of intermittent dialogue exchanges and random, one-sided conversations arises from Stein's method of constructing a long text from short notes.

This sense of haphazard immediacy is clarified by tracing the process by which actual voices are placed within *Possessive Case*. Evidence that the notes were taken in England is based upon the subject of many of the conversations. Voices call in gardens, speakers discuss late-summer fruit, places are named ('Ely [...] Knightsbridge'. *Possessive Case* AFAM p.148 and p.152). Amid the miscellany, this English environment is heard most clearly in a general out-of-doors, summery tone to the casual chat. A method of jotting overheard voices brings an unforced accuracy to the everyday subjects. Juxtaposition of note fragments brings a light comedy to the voice-montage:

VERSO Thats what I didn't like about getting an xpensive one.
Have we clean sheets to-night.

RECTO Yes its Tuesday.
I am eating a piece of cracker.
Ginger snap in the cool of the evening.

(*Possessive Case* YCAL HG 36 *Tender Buttons*: Miscellaneous Autograph Notes)⁴⁸

1 LEAF Why don't you take a chair out doors here. I don't want to.
This one goes upstairs.

1 LEAF Thats a poppy I don't know what that is.
Somebody has knocked my gooseberries off.

(*Possessive Case* YCAL HG 36 *Tender Buttons*: Miscellaneous Autograph Notes)⁴⁹

In her notes, Stein had captured unconsidered voices as she wanted them, so she did not alter the original expression by later modification. Voices are recorded in the final draft

⁴⁸This example has a large handwriting style. It is placed on a sheet torn from a school notebook. I have reproduced the manuscript. AFAM p.141 has: That's; expensive; it's.

⁴⁹This example has small handwriting, on a sheet torn from a small pocket notebook. The text is placed only on one side of the sheet. A contrast in manuscript paper shows the consistent method by which notes were copied *verbatim* into the final draft of *Possessive Case*. Again, I have reproduced the manuscript. AFAM p.116 and p.117 have: out of doors; That's.

with their grammatical mistakes, hesitations and incompletions. Although the notes are fragmentary, and Stein used whatever paper came to hand, her literary purpose was clear. Different sizes of notepaper, many sheets from one book or only one page from a pad, emphasize the miscellany of the subject material. Nevertheless, the consistency with which these notes are transferred directly into a final draft, without interim revision, demonstrates that she chose to catch the way people talk by acting as their amanuensis.

Stein's receipt of overheard speech is copied *verbatim* from the manuscript notes into paragraph units, or into single lines:

/ I know the name of a place in a car. I cease to care for a piece of a car
I cease to please cutting I never shade a dog. I make a place to leave steps I
make an arrangement and / I mind the best tea. I like it strong I do not neglect
to eat, I refuse I don't know why. I spend the summer cheerfully I shall be back
again I / shall not please myself more. I see praises. [...]/
(*Possessive Case AFAM p.143 YCAL HG 36 Tender Buttons: Miscellaneous
Autograph Notes*)⁵⁰

/ I think they did.
Don't sweeten the coffee and oranges.
Don't sweeten them.
This is my religious cauliflower from the look of it. /
/ Bring those right in that are there.
By accident.
William behind Cora.
She is that.
I'll have them carried right up. Oh no no. /
(*Possessive Case AFAM p.116 YCAL HG 36 Tender Buttons: Miscellaneous
Autograph Notes*)⁵¹

These speakers sound unaffected because Stein presents them as though she listens out of their sight. They lack awareness of an audience, an author or a reader, which

⁵⁰A slash (/) represents a page break. This extract is written on two 16½ x 22 cm pages, both torn from an English-lined maths book. The text from 'I know' to 'back again I' are written on the verso and recto of one page. The words following 'shall not please' are written on a different page of the same notebook paper. Stein's note continues beyond my quotation.

⁵¹Text divided by a slash (/) is written on one side of two separate 7½ x 10½ cm pages, both torn from the same unlined notebook.

eavesdrops on their conversation. The vertical arrangement of one-line statements is a visual display of authorial kleptomania. End-stops emphasize the comic juxtapositions of the voice-montage. The density of the paragraph example requires a slow reading, and a reliance on the punctuation marks will not break the sentences as its voices demand. A reader must insert the pauses of speech when the author does not guide by visual indicators: 'I shall be back again [,] I shall not please myself more.' Stein demonstrates, by her act of transcription and arrangement of the notes, that she controls their textual presentation.

In this 'novel', Stein was using previous notes to create a true reflection of ordinary voices. Her method allowed her to avoid the intervention of a novelist who modifies natural speech. She chose to abandon ties with a conventional novelistic plot in order to explore the immediacy of inconsequential talk.

In *Possessive Case*, Stein blends a technique of transferring preliminary notes with an incorporation of notes in Alice Toklas' handwriting. Where notebook pages containing a first draft are not extant, certain sections of the final draft provide a further insight into Stein's method of creating a montage 'novel'. Long portions of the manuscript notebook for the final draft of *Possessive Case* are written in Alice Toklas' handwriting. It is unknown whether Stein dictated, or whether Toklas copied written notes. My own study of the manuscripts at YCAL has led me to agree with Ulla Dydo's assertion:

Where Toklas's hand is visible in the manuscripts, even when no first drafts are preserved, it is because she copied, not because she composed.⁵²

Toklas' handwriting appears in the final drafts of other texts of this period. For instance,

⁵²Dydo, 'Reading the Hand Writing', p.90. This opinion contrasts with Bridgman, '[Alice was] rewarded with the opportunity of trying her own hand at creation.' *Gertrude Stein in Pieces* p.211. See also '[...] it is possible to speculate that Alice B. Toklas actually authored Gertrude Stein [...].' Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar *No Man's Land: The Place of the Woman Writer in the Twentieth Century. Volume 2. Sexchanges* (New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1989), p.253.

she handwrote⁵³ short sections of *At* (1914), and *No* (1915). In *Possessive Case*, there is a development because dialogues between author and amanuensis become a commentary on the 'possession' of the voice-montage. Stein confers language in order to re-state that she is the originator, the possessor:

TOKLAS Gardens mustn't frighten baby.
 They always are a funny pair.
 The other one has no character, this little one has.
 I should suggest frightening.
 Chances of whether.
 I always thought it rather sweet of Adolph on the contrary.

STEIN This is the time to pray.
 An exact leaf and a relieving hold enough.

TOKLAS It was very fanciful of a city to do it.
 I see a thin lady asleep.
 There is a charming story of how they made her dance with
grown officers.

STEIN Now you said that.
 We must always remember the difference.
 Now you said that.

(*Possessive Case* AFAM p.113 YCAL HG 109)

The printed version allows an interpretation of dialogues among many voices. A new speaker may be allocated to each line. By contrast, the manuscript provides a visual exchange, which rearranges the units of montage. Stein's first handwriting of the line, 'Now you said that', affirms that Toklas had said, as she had handwritten, 'There is a charming story [...].' Possession of this spoken story, and of the written word, becomes more complicated: Toklas may have spoken the line directly; Toklas may have told a longer story, which Stein summarizes in one line; Toklas may have told a story, and handwrites it under Stein's dictation. Alice Toklas both 'said that', and handwrote it.

Repetition of the line, 'Now you said that', in Stein's handwriting, refers, by the same principle, to the line: 'We must always remember the difference.' This line would then be spoken by Toklas, and handwritten by Stein. Stein becomes an amanuensis

⁵³I will use the terms 'handwrote', 'handwriting' and 'handwritten' to indicate only the person whose handwriting appears on the manuscript page. These terms do not indicate authorship.

because the line is written in her handwriting. Such distancing of the language from the authorial self is exemplified by the line Toklas handwrites: 'I see a thin lady asleep.' With the intimacy of mingling handwriting⁵⁴, and with the suggestion of Stein's private name 'baby' in Alice Toklas' handwriting, this physical description may refer to Toklas. Self-reference is based on the facts that Toklas handwrote the line, and she was the thinner of the two women. With this interpretation, someone else must speak the line, and Toklas must transcribe the voice, because Toklas could not see herself asleep. Toklas then becomes an amanuensis for an unnamed observer.

A section of the final draft written in Alice Toklas' handwriting, in ink, contrasts with Stein's pencilled text. In this visual exchange of handwriting, and aural exchange of dialogue, it is Toklas who imposes the difference between the one who dictates, and the one who transcribes:

Do you like it. (yes I do)
Put down do you like it.
That I always said wasn't.

(*Possessive Case* YCAL HG 109. AFAM pp.144-45 has 'Yes I do.')

Toklas handwrites these three lines. Thus, she records both voices of the dialogue, and she seems to be transcribing Stein's words. There are five moments of composition, which complicate the simple statements: i) the question ii) the reply iii) the order to write down the question already asked iv) the writing of that order v) the typing out by Toklas of her own handwriting. In this brief extract, or 'case', the shifting possession of language is out of sequence. Toklas has handwritten the line, 'Do you like it', before the instruction: 'Put down do you like it.' So, she becomes the originator of the question. Stein becomes the verbal respondent who says 'yes I do', and Toklas handwrites this acknowledgement.

An interpretation of authorial passivity is revised when Stein's handwriting follows

⁵⁴Manuscript evidence exposes an intimacy, between Stein and Toklas, in the process of constructing *Possessive Case*. This supports Elizabeth Fifer's interpretation of the work: 'The generalized sexual metaphor in 'Possessive Case' takes the reader to the heart of what must be, together with 'Lifting Belly,' one of the frankest of all Gertrude Stein's works. Her subject here is the seat of passion, described in every possible way and with ingenious imagination. Stein blends argot, domestic language, and hidden language, using open and veiled words, replaying words she has used before in other contexts to extend and deepen the effect of her text.' (*Rescued Readings*, p.57).

the three lines in Toklas' handwriting:

I am proud that I said it distinctly.
I have been planning it several minutes.
(*Possessive Case* AFAM p.145)

Stein's assertion of her 'planning' affects the interpretation of Toklas' final handwritten line: 'That I always said wasn't.' It indicates Toklas is conceding that the words she spoke, and handwrote, were not her own. Further in the text, there is re-emphasis that Stein has authorial control, when Alice Toklas handwrites the line: 'You subtracted it and told me.' (*Possessive Case* AFAM p.149 YCAL HG 109).⁵⁵ A study of the handwriting styles in the final draft shows how Stein was conferring language, and was then confirming that she 'possessed' the voice-montage text.

Stein would use her conversations with Toklas extensively as material, in different formations, during the Mallorcan year. Yet, in the 1915-16 manuscripts there is not this mixing of handwriting, and exploration of authorial control. It was during the Parisian winter 1914-15 that Stein examined the complex implications of possessing dialogue in the voice-montage, which does not depend upon the identifying devices of quotation marks, and named speakers.

Readers of the manuscripts of *Possessive Case* are able to follow Stein's method of constructing a montage 'novel' in two ways: first, from preliminary note fragments; secondly, from Alice Toklas' handwritten sections of the final draft. Readers of the published version can follow Stein's comments about her writing process, which are placed within the text. Stein recorded the difficulty she faced in capturing transitory speech, without the loss of its unconsidered charm. She also expressed her intention to

⁵⁵Until an annotated edition of Gertrude Stein's works is published, *Possessive Case*, in its posthumous printing, is 'possessed' by Alice Toklas. Surrounding a section written in Toklas' handwriting are four alterations from the manuscript to typescript, and hence to published version: MS 'You needn't have anything taken out.' BTS 'everything'; MS 'Now come on.' BTS 'oh'; MS 'Heavy heavy hangs over a bed what will white color change it.' BTS 'colors'; MS 'The understanding is that a white paper is in the eyes and this changes not to dazzling not to dizzying.' BTS 'understand' (*Possessive Case* AFAM p.113 HG 109). Stein may have authorized the changes in the typescript. They do, however, give the impression of typographical errors rather than authorial revisions.

preserve inconsequential chat by avoiding the false organization of purposeful statements. She was questioning how people really talk, and how ordinary voices are distorted in conventional novelistic prose.

In *Possessive Case*, Stein incorporated a discussion about the process of taking notes. Unlocated speakers project her own method of catching voices, before they disappear into silence:

You said something else and I can't remember what it was. [...] You didn't give it back to me. That's enough. I'll keep it for a little while. I am ready speak to me.

Yes I saw it I have to put down every word you say. Speak to me.
(*Possessive Case* AFAM p.121)

These lines echo the earlier voice-montage of *Crete*: 'She said something and I did not put it down.' (*Crete* BTV p.172). There is a change towards directness as the earlier statement, 'She said something', becomes: 'You said something'. However, there is still a need to transfix the voice accurately: 'every word you say.' Emphasis in the phrase, 'every word', implies the indiscriminate nature of the transcription. It records not only the purposeful, informative talk, which could propel a novel's development, but also the speech that goes nowhere, and says nothing in particular.

Following this plea for speech, 'Speak to me', is the response in a disjointed paragraph:

Yes very. I don't want you to use it. Here here. That will end that. I thought you said the electrician would. Do you think it's pretty. I am so sleepy nobody knows how sleepy I am. It's remarkable and the gloves are dirty. It all goes up I said. I am tired and not hungry.
(*Possessive Case* AFAM p.121)

As material for text, the source of unconsidered speech is limitless. Stein is, nevertheless, aiming for a particular aesthetic effect in presenting its haphazard vitality. The authorial role is similar to that of the eavesdropper who hears, but is excluded from, inconsequential conversations. Ordinary statements sound robust, and strange, when they are isolated from a narrative context.

Marianne DeKoven defines the delicate balance between creating an experimental text, which subverts a reader's conception of daily life, and a mere document of

domestic detail:

The 'voices' in their very banality, are consummately anti-literary. They attempt to re-create and transcend the banal, mindless English of everyday speech by using that speech to achieve its affective opposite: a sense of mystery. The successful work in this style achieves that sense of rich mystery associated with the repressed anarchic underside of our straitened, everyday, patriarchal vision; the unsuccessful work remains too closely connected to the trivial daily events that inspired it.⁵⁶

Stein makes creative use of the banality prevalent in most daily conversations. Casual exchanges are worth 'possessing' by the speakers who express a domestic unity, and by the author who assembles a montage text from the unassuming dialogues. Stein's arrangement of voices in *Possessive Case* shows her examination of their structural presentation. Staccato sentences, in the extract quoted above, divide both the voices and the 'trivial daily events' about which they converse. Stein, as eavesdropper-author, follows each event. Yet, she does not convey precisely the subject of the exchange. It is never explained what will be used, what the electrician would do, what is pretty, who is sleepy, why the gloves are dirty, what goes up. Each short sentence seems clear to the speaker. For the reader, it is a fragment of an incomplete exchange. In the ellipses of montage, Stein preserves the 'rich mystery', which Marianne DeKoven admires in experimental writing.

Stein re-arranges the visual design of the voice-montage. Also, she sets it in contrast to her earlier wordplay style:

A vein is a vein and surrounded, surrounded by leaning upon others and a little fire which scarcely seems the same as the three others. This is pure morning and evening conversation.

[...]

No. No No No No, not again, again, sheltered pumps, he wouldn't swim, he wouldn't swim, cups, cups, cups life, cups life supper.

We just chat.

(*Possessive Case* AFAM p.123 and p.133)

'No No No No No No' is a line which occurs in Part V of *Meal One* (BTV p.149). It is a trace of early 1914 wordplay, but Stein uses this reiteration in a new linguistic context. *Possessive Case* gives emphasis to the colloquial, fully-formed sentence and

⁵⁶DeKoven, *A Different Language*, p.90.

the fracture of subclausal wordplay belongs to a contrasting style.

If set alone, the repeating phrase, 'he wouldn't swim, he wouldn't swim', could be interpreted, within the context of voice-montage, as someone re-stating for emphasis. However, 'cups life, cups life' does not accord with the rules of inconsequential dialogue which have been established. Innocuous 'chat', and 'morning and evening conversation', are heard as strange declensions. They halt the varied vocabulary of the wordplay which precedes them. There is 'chat' around a tea-table, suggested by the many cups. It may not yield intellectual conversation, but elements of the verbal exchange are isolated, and become more than 'just chat'.

A voice which claims 'he wouldn't swim' introduces unwritten events, possibly a drowning. 'Cups life supper' catalogues such unconsidered routines as drinking from cups and eating supper - in the centre of mundane activity is 'life'. By repeating 'cups, cups, cups life, cups', Stein captures the monotony of a particular type of social life. There is a literary purpose in the bathos of voices which 'just chat'.⁵⁷ Colloquial chat sounds strange because Stein juxtaposes two styles: voice-montage and wordplay. Banal conversations become uncanny exchanges when a montage technique extracts them from a referential context.

In *Possessive Case*, Stein constructed a 'novel' from ephemera. She transferred fragmentary notes into the final manuscript draft, and she sought to catch transitory voices. Stein commented upon the difficulties she faced with fixing such shifting material in 'sentences', and in 'composition':

I didn't think that I could explain sentences. I did think I could explain sentences. I didn't think I could make references.

[...]

Let us talk about composition. Composition is not called in place of quantity. Composition is there when all the little and the big bowls are painted white and neglected for colored roses. They are not neglected.

(*Possessive Case* AFAM p.138 and p.128)

⁵⁷The emptiness of voices which do not communicate is re-worked in the Mallorcan letter text formation, *Letters and Parcels and Wool*. In this composition, a correspondent named Henry sends Myrtle a letter which has no communicative purpose. His letter consists of two sentences: 'Why cannot you say what I say. We just chat.' (AFAM p.172). Repetition of this phrase shows how Stein was consistently experimenting with the application of conversational voices to different voice-montage formations.

Verbal opposition sparks the 'conflict' which Eisenstein saw in the 'montage cells' of film: I didn't / I did; little bowls / big bowls; white / colored; neglected / not neglected. Language is generated from this 'collision': sentences, explaining, references, composition. If composition is not to be 'neglected', it does not require the 'quantity' of the novel. 'Composition' can rely upon what is 'there' already in the arrangements of flowers, or their equivalent - 'talk'. To avoid neglecting the content of the composition (the roses / speech) the container, or the formation, (the bowl / text) into which they are arranged should not detract, it should be 'painted white'. In the montage 'novel', Stein removes the security derived from authorial intervention in the guise of named characters and quotation marks. She intended to surprise a reader with the vigour of ordinary conversations.

By jotting speech fragments into notebooks, and by transferring these notes *verbatim* into the final draft, Stein was depicting the incoherence of life-like exchanges. Two methods of arranging voices, assembling scraps of paper and playing with Alice Toklas' handwriting, allowed her to demonstrate that she was in 'possession' of the voice-montage.

7

The three 'novels' considered in the previous sections indicate Stein's commitment to elaborate one approach to the voice-montage. These works contrast with a single text, *How Could They Marry Her*, which is governed by the formation of documentary realism. Characterized by a use of factual data, and explicit emotional statements, documentary realism was a response to specific features of the Parisian winter 1914-15. Promoting aspects of her surroundings, and her personal fears, Stein was using the voice-montage to record a unique combination of pressures. Continuation of the Great War caused Stein to reflect upon her earlier decision to reject a medical career, and it forced her to make choices about future directions for her compositions.

A development of the voice-montage is marked by Stein's expression of deep anxiety through the formation of documentary realism. In *How Could They Marry Her*, a direct style had been advanced to a point which enabled her, for the first time since the despair expressed in *The Making of Americans*, to incorporate private feelings into

the final draft of her work. In comparison with the detached voices of other texts of the Parisian winter 1914-15, *One Sentence* for example, this work is disquieting in its intensity. Serious considerations about the war, the medical profession and her choice of a literary career are expressed in turbulent questions. For the first time, Stein used the voice-montage to explore the moral dilemmas of cowardice, honour, sacrifice and integrity. The formation of documentary realism allowed Stein to convey the complex process of deciding to develop further the voice-montage at a distance from the Great War.

One aspect which characterizes the formation of documentary realism is its inclusion of data about the Great War. My study of the manuscript notebook of *How Could They Marry Her* has revealed that Stein had incorporated a factual accuracy into her handwritten draft, which did not appear in later published versions. Stein was responding directly to events, and she initially placed the vocabulary of war into her text to give it a historical relevance. References to a Serbian town, and precise medical details, were later erased. Yet, the manuscript shows that Stein was keenly aware of the conflict beyond Paris.

For the first time, the full text in the manuscript, and in Bound Typescript Volume 13, is added to the posthumous publication:

I want to go. [to the front.]
[What front.]
[The front.]
By this I mean to be understood.
I do not wish simply to install myself. [at a base hospital.] I wish to go too.
[to the front.]
[...]
I wish to find an experienced nurse to leave immediately with our party for [Nish] where the Urgent Fund for Serbian [Servian] wounded is establishing a base hospital under the Serbian [Servian] Government.
[...]
Their plans were these. They intended to install a [base] hospital. [and to leave out bandages. No hospital has a bandage room.] Everybody knows about that. They intended not to leave it out. [out a bandage room.]
(*How Could They Marry Her* ROAB p.20, p.27 and p.28 YCAL HG 113. Text in square brackets appears in MS & BTS Vol 13)

Stein's original text is presented in the notebook draft, and in the bound typescript. It is my opinion that she made a decision, at a later date, to excise the factual details. An

unbound typescript is the missing link between the manuscript, and the posthumous publications. Four stages can be distinguished:

- i) manuscript draft - with factual detail
- ii) typescript bound in BTS Vol 13 - with factual detail
- iii) missing typescript - without factual detail
- iv) published versions - without factual detail

My hypothesis that a second typescript existed is based upon two factors. First, Alice Toklas rarely intervened to remove text when she typed the manuscripts. Here, the alterations are extensive, and consistent. None of the excised passages gives the impression of a typographical error. They indicate that Stein made the changes, and that she authorized a new typescript.

Secondly, it must be assumed that the editors would not make major changes to the typescript they were given. The first, posthumous publication appeared in *Envoy*, IV, 14 (January 1951), pp.57-71. This version of *How Could They Marry Her* was given a question mark in its title, which does not appear in the manuscript draft, and it did not include the factual passages. In 1973, the second publication followed the wording in *Envoy*. Therefore, it repeated the alterations of the unbound, missing typescript. Uncertainty remains about the exact text used for this second publication. On this point, Robert Bartlett Haas informed me that Alice Toklas had typed copies of Stein's texts especially for his edition, *Reflection on the Atomic Bomb* (1973). He no longer has this typescript. Haas believes this later typescript was the source for the second posthumous publication. Alice Toklas could have made a new typescript, no longer extant, for Haas which copied the unbound, missing typescript. Haas stated that proofreaders at the Black Sparrow Press checked their text against the published version in *Envoy*. Since the magazine also did not reproduce the manuscript, the second publication could have reproduced either the first printed version, or Toklas' later typescript which copied an earlier version she had made.⁵⁸

Dating the missing typescript affects the interpretation of a formation of documentary realism in *How Could They Marry Her*. Alice Toklas could have made a new typescript, at any point before January 1951, without Stein's authority. Excisions

⁵⁸I thank Professor Haas for his letter, of 17 June 1992, giving me information about the typescripts he used for *Reflection on the Atomic Bomb*.

in this new typescript would not represent Stein's intention to preserve the factual details. In this case, Stein's uncorrupted text would be the one in the manuscript, and in BTS Volume 13.

If the missing typescript was made near the time of composition, it is probable that Stein authorized the revisions. With this interpretation, one can conclude that Stein chose to remove the factual details for artistic purposes. An indication that the revision was made during the Parisian winter 1914-15 is found in the word 'Serbian', which was undergoing a transformation at that time:

But once the war began that designation [Servia] for a friendly country wouldn't do - it was too suggestive of *servility*. Sometime between August, 1914, and April, 1915, the name of the country was quietly 'raised' by the newspapers to *Serbia*, and *Serbia* it has remained.⁵⁹

An early date for the new typescript would indicate that Stein was responding to linguistic changes, during the Parisian winter 1914-15.

Her excision of a named town, Nish, shows that she chose to remove historical details. 'Nish' refers to Niš, which is a town in Serbia. In the early stages of the Great War, this town was a major centre for war relief operations.⁶⁰ With the erasure of this name, an ungrammatical text has been reproduced: '[...] to leave immediately with our party *for where* the Urgent Fund for Serbian wounded [...].' (Emphasis added). Stein decided to leave the name of this relief organization in the new typescript as an indicator to an external world. It was probably an American association, because the British effort was focused upon the Serbian Relief Fund.⁶¹

Practical shortages, and medical requirements, are consistently erased: 'No hospital

⁵⁹Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, p.175.

⁶⁰Evidence that Niš was an important centre for war relief during the Great War is found in the Mallorcan newspaper, *La Almudaina*. In this paper, Niš was regularly described as the crucial town for relief operations. It was printed as Nisch, under the 'Telegramas' section (for example, on 1 October 1915, p.3).

⁶¹The Serbian Relief Fund was established in 1914, with headquarters in Cromwell Road, London. It was the major British organization for sending medical personnel, and supplies, to Serbia. Monica Krippner *The Quality of Mercy. Women At War. Serbia 1915-18* (Newton Abbot and London: David and Charles (Publisher) Ltd., 1980), p.33. I thank Mr. Terence Charman of The Imperial War Museum, London, for assisting my search for an organization named the 'Urgent Fund for Serbian Wounded'.

has a bandage room'; 'They intended not to leave out a bandage room.' A thorough removal of medical details, and the geographical location of the hospital, demonstrates that Stein altered the purpose of her text. At some point, she decided to place emphasis upon a creative work, rather than upon a documentary account. *How Could They Marry Her* is a rare instance of Stein re-working her text. It is the extensive nature of the alterations which leads me to conclude that Stein tested, and rejected, the formation of documentary realism. Furthermore, it is my belief that she authorized a new typescript during the Parisian winter 1914-15. In promoting the innovative aspect of the voice-montage, she found it necessary to reduce the impact of a particular, historical context. At a time when she was exploring new directions for the voice-montage, she first placed details into her composition to provide a sense of immediacy, and revised her work to give it an ahistorical value. She chose not to tie the voice-montage to the limitations of a factual account so that its unlocated voices could be heard.

Another characteristic of the documentary realism formation is the impact of the Great War upon the atmosphere created throughout the text. Where Stein's manuscript corresponds with the two posthumous publications, there is a pervasive sense of disquiet. Uncertain voices express a more general response to the war.

The title, 'How Could They Marry Her', introduces the questioning of motives which contributes to the uneasy tone. It expresses incredulity, or exasperation, (How Could They) at an act (Marry) between unnamed persons (They, Her). The interrogative title is unsettling in the clash between the apparent directness of the demand, and its lack of reference. It may refer to many men, who have been unwise to marry a particular woman. It may refer to a union more ambiguous than a wedding ceremony, since no marriage is recorded. The question might be addressed to the reader, who remains uninformed of the woman's identity. Alternatively, it could be addressed to an unnamed interlocutor, who has more knowledge than the reader. Indeterminacy in the title contrasts with the positive voice in the first line: 'I know what I want to do. I want to repeat all well.' (*How Could They Marry Her* ROAB p.16). Uncertainty in the title, and certainty in the first line, lead to the conflicting tones of this anxious work.

Through the voice-montage, Stein questioned her motives for choosing distance from the Great War. To assess her own position, she examined the motives of women

who were choosing direct involvement in the war effort. Before their departure from Paris, Mildred Aldrich wrote, ambiguously, to Stein and Toklas: 'Are you going to try and forget the war? Might as well.' (29 March 1915. YCAL Aldrich correspondence). Having watched the Battle of the Marne from her home, La Creste, Huiry in August and September 1914, Mildred Aldrich had compiled a book of letters inspired by her engagement with the war (See Chapter 5). On the same day that she wrote to Stein, asking whether she intended to 'forget the war', Mildred Aldrich wrote to Clara Steichen:

The Steins - that is to say Gertrude and Alice have to Barcelona for easter. You would laugh is to see the letters I got after the Zeppelin raid. They were all st comic. What fools the Germans are to imagine they could terrorize Paris in that way. Why every one I know rushed out in the hope to see a Zeppelin.⁶²

Conflict between introspective doubt, and public judgement, is expressed throughout *How Could They Marry Her*. Mildred Aldrich's letters represent this duality. Whilst her letter to Stein seems supportive, her letter to Clara Steichen seems critical of Stein's decision to leave Paris.

Compared with the report Mildred Aldrich had given to Clara Steichen, Stein's account of the Zeppelin raid sounds more relaxed:

We are rather full up with war and xpect to stay some weeks in Palma where they haven't got it. The Zeppelins didn't make much noise and what there was was rather barrel like and soft but the alarm does.
(27 March 1915. *Letters of G.S and C.V.V.* p.42)

In *How Could They Marry Her*, Stein may have been replying directly to Mildred Aldrich's challenging enquiry, in her letter dated 29 March 1915: 'Are you going to try and forget the war?'. This would indicate that the text was written immediately before the departure, because Stein was in Barcelona by 31 March 1915 (See Appendix 3). Alternatively, since Stein's decision to leave Paris had been made by 12 February 1915, she could have written a considered examination of her motives for departure.

Responding to a direct question, or to a gradual self-appraisal, Stein transformed

⁶²Boston, USA, Houghton Library, Harvard Univ., BMS AM 1925.3 No.14. Letter from Mildred Aldrich to Clara Steichen 29 March 1915. I thank Edward Burns for this information.

her decision into a voice-montage of insistent syntactic convolutions:

Were you thinking that she wasn't going.
Have you been thinking that she hadn't intended being going.
Did you think she wasn't going.
Were you thinking that she wasn't intending going.
Mightn't you have been thinking that she hadn't been intending to go.
Hadn't you been thinking that she hadn't been intending to be going.
Had you been thinking that she didn't intend to be going.
(*How Could They Marry Her* ROAB p.29)

Stein is invigorated by the process of deciding, rather than by the actual decision. She generates an atmosphere of inquisition by altering the format slightly. Grammatical contortions add to the impression of tortuous insistence: '[...] hadn't intended being going.' A lack of question marks enforces the sense that these statements are rhetorical, and that it is the absence of decision which propels the text. Stein's achievement is a re-creation of the turbulent emotion of the questioner, rather than the action of the woman who provokes the questions.

The cumulative impact of these unanswered questions is to transmit the speaker's frustration at not knowing what another person is 'intending'. An answer to the insistent inquiries seems to be provided in the final section, the novelistic Chapter XI: 'They said they were leaving.' (*How Could They Marry Her* ROAB p.29). However, a context has been established, through the indeterminate voices, which does not allow this final statement to be interpreted as a sudden decision. Instead, an unlocated commentator records a temporary stage in another woman's continued vacillation.

Stein used the structure of placing each question on a new line to arrange statements expressing decision. This style of repeating columns was also used in *No* to confirm her determination 'to succeed'. In *How Could They Marry Her*, Stein creates a symmetrical pattern between the interrogative voice, and the speaker who conveys certainty. She displays positive assertions on single lines to emphasize, by visual isolation of her words, what she was 'intending':

We were tender.
We were tender.
We were resentful.
We were comfortable.
We were fairly curious.

Then there was this question. Would we go if everybody went. Would we stay here or would we be equal. We would be weter. We would equally be wondering. All of this made us clearly state that we wished to be strange.
(*How Could They Marry Her* ROAB p.18)

In the previous example, a questioner addresses people beyond the text (an unlocated 'you'), and refers to an unnamed woman ('she'). In this instance, the repeating language affirms a unity ('we'), and a decision ('we wished to be strange'). Breaking this column of declarative statements, is the 'question' whether the speaker, and the language, should continue in uniformity of style and activity. A halt in the layout represents a wish 'to be strange' in both the change of direction in the lines, and in the decision not to follow the crowd: 'Would we go if everybody went.' Through rhetorical questions, and statements of intent, Stein was presenting the options she faced in the Parisian winter 1914-15. *How Could They Marry Her* charts the process by which she chose involvement in the strangeness of daily life, and chose uninterrupted work to promote everyday speech within new formations.

The formation of documentary realism reduced the distance between actual occurrences, and the voice-montage text into which they were transformed. Aspects of the Great War were incorporated directly into the manuscript draft by the medical details, and by the name of a town crucial to the Serbian relief effort. Similarly, the pressures of deciding whether to become closely involved in the war prompted Stein to include autobiographical data. *How Could They Marry Her* represents an attempt to apply the voice-montage to a style of factual reportage. In this, Stein was testing the voice-montage by subjecting it to the strictures of documentary realism. In the process of exploring this formation, Stein was able to recognize its limitations, and to assert her own innovative purpose.

This temporary foray into documentary realism is centred upon a character within the text named 'Emily'. Through a criticism of 'Emily', Stein focused her scepticism upon women who sought a self-validity by absorption into the war effort:

This happened one day when Emily went out to pray. What did she pray for. She prayed that she might become more worthy of receiving an ecclesiastical education and that her address would become famous. She also prayed that there might come to be order and method in everything. [...] This is not a description of Emily.

(How Could They Marry Her ROAB p.22)

To capture the self-importance of women who seek a form of sainthood ('receiving an ecclesiastical education'), and heroic status ('her address would become famous'), Stein uses an indirect language to comic effect. The phrase 'order and method in everything' suggests that some women depart for the war for the wrong reasons. These women are in search of purpose donated by a hierarchical organization, with its rules and routines. In *How Could They Marry Her*, Stein expresses a determination not to confine her style to documentary realism: 'This is not a description of Emily.'

Stein was choosing distance from the war to preserve her independent creativity:

What is a coward. A coward is anyone who is willing to go to Serbia. Who is willing to go to Serbia some one without a heart. I was cured of that.
[...]

One cannot be independent if one has not got a comfortable chair.
(How Could They Marry Her ROAB p.25 and p.20)

According to this unnamed speaker, the 'cowards' are taking the easier option of joining a hierarchical organization, where one does not need the individuality of 'a heart'. The speaker uses medical language ('cured') to imply that absorption into an external system has no appeal, and that objectivity is a more noble attribute. A 'comfortable chair' represents the meditative quiet which will allow an independent art to emerge, at a distance from the rigours of interaction with Serbian relief work. Autonomy becomes the goal for which this speaker must struggle.

References to 'Emily', and to Serbian relief work, lead me to conclude that Stein was exploring a formation of documentary realism in response to actual acquaintances. During the Parisian winter 1914-15, Emily Chadbourne and Ellen La Motte were deciding whether to enlist in the war effort:

It was not a very cheerful winter [1914-15]. People came in and out, new ones and old ones. Ellen La Motte turned up, she was very heroic but gun shy. She wanted to go to Servia and Emily Chadbourne wanted to go with her but they did not go.

Gertrude Stein wrote a little novelette about this event.
(*The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* p.195)

It is my opinion that the 'little novelette' is *How Could They Marry Her*. My interpretation exposes Stein as disingenuous in her retrospective statement. Her diminutive term, 'little novelette', belies the anxiety which is expressed throughout *How Could They Marry Her*. In fact, Ellen La Motte did enlist for medical service in the relief effort, and she published an account of her first-hand experience of war. Ellen La Motte's book sheds light upon Stein's decision to develop the voice-montage at a distance from the conflict.

During the Parisian winter 1914-15, Stein was assessing the styles which an author might employ to convey close involvement with the Great War. Ellen La Motte and Mildred Aldrich wrote of their war experiences in unelaborate, descriptive prose. War gave them subject material, and their skill lay in giving direct reports of its details. In 1916, Ellen La Motte published *The Backwash of War*. It is a harrowing record of her experiences 'in a French military field hospital ten kilometres behind the lines in Belgium.'⁶³ She chose a harsh realism to convey her disgust at the war. The death of one soldier, named Rochard, exemplifies the tone of this book:

Rochard died to-day. He had gas gangrene. His thigh, from knee to buttock, was torn out by a piece of German shell. It was an interesting case, because the infection had developed so quickly. [...] The *Médecin Chef* took a curette, a little scoop, and scooped away the dead flesh, the dead muscles, the dead nerves, the dead blood-vessels. [...] The piece of shell in his skull had made one eye blind. There had been a haemorrhage into the eyeball, which was all red and sunken, and the eyelid would not close over it, so the red eye stared and stared into space.⁶⁴

⁶³Ellen Newbold La Motte, *The Backwash of War: The Human Wreckage of the Battlefield as Witnessed by an American Hospital Nurse* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1916), Introduction. This book was in Stein's library at her death in 1946. It is not recorded when she acquired it, nor how often it was read (YCAL catalogue of Stein Library).

⁶⁴La Motte, *The Backwash of War*, p.49, p.52 and p.56. 'Alone', Paris, 15 April 1915.

Responses from two critics, to this sparse style, polarize the dilemma for Stein, as she considered the formation of documentary realism as a route for the voice-montage. On the one hand, Frederick Lowe praised the documentary quality of Ellen La Motte's sketches: '[...] the tone of which suggest Hemingway's *In Our Time*'.⁶⁵ On the other hand, John H. Johnston warned that a factual account may lose artistic objectivity by an overwhelming attention to detail:

But the rejection of vague generalities in favor of a shocking photographic close-up does not guarantee poetic truth; our point of view has shifted to the opposite end of the scale, but the radius of our vision has been constricted by a relentless focus on particulars.⁶⁶

In excising factual details from the manuscript draft of *How Could They Marry Her*, Stein deflected the criticism of subjectivity. Furthermore, her revisions represent a positive statement about the future direction of the voice-montage. She realized that close contact with the Great War might cause a constricting 'focus on particulars'. Physical activity, at this early stage in the development of the voice-montage, could require the sacrifice of contemplative creativity. Testing a formation of documentary realism enabled Stein to anticipate the impact, upon the voice-montage, of deciding to enlist for war relief. By choosing the alternative option, to leave Paris, Stein was acknowledging that her work required concentration to value ordinary daily events, and to transform them into art.

8

One should not underestimate the importance of Stein's decision to leave Paris in 1915. Anxious questioning, in *How Could They Marry Her*, indicates that her work was influenced by the departure of women as nurses, or as doctors, for service in the Great War. Stein's decision represented the final abandonment of her medical profession, and the statement of dedication to her writing. In effect, this choice had already been made

⁶⁵Lowe, 'Gertrude's Web', p.81.

⁶⁶Johnston, *English Poetry of the First World War*, p.78.

in 1901. At this time, Stein declined to take summer courses to complete the examination programme at the Johns Hopkins Medical School. However, the Great War brought her a renewed awareness of the two vocations: medicine and literature. Stein had nearly completed her medical degree, she left the course in her final year. It is often emphasized that she did not qualify as a doctor. It is equally important to stress that, for three and a half years (from the autumn 1897 to the spring 1901), she was recognized by her family and friends as one of the few female medical students in America.

In her medical training, she had the influential support of William James. He wrote encouragingly to her whilst she was a student:

I hope wherever you may be, that you are well and prospering, and laying up great stores of medical erudition, whilst awaiting the day in which you can convert it [to] into medical skill, a far greater thing.

(17 October 1900. YCAL James correspondence. 'to' lined through)

To lose the endorsement of William James, who had supported her application to the Johns Hopkins Medical School, was a significant aspect of Stein's decision in 1901. William James wrote with less enthusiasm about Stein's career as an author, as he apologized for not reading *Three Lives*:

I promise you that it shall be read some time! You see what a swine I am to have pearls cast before him! As a rule reading fiction is as hard to me as trying to hit a target by hurling feathers at it.

(25 May 1910. YCAL James correspondence)

Stein also lost the appreciation of fellow scientists, who valued her research work on brain tracts. On receipt of an article by Stein, Dr. Lewellys Barker of the Chicago Neurological Society encouraged her to continue her medical studies:

Are you to continue work on the nervous system? It would seem a pity not to, now that you have gone so far in this line of work and have so good a background.⁶⁷

⁶⁷Donald Gallup (ed), *The Flowers of Friendship: Letters Written to Gertrude Stein* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1953), p.24. Letter from Dr. Lewellys Barker, dated 30 January 1902.

Moreover, the decision to quit her medical studies threatened the loss of respect from the Stein family. Family members lived in Baltimore, where the Johns Hopkins Medical School is located. Stein remained anxious throughout her writing career for the appreciation of her solid, respectable relations. In 1901, she broke the pattern of achievement set by two of her elder brothers. Michael Stein had graduated from the Johns Hopkins University in 1886, and had then completed a year of graduate work there. Leo Stein received his A.B. degree in 1898, and then spent a year of graduate research, at this university.⁶⁸ Both brothers studied biology, and Gertrude Stein was expected to attain a higher level within their field, by receiving a medical qualification. Leo Stein indicated that Gertrude Stein had found prestige within her family, through her professional training:

What is all this non-medicated rumble that issues from your quarter - is it representative of a phase or a general condition? It would be too bad if the first person in the family who had gone so far as to get the adequate preparation for anything should go back on it.⁶⁹

Unhappiness over her love affair with May Bookstaver was so great that Stein opposed all these pressures, and chose not to complete her final year. She abandoned the medical profession to embark on a literary career. Her early texts were sprinkled with characters who are doctors, with hints of medical malpractice, with direct references to Baltimore, tuberculosis, hospitals, surgery, miscarriage. The past became a subject for her first compositions.

Gradually, Stein began to use her experience more creatively, as a note to *The Making of Americans* makes clear: 'use all my doctoring experience' (YCAL MOA NB). The influence of her medical training evolved from the profession of characters towards the classification of personality types. As a force within her texts, its impact became more indirect - until the Great War reawakened the tension of deciding how to use her 'doctoring experience'.

⁶⁸Bridgman, *Gertrude Stein in Pieces*, p.34.

⁶⁹Gallup, *Flowers of Friendship*, p.22. Letter from Leo Stein dated 3 February [1901].

Stein chose not to join the war relief effort at a time when she was developing the voice-montage. During the Parisian winter 1914-15, she had explored the potential of her new style in a variety of formations. Nevertheless, it is my interpretation that she realized its full achievement had not been reached. Despite an increasing complexity of the formations, the time was not ripe in 1914-15 to leave the voice-montage at an incomplete stage: 'I don't mean to be so finished.' (*Pink Melon Joy G&P* p.369).

Stein's creativity during this period was a determined reaction against the protracted negotiations with the Bodley Head, regarding *Three Lives*. It is uncertain whether the First English Issue of *Three Lives*, in 1915, came out before Stein left Paris.⁷⁰ An indication that the book was released at the time of her departure is given in a letter to Henry McBride, dated 20 January 1915: 'Anyway I am cheerful. John Lane is to reprint *Three Lives* in the Spring.' (YCAL McBride correspondence). Developing the voice-montage formations enabled Stein to feel 'cheerful' in the new direction of her work, whilst she waited for the publication of *Three Lives*.

During the Parisian winter 1914-15, Stein laid the foundations for her Mallorcan writings. Responding to cross-currents in her surroundings, she found diverse subjects for the voice-montage: the residual impact of meeting English intellectuals; the influence of war upon life in Paris; the dispersion of her friends who were artists, and picture-dealers; the interruption to the advances in 'papier collé'; and the decisions of acquaintances to volunteer for medical service with Serbian war relief. These concerns were transformed into voices. They were governed by the formations of indented headings, vertical words, single sentences, notes transferred, and documentary realism. Such expansion of the voice-montage showed Stein that it was worth sustained attention, and these formations guided her forward. She explored the use of page space to catch the polyphony of theatrical choreography, and this would develop into the varied Mallorcan plays. Three long 'novels' would lead to a similar structure in the Mallorcan narrative, *All Sunday* (1916).

In a letter dated on her birthday, Stein conveyed her feeling of energetic creativity. She expressed her optimism for future work, during the year 1915:

Yes I am writing right along. It's a good year for working.
(3 February 1915. *Letters of G.S and C.V.V.* p.36)

⁷⁰Wilson, *Gertrude Stein: A Bibliography*, p.3. No month is recorded.

Compositions dated to the Parisian winter 1914-15 confirmed that there was an exciting potential in this style to catch the transitory speech of a particular location, and to promote it through innovative formations. Building upon the advances of this five month period, Stein moved to Mallorca where she continued to explore the visual display, and the acoustic effects, of the voice-montage.

CHAPTER 3

MALLORCAN PLAYS.

Stein arrived in Palma de Mallorca, on 8 April 1915,¹ having completed one voice-montage play: *Not Sightly. A Play*. This play, governed by a formation of indented headings, began her exploration of the spoken voice in performance. New formations in the Mallorcan plays represent Stein's further variations upon the conventional structure of dramatic scripts. Scenery is conveyed by a cast who talk of different places. Characters are ambiguously identified amid sections of unassigned speech. Events take place off-stage, and they are reconstructed from miscellaneous dialogue exchanges. In these ways, Stein was using voices to present the essential elements of a theatrical production.

Eight Mallorcan plays were the result of Stein's sustained attention to the dramatic possibilities of staging the voice-montage. Bound Typescript Volume 14 lists these compositions, all dated 1916, which are unified by the subtitle 'A Play':

¹This was Stein's second visit to Mallorca. She had made a short trip to the island about 28 or 29 July 1913 (See Appendix 2). My research in the Biblioteca Municipal de Palma has enabled me to establish, for the first time in Stein criticism, the exact date upon which Gertrude Stein and Alice Toklas began their second stay in Mallorca. This discovery brings a greater accuracy to the dating of works listed in BTS Volume 13 (for the year 1915). It marks the delineation between compositions of the Parisian winter 1914-15, and those written in Mallorca. Identifiable references to Stein's Mallorcan environment will place the text beyond this date. On Thursday 8 April 1915, the Mallorcan newspaper, *La Almudaina*, reported the arrival of 'don Alice B. Taklas, doña Gertrudis Stem' on the steamer *Rey Jaime I* from Barcelona. Their arrival was listed, with other passengers, in the daily 'De Sociedad' section (p.2). This regular column reported the passage of certain Spaniards and foreigners between Mallorca, Ibiza, Minorca and different ports on mainland Spain.

For The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters.
Do Let Us Go Away. A Play.
Bonne Annee. A Play.
Please Do Not Suffer. A Play.
Turkey and Bones and Eating and We Liked It. A Play.
Mexico. A Play.
I Like It To Be A Play. A Play.
*Captain Walter Arnold. A Play.*²

Different aspects of Stein's dramatic formations are exemplified in three of these plays. *Mexico. A Play* creates a sense of many landscapes through its voices. *Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* shows the ways theatrical characters can introduce themselves to an audience through their words, not their actions. *Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* indicates off-stage events through the conversations of its performers.

In the analysis of these three formations, I will present manuscript evidence which identifies the actual people, and the real events, in Mallorca which Stein transformed into theatrical characters, and dramatic action. My biographical data brings a new perspective to the method by which Stein constructed her scripts, and it provides another option for their performance. These three scripts represent Stein's achievements in the Mallorcan plays, and they are complex examples of her adaptation of the voice-montage to the theatre. Conclusions which I draw from their study can be applied to the shorter plays.³

Before examining the three plays in detail, I will stress the importance of *Geography and Plays* (1922). In this collection, Stein chose to publish each of the eight Mallorcan scripts with the subtitle 'A Play'.

²The HG chronology at YCAL maintains all the subtitles, following BTS Volume 14. Some subtitles were omitted in the 1929 *transition* bibliography. The BTS has 'In The Country Entirely. A Play In Letters', and 'I Like It To Be A Play. (A Play)'. The 1929 *transition* bibliography has 'In The Country', but no parentheses for 'A Play'. *Geography and Plays* has 'For The Country Entirely', and no parentheses for 'A Play'. I refer to the titles used in *Geography and Plays*.

³I will discuss *Turkey and Bones and Eating and We Liked It. A Play*, with reference to the Mallorcan narratives, in Chapter 4. *For The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters* will be assessed, with reference to the letter texts, in Chapter 5.

Stein recognized the theatrical innovations of her Mallorcan plays. Two years after their composition, she was urging the publication of these scripts. On 14 February 1918, she sent a letter to Henry McBride, art critic of the *New York Sun*, suggesting the title for a future collection of her work:

[...] I would like some volumes done some time perhaps we will. Portraits and Plays, that would be nice [...].

(YCAL McBride correspondence. Sent from the Luxembourg Hotel, Nîmes)

This is the first reference to the volume which would become *Geography and Plays* (1922). Stein's letter shows that, four years before its eventual publication, she believed the play form was suitable to entitle the representative selection.⁴ In 1918, the plays which inspired the proposed title were predominantly the Mallorcan scripts.

After her war relief work in Mulhouse⁵ had come to an end, Stein revived the subject of publication. In another letter to Henry McBride, she anticipated a collected volume of her writings:

It has been suggested and I think it is a nice suggestion that I do a book of selected things ranging through all my periods and make it a subscription edition. (16 March 1920. YCAL McBride correspondence)

In *Geography and Plays*, Stein took the opportunity to publish all eight Mallorcan plays. *Geography and Plays* was a large venture. It was her second book, having

⁴It is unclear exactly when the change of title was made. On 12 August 1920, John Lane wrote to Stein: 'With regard to 'Geography and Plays' [...].' (YCAL Lane correspondence). On 9 November 1921, at the beginning of their negotiations, Mr. Brown of the Four Seas Company wrote to Stein from 168 Dartmouth Street, Boston, with a reference to the altered title: 'I have received safely the manuscript of your book, 'Geography and Plays,' and shall write you about it in a few days.' (YCAL Four Seas correspondence).

⁵Stein spent two years working with the American Fund for French Wounded (AFFW) after departing from Mallorca. From March 1917 to August 1917 she worked in Perpignan, France. Then she worked in Nîmes, France from October 1917 to December 1918. The third assignment was in Mulhouse, Alsace where she worked from February or March 1919 to June 1919. (See Appendix 2).

previously paid \$765.38⁶ for the First American Edition of *Three Lives* in 1909. Thirteen years after this first self-financed volume, Stein recognized that no publisher was forthcoming to pay for another book. Acceptance of short pieces for magazines limited her readership, and she sought to extend her audience.

Stein's determination to set her work before the public is registered in her payment of \$2500 for the publication, in America, of *Geography and Plays*.⁷ She was careful in her expenditure, and it was not a rashly executed deal:

I am having sent to you from San Francisco the second check for a thousand dollars. Will you send me a receipt for this payment and a receipt for the first payment. I must have these receipts on account of income tax returns.⁸

Stein's financial commitment reveals her confidence in the value of her work, and her need to present it to the public. Her emphasis on the Mallorcan plays, by the inclusion of all eight texts subtitled 'A Play', indicates that she was stating their artistic worth.

Selecting each of the Mallorcan scripts represented a major change in Stein's attitude towards the publication of her plays. In 1913, when it seemed likely that her pre-1913 plays would be performed, Stein was adamant that the scripts should not be printed:

⁶As Stein was in Paris, her contract with the Grafton Press for 'Three Histories' was signed on 12 November 1908, on her behalf, by Mary B. Knoblauch (May Bookstaver). It records a payment of \$660 by the author for the printing of 1000 copies, 500 of which would be bound. To this sum was added a bill dated 12 July 1909 (7.12.09. American dates place the month first) for \$105.38 for corrections (YCAL Grafton Press correspondence). See Appendix 2 and Appendix 3.

⁷The Four Seas Company acknowledged receipt of \$1000 on 7 February 1922, \$1000 on 2 August 1922, and \$500 on 24 January 1923 (YCAL Four Seas Company correspondence). The source of this large sum is not recorded. Stein mentions that the money came from San Francisco. Since the Stein family of bankers were in Baltimore, it is possible that there is an error in naming San Francisco as the source of 'the second check'. Ulla Dydo believes that Mike Stein, who organized Stein's financial affairs, was not in San Francisco during 1922-23. She states that he was probably in France at that time, and she concludes: 'He arranged to have money sent to Four Seas Company in 1922, and it does not sound as if that order (ref. in a letter to GS) came from the US.' I thank Ulla Dydo for these details, given in a letter to me, dated 29 October 1992.

⁸Univ. of Virginia, Clifton Waller Barrett Collection, Accession No. 8259. Letter from Stein to Mr. Brown of the Four Seas Company, dated 10 July 1922. I thank Edward Burns for giving me access to his transcription of this letter.

[...] No decidedly not, I do not want the plays published. They are to be kept to be played.

(ND. [Dated by internal references to Autumn 1913] YCAL Letter from Stein to Mabel Dodge)⁹

Plans laid in 1913, for performances during the winter of 1914-15, did not materialize. In 1922, after nine years without a theatrical production of her plays,¹⁰ Stein realized that the only way to present her scripts before an audience was as published texts.

After the Great War, Stein felt that the lack of publication of her work was losing her a responsive readership. Continuation of the war had caused the postponement of the First English Edition of *Three Lives*. This was scheduled to be published after the First English Issue in 1915 (See Chapter 2, footnote 1). During the war, John Lane feared that the emphasis on German characters in 'The Good Anna', and in 'The Gentle Lena', would not sell the book. It is interesting to note that these two stories excited controversy at this time. Critical attention has since moved away from their Germanic subject matter towards her presentation of Negro characters in 'Melanctha'.¹¹ Once the war had ended, Stein felt that she was losing a crucial moment.

War, and then the post-war reaction, had cooled John Lane's enthusiasm of the summer of 1914. At some point between 1919 and 1920, Stein wrote to Emily Dawson, in England, of her fears that he would abandon the project:

⁹Quoted from Elisabeth Kiefer, 'Anything that was not a story could be a play', unpublished essay for Criticism Workshop, Department of Drama, Yale University, December 1989, p.3. I thank Elisabeth Kiefer for permission to use her transcription of this letter. In the summer of 1913, Florence Bradley, an American actress whom Stein had met at Mabel Dodge's home, the Villa Curonia, attempted to find a producer for Stein's early plays. On 28 August 1913, Henry McBride wrote to Stein suggesting the plays would be performed in the winter of 1914-15: '[...] I still think they should be done next winter in New York [...]' (Gallup, *Flowers of Friendship*, p.83).

¹⁰No public performance was given of a Stein script before the opera *Four Saints in Three Acts* (1927) was sung at the Wadsworth Athenaeum in Hartford, Connecticut on 8 February 1934. The first play with speaking actors was not presented until 29 August 1943, when Pierre Balmain directed *The Gertrude Stein First Reader and Three Plays*. Betsy Alayne Ryan, *Gertrude Stein's Theatre of the Absolute* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1984), pp.166-67.

¹¹For example, see: Milton A. Cohen, 'Black Brutes and Mulatto Saints: The Racial Hierarchy of Stein's "Melanctha"' *Black American Literature Forum*, 18 No.3 (Fall 1984), pp.119-21.

Here it is, I wrote to him [John Lane] about *Three Lives* several months ago but got no answer. His contract with me demands that he publish with all due diligence and there was the war but there now is peace. I can also see that it is not quite reasonable to expect him to do even yet the two German stories but *Melanctha* should and could be done and it is the moment as I have more reputation now than I had and there have been short things of mine done and the future is really a future besides there is a possibility of being translated, that is *Melanctha* into French.¹²

(ND. [Dated by internal references to 1919-20] YCAL Miscellaneous Box F. Drafts of letters file)

As the publication of 'short things'¹³ in magazines generated interest, Stein became aware of the urgency for a book which would show the range of her work. At the end of the Great War, she proposed this idea to John Lane:

Now that war and relief work over and we have all won at last, I am remembering my works. I wonder if you would care to do a small volume of some things now I have done short sketches about the war and I have also a number of small portraits of all sorts.

(ND. YCAL Lane correspondence. Draft of a letter to John Lane)

Use of the terms 'portraits' and 'sketches' implies that Stein was anticipating a volume with the 1918 title: 'Portraits and Plays'. She emphasized the importance of her war writing, which suggests that she intended to include the Mallorcan plays in this book. John Lane was hesitant. He responded, referring to the new title:

This [*Three Lives*] will be published here early in September [...] With regard to 'Geography and Plays', I cannot undertake to publish this until I see how 'Three Lives' is going to sell.

(12 August 1920. YCAL Lane correspondence)

¹²An undated draft letter to John Lane, on notepaper headed with the title of the AFFW, shows that Henri-Pierre Roché was considering translating 'Melanctha' into French (YCAL Lane correspondence).

¹³Stein refers to the magazine publications before 1919, a date established by her words: 'there now is peace.' Wilson, *Gertrude Stein. A Bibliography*, pp.124-25, lists: Mrs. T ____ y. *The Soil* (December 1916); Have They Attacked Mary. He Giggled. *Vanity Fair* (June 1917); Relief Work in France. *Life* (27 December 1917); A Patriotic Leading. *The Sun* (31 March 1918); The Great American Army. *Vanity Fair* (June 1918); A Deserter. *Vanity Fair* (March 1919); The Meaning of the Bird. *Vanity Fair* (March 1919); J.R. *Vanity Fair* (March 1919); A League. *Life* (18 September 1919).

These circumstances provide a context for Stein's large expenditure on *Geography and Plays* - it was the seizing of a moment.

The Four Seas Company of Boston accepted the manuscript in 1921, with the author paying the costs. Stein ensured that the venture would be meticulously carried out (See Appendix 3 for evidence of Stein's careful proof-reading of *Geography and Plays*). Stein's selection of the contents of *Geography and Plays* gives an indication of the compositions which she felt were successful, or were representative of a particular stage of her exploration of language. Inclusion of each of the eight Mallorcan plays shows that Stein believed they deserved an audience, not in isolated publication, but as a group of innovative scripts.

Having established Stein's expression of the artistic value of the Mallorcan plays, I will now assess three of them in detail. Formations of landscapes, characters and events show the foundations of her confidence in their achievements.

2

Landscapes are created through the voices of *Mexico. A Play*, as Stein explored ways of writing geography in plays:

I am making plays quite a number of them. Conversations are easy but backgrounds are difficult but they come and stay.
(22 December 1915. *Letters of G.S and C.V.V.* p.49)

Presenting 'backgrounds' to a play might be easily achieved. A scenic view, as a backdrop, would give the stage a visual context. Using the title, 'Mexico. A Play', a director has an indication for representative images: adobe huts, pueblos, cacti, sombreros. An exotic language comes with this set design, but it provides a static image, painted on cloth, and a vocabulary of clichés. Stein refused to accept this theatrical device, and her creative impulse led her to the 'difficult' evocation of landscapes using only words.

Her voice-montage script conveys mobile 'backgrounds'. New places are conjured with each speaker who talks of different countries, other cities. This technique encourages a shifting awareness of many landscapes, both named and unnamed. With

the transience of the spoken word in a performance, the audience must catch the locations and make them 'stay' by imaginative attention.

By naming Mexico in the prominence of the title, Stein was questioning a playwright's ability to capture one particular landscape. *Mexico. A Play* contains many references to Mexico as the South American country, to the Mexican revolution (1910-15) and to the beauty of the word 'Mexico'. It is important to understand why, in Mallorca, Stein chose to compose a play evoking Mexico as a country. She was looking beyond the confinement of her island existence to a landscape which had, at the same time, specific relevance to her Mallorcan environment. My opinion on this point contrasts with Jane Palatini Bowers' statement:

The conversation might just as well be about Bolivia, Argentina, or the United States. Indeed, the substitution of another place-name for 'Mexico' would create hardly a ripple in the conversation. The word's specific reference is almost irrelevant.¹⁴

Stein did not use words arbitrarily. Many nuances are gained from the naming of Mexico, which would be lost with 'the substitution of another place-name'.

Mexico. A Play contains references to the Mexican revolution,¹⁵ which was a feature of Stein's Mallorcan experience. Civil war in Mexico was being fought concurrently with the Great War, and it had particular interest for the Spaniards. Spain was not an active participant in the Great War and this, combined with the Spanish influence in South America, ensured that the regional conflict in Mexico was regularly reported in the Mallorcan press. For instance, the Mallorcan daily paper, *La Almudaina*, carried this report nine days after Stein's arrival on the island:

¹⁴Jane Palatini Bowers, *They Watch Me As They Watch This': Gertrude Stein's Metadrama* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), p.16.

¹⁵The Mexican revolution began in 1910, when armed groups sought to replace Porfirio Díaz (who had been president since November 1876). The revolution was led by Francisco I. Madero. Intermittent revolts revived the conflict in 1913. America entered the Mexican revolution, under the presidency of Woodrow Wilson, in 1914. Pancho Villa was the only rebel leader to accept the U.S. intervention. General Alvaro Obregón won the decisive battle, over Pancho Villa, at Celaya in April 1915. The civil war did not end immediately. (*Encyclopedia Britannica*).

Noticias del Extranjero

Derrota del general Villa. Cuatrocientos muertos.

Paris. - Un telegrama de Washington confirma que los partidarios del general Villa perdieron la batalla del doce de abril en Huisachito.

(17 April 1915. *La Almudaina* p.3)¹⁶

La Almudaina contained news of the Mexican revolution throughout Stein's stay in Mallorca. One example serves to illustrate this point: a headline on 3 September 1915 (p.3) noted 'Los sucesos de Méjico', and carried further reports of the Mexican revolution. Stein could have read about the Mexican revolution by translating the Spanish through the similar French words.¹⁷

Interest in the Mexican situation would have arisen from the Mexican influences in California, where Stein grew up. Youthful memories mixed with current politics when, in 1914, the American government intervened in the national conflict. She also had a personal connection with the Mexican revolution. Shortly before her departure from Mallorca, Stein wrote to Carl Van Vechten about a mutual acquaintance, John Reed:

By the way is John Reed being a hero in Mexico or is he letting [Francisco 'Pancho'] Villa do it all by himself this time.

(18 April 1916. *Letters of G.S and C.V.V.* p.53)¹⁸

Stein plays with an alteration of the name, John Reed, in the line: 'John Beede. I made

¹⁶Two Mallorcan newspapers were available to Stein during 1915-16: *La Ultima Hora* and *La Almudaina*. I concentrated my research on *La Almudaina* because there is evidence that Stein read this particular newspaper. William Cook left Palma in December 1915, and Stein sent him copies of *La Almudaina*. He wrote from 15 Quai Conti, Paris on 22 April 1916: 'I am waiting breathlessly for the Almudina.' (YCAL Cook correspondence). William Cook spelled the name of the newspaper phonetically. I have quoted from *La Almudaina* in Spanish to emphasize that Stein could have understood its reports. Despite a lack of familiarity with the Spanish language, she could have translated words through her knowledge of English and French. I have translated the key Spanish words, and have incorporated them into my text.

¹⁷She said that she could read Spanish because all the words that were real words resemble french.' (*I Like It To Be A Play. A Play* G&P p.289).

¹⁸John Reed (1887-1920), who had been in Mexico from December 1913 until April 1914 reporting on Villa and the Mexican revolution, did not return to Mexico.' Burns' note, *Letters of G.S. and C.V.V.* p.53.

a mistake.' (*Mexico. A Play* G&P p.320). This reference offers Mexico as the context for the inclusion of John Reed in the play:

John.

Did you meet him.

I did and I believed in him.

Did you go away.

No I stayed a long time.

Did you go to another country to earn your own living.

[...]

Why is there a difference between South America and North America.

There is no difference he meant to go there.

(*Mexico. A Play* G&P pp.304-305 and p.315)

Mexico (in the title) locates one theatrical landscape, in which the character (John Beede) can be identified with the actual man whom Stein knew (John Reed). An alignment between the man and the actor, between real life and performance, is dislocated by the transformation of facts into unassigned voices in the script. Unnamed members of the cast question each other, demanding certainty and receiving confirmation: 'Did you meet him./ I did'; 'Did you go away./ No'. These exchanges give intimations of speakers who find security in a precise question and answer formula.

Yet, they are ghost voices. The name 'John' may be a character ascription for an actor to speak the line: 'Did you meet him.' In this case, John would be present on the stage as a participant in the dialogue exchange. He would also be present on the stage if an actor called out the name, 'John', and another actor visibly responded. Alternatively, the named man may be the subject of the entire exchange. In effect, one speaker would join two lines: 'John, did you meet him.' With this intonation, the only named person in this eddy of dialogue would be off-stage, and as ephemeral as the speakers who discuss him.

John Reed is a shadowy performer within the play. His indeterminate presence affects the interpretation of lines where his name is not spoken. In the second extract, voices mention only his North American nationality, and his South American residence. Anonymous characters create echoes of an individual through their conversation about two locations. With these strategies of detachment, Stein distanced actual references to the Mexican revolution by exploiting the ambiguities of a voice-montage play.

Two additional factors point towards the impact of Mexico, as a country, within

Mexico. A Play. One is the earlier Mexican conflict with the United States of America (1846-48), the other is the traditional relationship between Spanish bullfighters and Mexico.

First, it may have been a new acquaintance in Mallorca who brought Mexico close to Stein's thoughts as she composed *Mexico. A Play*. Reference to an unnamed woman, who spoke about Mexico, is gleaned from a letter sent by Mildred Aldrich:

My dear - imagine your having known any one who was a 'belle before the Mexican War'. That was before, ^I was born^ the Mexican War - and I always thought I was the oldest inhabitant on your calling list.

(26 February 1916. Sent to Stein in Mallorca. YCAL Aldrich correspondence)

Mildred Aldrich seems to be quoting a previous letter sent from Mallorca by Stein, or by Toklas. However, the date of their 'having known' this anonymous woman is unspecific. This letter refers to a long-passed war, probably the Mexican war with the United States of America (1846-48).¹⁹ Stein may have been responding to the voice of a Mallorcan inhabitant who was telling romantic stories of being a 'belle', and who was describing her youth before the war between the United States and Mexico. This unidentified speaker intimates another cross-current with the unassigned voice-montage, which conjures a Mexican landscape.

Secondly, the bullfights introduce an aspect of Mexico into Stein's Mallorcan environment. They provide a link through which Stein could respond simultaneously to Mallorca, and to Mexico, in the voice-montage of *Mexico. A Play*. Ernest Hemingway noted that the Spanish *matadors* travelled to Mexico, to continue their fighting season throughout the winter. Stein watched the bullfights in Palma and Inca, on Mallorca, and in Valencia, on mainland Spain, during the summer of 1915 (See Appendix 3). Therefore, she would have been aware of the departure of the bullfighters to Mexico in the winter of 1915:

¹⁹The Mexican war with the United States of America was declared in April 1846. Under the presidency of James K. Polk, the United States of America sought territorial rights over New Mexico and California. The war ended on 2 February 1848, with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (*Encyclopedia Britannica*). Mildred Aldrich was born in 1853 (Mellow, *Charmed Circle*, pp.68-69). Therefore, she might have referred to the 1846-48 Mexican war as the one which took place 'before, ^I was born^'.

On either the 12th or 13th of October commences the feria of Pilar in Zaragoza, consisting of four to five fights. This is the last important feria of the season.

[...]

They will be given each Sunday [in November] in Mexico City and in various Mexican cities, bullfighters contracted for Mexico usually leaving immediately after the feria of Pilar at Zaragoza.²⁰

In *Mexico. A Play*, Stein personifies the name of the *feria*, which is the last bullfight before the Spanish *matadors* travel to Mexico:

Donna Pilar. Is that cheese.
Yes it's very good cheese.
How do you prepare it.
With cognac.
You mean brandy.
One might not call it wine.
(*Mexico. A Play* G&P p.323)

In a performance, 'Pilar'²¹ is detached from images of the bullfight, and is enlivened by physical movements of the female character. Pilar refers to a woman who is involved in a sensuous verbal exchange about the quality of food and drink. An actress playing Donna Pilar could be assigned to speak the line following the name. In this case, she would ask three questions in the dialogue: 'Is that cheese. [...] How do you prepare it. [...] You mean brandy.' Alternatively, she may be the person addressed, possibly a shopkeeper. Her attention would be gained by the call of her name from an unnamed character. Donna Pilar would then give information: 'Yes it's very good cheese. [...] With cognac.' Thus, in applying the voice-montage to the stage, a director has a freedom in assigning speech to characters. Aural games show that Stein was unable to resist wordplay, which is also nameplay: 'Donna' is a translation of the Spanish 'Doña'. Ambiguities in the voice-montage script allows Stein to merge references to bullfights, and to an acting role.

²⁰Ernest Hemingway, *Death in the Afternoon* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1932), p.357 and p.358.

²¹Play with the name of this *feria*, the last bullfight before the *matadors* leave for Mexico, is found in another Mallorcan text: 'Pillow. A Pillar. Pilar was his name.' (*Independent Embroidery* PL p.83).

References to the Mexican revolution, and to the name of a *feria* important for bullfighters leaving for Mexico, emerge through a male and a female character: John Beede and Donna Pilar. Fictional names disclose a real context, in Mallorca, for the inclusion of Mexico as a country. It is these characters' speech which allows the evocation of mobile 'backgrounds', arising from one particular place. Stein sought to dispense with the static, painted backdrop in order to conjure shifting images of Mexico. Intermittently, by naming the country directly, and by referring to it obliquely, Stein created a sense of landscape with living, vigorous resonances.

In *Mexico. A Play*, the voice-montage script enables the word 'Mexico' to be spoken in many arrangements of dialogue exchange. The actual country, with its references to a current revolution, to a past war and to bullfighting, indicates why Stein was stimulated, in Mallorca, to incorporate Mexico within a composition. She chose to present Mexico in the play form, not in the narrative form, to allow the voice-montage to extract many nuances from the speaking of this single word. Performers assemble on the stage, offering different voices and new choreographed groupings. Each time they utter the word 'Mexico', the audience will hear it in a slightly altered context.

Stein encourages her audience to consider the range of expression which can arise from one word:

The word 'Mexico' appears twenty-five times within the play, fulfilling three linguistic functions: it functions semantically as a place-name with specific conceptual associations; it functions syntactically as a noun with a definite grammatical role; and finally, it functions orthographically and phonologically when it appears without a semantic or syntactic context, as a word with a unique combination of letters.²²

'Backgrounds' to the play are generated by the actors' voices, as well as by the geographical location about which they speak. Mexico 'comes and stays' in the audience's constant re-evaluation of the word, whenever it is presented in a different linguistic context. The audience responds to the challenge of quick interpretation, before the voices fade from the stage. Verbal repetition becomes a prompt to keep 'Mexico'

²²Bowers, *Gertrude Stein's Metadrama*, p.15.

in their ears, since it is not necessarily before their eyes.

Stein is writing for the theatre as she savours the sound of her word, 'Mexico':

We imitate pronunciation. Mexico.
Henry Irving.
[...]
Mexico is prettily pronounced in Spanish.
Pronounce it for me.
Yes I will.
Say it prettily.
Mexico.
(*Mexico. A Play* G&P p.305 and p.306)

Stein dramatizes a sumptuous quality in the word 'Mexico' by a gradual build-up of tension: 'Pronounce it [...] Say it [...].' Delay and expectation in this dialogue cause the audience to appreciate, by hearing others appreciate, the final enunciation of 'Mexico.' At this point, the text is clearly functioning as a script. The command, 'Say it prettily', generates anticipation for the sound of a Spanish intonation. This is spoken of, and then spoken, in the theatre. Reading the page, one must re-create this pretty sound in the imagination. Sensuous associations, of both Spain and Mexico, are set in a context of erotic enunciation. Saying 'Mexico' contributes to a scenario of seduction: 'Yes I will.' Aural nuances, released from speaking a single word, are emphasized by the juxtaposition of three factors: the lightly flirtatious voices which pronounce 'Mexico'; the speakers who 'imitate' Spanish pronunciation; and the named actor.

By introducing Sir Henry Irving (1838-1905), in the context of speaking the word 'Mexico', Stein alludes to the artifice of theatrical lines. Resonances of a voice which can no longer be heard are created in the memory of Sir Henry Irving. A past voice contrasts with a future utterance, when unnamed characters 'will' say 'Mexico'. If the English actor was represented on stage, his accent would contrast with a Spanish pronunciation. His voice would combine with those of characters who mimic speech patterns, in saying 'Mexico.'

A scene is composed, not of the places, but of the people who speak. These unassigned voices communicate a relationship which is not written, but which would be seen in a stage performance. Stein later talked of the interplay between the visual, and the aural, creation of scenes in the theatre:

Is the thing seen or the thing heard the thing that makes most of its impression upon you at the theatre. How much has the hearing to do with it and how little. Does the thing heard replace the thing seen. Does it help or does it interfere with it.

(*Lectures in America* p.101)

Mexico. A Play gives a theatrical voice to this dilemma. In the extract quoted above, the visual presence of actors, who talk about the pronunciation of 'Mexico', will provide different interpretations of the script. One speaker could be alone on stage. Isolation of this figure would require him, or her, to give a soliloquy. Alternatively, a couple may engage in a dialogue. Two characters could be represented as a pair of men, as a pair of women, or as a man and a woman. One partner acquiesces, it might be the man or the woman. Individuals within a group could speak one line each. If they addressed their lines to a particular character, one actor would then respond. Many speakers might address a host of unnamed actors, who are also on stage. These persons would then respond, in unison, with a chorus of 'Mexico'. A director's decision, about what is seen, will 'interfere' in some way with 'the thing heard'. What the audience is guided to hear is the Spanish pronunciation of the word 'Mexico', and the exchange which leads up to it.

A script invokes the spoken word. In *Mexico. A Play*, there is an indication that performance brings a limitation to this script. Actors replace the written text with the 'thing seen' on the stage. The 'seen' text plays with language in ways which would be lost in a vocal presentation. If the 'thing seen' is the printed page, it allows an imaginative range. Stein emphasizes the act of writing the word 'Mexico':

Scene II.

Mexico tide water. I meant not to spell it so.

Mexico tied water.

Mexico border.

I love the letters m and o.

(*Mexico. A Play* G&P p.319)

Jane Palatini Bowers notes that the text is present upon the stage when characters are given lines which call attention to the script:

We are always conscious of the existence of that text as a part of the performance. The writer and her writing are brought into the theater through the text.²³

In the quotation from *Mexico. A Play*, a speaker introduces the 'text as a part of the performance.' One character refers to an authorial mistake: 'I meant not to spell it so.' However, Stein goes further than Bowers' statement by creating an impossible situation for the actors. They could not reproduce the difference between 'tide' and 'tied' in a verbal reconstruction of the script. An audience would hear a repetition of the same word, but the text indicates a misspelling. In a performance, the listeners would only be aware that some play was being made with the aural presentation of language.

This script is further distanced from its performance in the sensual appreciation of language: 'I love the letters m and o.'²⁴ On the page, this love would focus upon the visual shape of the rounded letters, or their arrangement within other words - such as 'Mexico'. On the stage, the voices would refer to the written text. If they expressed love for the soft labial enunciation, they would replace the 'letters' with the 'sounds'.

Stein delights in the capacity of language to fool, and to confuse, readers and hearers. So, she demands a close attention to the implications of her words. There can be no 'spelling' on the stage. Yet, the fact that Stein did not erase the word 'tide' implies that she meant 'to spell it so' to test its dramatic consequences.

Having established that Mexico had a real, and a linguistic, significance for Stein in Mallorca, I will now consider the diversity of landscapes in *Mexico. A Play*. She did not rely upon one image of a country to place her play, nor did she limit her reference to a single word. First, I will consider the identifiable landscapes in the play.

²³Bowers, *Gertrude Stein's Metadrama*, p.5.

²⁴Stein generally creates a context for her play with single letters. Here, she emphasizes that it is the alphabetical letters 'm and o' which she extracts from the word 'Mexico'. She creates this linguistic context in another Mallorcan play: 'What are the letters in my name./ O. and c and be and tea.' (*Bonne Annee. A Play* G&P p.302). It is tempting to read a similar appreciation of the letter 'm' in *Lifting Belly*: 'Do you please m.' However, there is no preparation in the text for this use of the letter. It would seem to be a typographical error. Both BTV (p.71) and Rebecca Mark's edition (Tallahassee, Florida: The Naiad Press, 1989), p.8, have the single letter: 'm'. The manuscript (YCAL HG 152) and BTS Volume 15 have: 'Do you please me.'

Characters allude to the names of different countries, and to the names of boats in Palma harbour. Secondly, I will explore Stein's use of the voice-montage to conjure an unnamed landscape. Speakers, who have no particular location, convey details of an indeterminate countryside by their talk of houses and flowers.

Many references to Mexico contrast with intermittent discussions about other named countries. Voices on the stage seek to clarify details of place:

Ernestine.

Have you mentioned tracing out California.

I have.

How big is it.

As big as a boat.

[...]

Horace. Have you ever heard of Fernville.

Yes indeed it is in the country.

West of Edite.

Yes.

(*Mexico. A Play* G&P p.304 and p.317)

Geographical references to California, and to Fernville, are arranged within an ambiguous dialogue exchange. Ernestine and Horace may be the speakers of the line following their names. Alternatively, they could be silent at first, and addressed by another performer. A director's decision about who begins the conversation, the named character or an unnamed interlocutor, will affect the distribution of the ensuing lines. Despite this indeterminacy in assigning the voices, there is a certainty in these two discussions. Each question has an immediate response. The affirmative dialogues give a sense of stability in the landscapes, which are their subject. For instance, the exact location of Fernville in the French countryside, west of a place named Edite, seems specific. Images of American and French landscapes are generated by the representative names, and an audience can envisage two different locations.

In creating 'backgrounds' from two named places, Stein is actually emphasizing the actors' voices on the stage. California is not traced out, someone has 'mentioned' tracing it out. Fernville need not exist, it is a place about which someone has 'heard'. The audience receives details of scenery through interlocutors whose speech refers to other speech. In this formation, Stein exploits voices to give hints of changing landscapes.

An ambiguity between named countries, and unassigned voices, brings other landscapes into the script:

But you did like Peru.
Very much.
[...]
Australia. Did you mention Australia.
Oh yes you mentioned Australia.
(*Mexico. A Play* G&P p.315 and p.324)

A sense of distance from these places, off-stage for the audience, arises from a subtle use of the voice-montage. An actor asks another actor whether they 'did like' Peru. Stein exploits grammatical construction to bring uncertainty to the way an audience hears this question. Multiple interpretations of the enquiry contrast with the specific naming of Peru. The character addressed may have been to Peru in the past, and 'liked' the country. A different intonation would imply that the character 'did' like Peru at one time, and has since changed his, or her, opinion. The question is ambiguously phrased. Stein chose not to write: 'did you go to Peru?' or 'did you like Peru?'. These straightforward syntactic arrangements emphasize the theatrical implication of Stein's phrasing: 'But you did [...].' This formulation indicates that the audience is catching the end of a dialogue, which has not been performed on the stage. One voice begins an exchange with the word: 'But [...].' Such an introduction suggests the elaboration of a previous argument, which is not in the script.

Similarly, the speakers who discuss Australia make it seem distant from the current stage set. One actor asks another whether they talked vaguely about the continent: 'Did you mention [...].' It is unclear at whom the 'you' is addressed. Both interlocutors may have 'mentioned' Australia because the second 'you' could refer back to the first speaker. Otherwise, both speakers might address a third actor, or a crowd of actors. With this presentation, the silent figures would listen to two questions, and they would not 'mention Australia.' It is only when the reader assumes the role of director, in interpreting these dialogues, that the complexity of Stein's formation of landscapes becomes apparent. The voice-montage gives these locations a distance because their contexts are not immediately comprehensible to the audience. She confuses the audience's awareness of the voices on the stage. Whilst drawing attention to the named place at the end of the sentences, she assigns these precise references to unnamed speakers.

Stein played with the names of countries, and with the names of countries which were given to ships. In *Mexico. A Play*, she super-imposed references to distant

countries with those same names painted upon boats in Mallorca. Stein incorporated the names of boats she saw in the harbour, at Palma, to a theatrical effect. She did not place boats within her script as directions for scenic objects, but as subjects for dialogues.

As the play opens, she introduces the verbal games with near and far landscapes, in the discussion of tracing out California, which is 'As big as a boat.' Later in the play, a joke is made in which this previous reference to an American state, and to a boat, must be remembered by the audience:

What boat.

The city of Savannah.

[...]

Did you happen to hear of the city of Georgia.

I did not know there existed a city of that name.

I had reference to a steamer.

(Mexico. A Play G&P p.304 and p.312)

A voice questions the geographical accuracy of the statement that Georgia is a city because it interprets what it hears. This speaker has not heard of a city named Georgia, and is misled by a belief that the statement should refer to the American state of Georgia. In a dramatic exchange, the respondent does not hear any capitalization in the question. Punctuation, transferred into theatrical intonation, would clarify the 'city' of Georgia as the name of a steamer: 'City of Georgia'. This verbal misunderstanding is made easier for the audience to follow by the previous dialogue about a boat named 'City of Savannah'. Geographical games between states and cities duplicate the joke of the 'City of Georgia'. Savannah is a city in the state of Georgia. Both the audience, and the reader, must pay attention to clues laid by the playwright. Yet, they are both caught out. Neither the spoken word, nor the written text, conveys the capital letter, or the apostrophe, of 'City'.

Emphasis is placed upon the way landscapes are heard. Voices create a scene which is not actually visible on the stage. Whilst the audience is coming to realize that Georgia refers to a boat, not to an American state or city, it is also evident that none are part of the stage set. An unassigned voice inquires casually: 'Did you happen to hear [...].' Thus, a voice has faded from the stage. Someone may have spoken of the 'city of Georgia', and these on-stage speakers once heard a voice which is now silent. Many

interpretations of this exchange demonstrate Stein's subtle adaptation of the voice-montage to a theatre script. She chose to promote the language which is heard, rather than the landscapes which are seen. In this formation, she provokes an imaginative response in the audience by interweaving many places onto one stage.

By tracing the source of these few lines of dialogue, one can see the strategies of detachment which transform actual data into theatrical voices. Documentary evidence shows how Stein was exploring the intonation of voices which create landscapes. She concealed the features, in the Mallorcan landscape, from which she derived a reference to the American city of Savannah. She achieved a disguise by refusing to supply an easy indication for the speech through scripted punctuation. During my research in Palma de Mallorca, I discovered that the 'City of Savannah' was the name of a ship which Stein would have seen regularly in the winter of 1915-16. If this biographical fact is to be represented on the stage, it will be through the enunciation of the performers. Considering a Mallorcan context, the exchange would sound as follows:

What boat.
The city of Savannah.
(*Mexico. A Play* G&P p.304)

ACTOR 1 - QUESTION: What boat?
ACTOR 2 - ANSWER: The [pause] 'City of Savannah.'

La Almudaina records that the 'City of Savannah' was an American steamer, belonging to the Standard Oil Company, which came into Palma harbour in December 1915. One reason for its arrival was to resolve the diplomatic tension caused by the German steamer, 'Fangturm', which was also in Palma harbour. An event with dramatic potential emerged, as a local incident concentrated the larger political concerns of the Great War. A charged situation was diffused by transferring the cargo of oil, contained in the 'Fangturm', to the 'City of Savannah'. Many reports were carried in the Mallorcan paper, for example:

El 'City of Savannah' á recoger el petróleo del 'Fangturm'.

Anteayer por la mañana á las ocho fondeó en nuestro puerto el vapor americano *City of Savannah*.

Dicho buque procedia de Nueva-York.

El *City of Savannah*, se halla fondeado en la bahía y viene consignado á su capitán.

Se dice que la llegada de dicho buque es debido á tener que embarcar el cargamento de petróleo que se halla en las bodegas del vapor alemán *Fangturm*, cyos trámites se etán terminado.

(19 December 1915. *La Almudaina* p.1)

In December 1915, when the American steamer came to take oil from the German boat, Stein was living at Calle Dos de Mayo, 45. A route from her house, along the bay, to the centre of Palma, a half hour walk, would have taken Stein past these steamers. She could also have seen both the 'Fangturm', and the 'City of Savannah', from her terrace. The house had a clear view of Palma harbour,²⁵ and there is documentary evidence that the 'Fangturm' was in Stein's sight:

The german steamer is still out in the bay, opposite your house, & looks as hideous as before, perhaps a little more as a bright scarlet band has been painted on each side of her.

(27 January 1917. From Mark Gilbert.²⁶ YCAL Miscellaneous Letters File G)

In addition to using these boats as material for a public script, Stein was referring to them in her private correspondence. A letter from William Cook, responding to news Stein was sending from Mallorca, also indicates that she was reading about the situation in *La Almudaina*:

²⁵I thank Mrs. Elaine Kerrigan for allowing me to visit her house, which is the one Stein rented in 1915-16. Stein's address in 1915-16 was Calle Dos de Mayo, 45, Terreno, but the house has since been re-numbered to Number 17A. The view of Palma harbour is now interrupted by recently-built apartments. In 1915-16, there would have been a clear view of the bay. (See Appendix 2 for details about Calle Dos de Mayo, 45).

²⁶Mark Gilbert was a recent acquaintance in Mallorca. He is transformed into a character in *Mexico. A Play*: 'Mark Guilbert. He is a young man.' (G&P p.325). Stein described him in *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* as: '[...] an english boy of sixteen with pacifist tendencies [...].' (p.200).

The Fangturm one quarter painted fills me with joy. And the Almudina, must have been fun.

(22 March 1916. YCAL Cook correspondence)

The impact of this German steamer, upon Stein's life in Mallorca, is demonstrated by her retrospective account of the year spent on the island:

In the port of Palma was a german ship called the Fangturm which sold pins and needles to all the Mediterranean ports before the war and further, presumably, because it was a very big steamer. [...] It looked very rusty and neglected and it was just under our windows. All of a sudden as the attack on Verdun commenced, they began painting the Fangturm.

(*The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* p.205)

Pins and needles ship.

Mallorcan stories.

(*Mallorcan Stories* G&P p.96)

Stein was writing about things she saw. The method by which she created the mobile scenery in *Mexico. A Play* arose from a mixture of place-names far from Mallorca, and from the landscape around her. She enjoyed the verbal incongruity of the name of an American city painted upon a boat in Palma harbour. Juxtaposition of a distant place, and a near object, reproduces the experience of drawing faraway countries into the theatre. Stein took care in recording maritime influences, exemplified by the 'pins and needles ship' in *Mallorcan Stories*. It seems an arbitrary statement until *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* identifies its reference to the 'Fangturm'. Accurate details of the Mallorcan environment are incorporated into the miscellany of named countries, and they slip easily into the shifting landscapes of *Mexico. A Play*.

In *Mexico. A Play*, unidentified theatrical landscapes are conjured by voices. Actors create a mirage of an unknown place. An unnamed country is evoked by the conversations of anonymous speakers, who discuss what they see. Features of this landscape are not necessarily present on the stage. A pleasant, general location is imagined by the audience as it hears talk about boats, flowers and trees.

Contrasting with the named boats, Stein uses the voice-montage to create an

unidentifiable nautical scene:

It is easy to see four boats. Boats are a ship. There are English and Danish and other boats.

[...]

Yes a great many boats have not been lost.

Yes a great many boats are useful.

Do you hear them.

I hear about them.

(*Mexico. A Play* G&P p.304 and p.313)

A verbal complication is introduced into the way an audience receives the visual image of a boat. Definition of words is tested in a tautological statement: 'Boats are a ship.' Intonation of this sentence could lead the audience to hear a question: Boats are a ship?. If the audience heard a rise at the end of the sentence, it would interpret one interlocutor as asking: Are boats different from ships?. Syntactic re-arrangement in the line 'many boats have not been lost' requires the audience to untangle a straightforward statement: many boats have survived.

These voices create, through their repetition of the word 'boats', the impression that boats are integral to the stage set. However, unassigned dialogues emphasize an artifice in the language which the audience hears. Four boats are not necessarily seen by the speakers, who are in front of the audience. It is 'easy' to see them, if the speakers choose to look. There is an implication that these speakers have an option, not available to the audience, to see boats which are not present on the stage. Similarly, the 'great many boats' are not heard, they are heard 'about'. A speaker hears other speakers tell of the boats. Thus, conversations create an ephemeral scenery.

Ambivalence in capturing a nautical environment in the theatre uses voices to avoid the practical difficulty of bringing water, and boats, onto the stage. Such a technique conveys the scenery in another Mallorcan play:

Do you like the sound of the waves.

Yes certainly.

Do you like them near or at distance.

The effect is different far and near.

Yes so it is.

Which do you prefer.

I have no choice.

(*Turkey and Bones and Eating and We Liked It. A Play* G&P p.250)

This extract poses the dilemma of conjuring any landscape in a theatre. 'The effect is different far and near' states the complex illusion of a 'far' place within the 'near' reality of the stage. By placing boats in the voice-montage script, Stein created the 'effect' of a marine environment. Speech of the actors is heard, rather than the actual 'sound of the waves'. Ambivalence expressed by the anonymous speaker, who has no preference between distant and close waves, emphasizes that it is the 'sound' which brings pleasure. To bring a physical representation of boats onto the stage would distract the audience from the voice-montage. Intricate dialogues present, not the noise of the sea, but the sound of the human voice.

In addition to seascapes captured in *Mexico. A Play*, speakers converse about the countryside. Different dialogue exchanges return to features in an unnamed landscape. With this dramatic technique, Stein creates a sense of place through the speakers who talk about it. She later expressed the theatrical inspiration which arose from ordinary features of the Spanish land:

A landscape does not move nothing really moves in a landscape but things are there, and I put into the play the things that were there. [...] Then as I said streets and windows are also landscape and they added to my Spanish landscape. (*Lectures in America* p.129 and p.130)

Although Stein was referring to *Four Saints in Three Acts* (1927) at this point in her lecture, she was commenting upon a style which began with the 'Spanish landscape' in the Mallorcan plays. She included the 'streets and windows' in *Mexico. A Play* to present the intimacy of land-based details, surrounded by boats and the sea:

The steps are steep.
So is the road.
Indeed it is.
[...]
Dear me have you been here before.
Yes and seen the almonds in flower.
Yes certainly every day.
[...]
How can you walk about the country.
Quite easily if you don't mind hills.
One gets accustomed to it.
[...]
You mean the house.
Yes I mean that house there.
Yes I see it very well.
(*Mexico. A Play* G&P p.312, p.312, p.314 and pp.315-16)

A scene is built gradually. Unassigned voices refer to one aspect of the countryside at a time; steep steps, a steep road, almond flowers, hills, a house. The audience can assemble these features into a single landscape. Although unnamed, it bears a resemblance to Mallorca - with its mountains, almond trees, and the steep steps in Palma. This place is introduced simply. It is persuasive because the speakers agree on what they see, and they see simple things. If this is the 'near' scenery, then actors speak of the unnamed landscape in which they stand. From this point, they look out to other places defined as foreign. Mexico can only be 'far' if the play is not located there.

Stein gives no stage directions, no list of props, no indication whether there should be artifacts from the landscapes she incorporates into *Mexico. A Play*. The stage could be bare. Alternatively, it may be crowded full of exotic, colourful, bizarre objects. To be true to the spirit of this play, there should be either no scene, or elements from every scene, as none have priority. Stein is constructing a voice-montage play, rather than a geographical representation. Despite the miscellaneous 'backgrounds', which 'come and stay', it is always the voice-montage which creates the scene. There are many scenes because there are many voices. No speaker, like the diffusion of Mexico as a location, has precedence.

Actors create their theatrical environment. Since there is no constancy in the characters, the places they evoke will be equally uncertain:

Gilbert.
Come in.
Henry.
Do come in.
Francis.
A great many people come in.
Philip.
Do a great many people come in.
Sebastian.
Yes indeed.
James Morey.
(*Mexico. A Play* G&P p.313)

These voices create a scene, an indeterminate theatrical landscape. There is an enclosure into which certain men enter. Characters comment that there is a crowd in the process of entering their particular area. People may come into an ornately decorated room, or they may simply come onto the stage. Each name could indicate the speaker of the following line. With this assignment of speech, a character named Gilbert says: 'Come in.' Who then speaks the name: 'Gilbert'? He may introduce himself as if he is a host, saying, in effect: 'I am Gilbert, come in.' Alternatively, he might be addressed by an unnamed actor, who says, in effect: 'Gilbert, come in.'²⁷ These names are independent from the sentences which follow. Men may be announced by name as they appear on stage. Otherwise, they could be the characters already on stage, who comment upon silent figures entering the stage space. Despite varied interpretations, there is coherence in the exchanges. Members of a group repeat each others' lines, and they confirm, 'Yes indeed', that 'many people come in.'

This is an anti-landscape. It is a location situated nowhere. Yet, this place is more than just unnamed. It represents the furthest point in the progression from the precise references to Mexico, to the boats named by countries, to the general countryside of houses and flowers. As actors create a stage landscape, which is only a place for them to speak, Stein interjects a reference to named locations. Through the character

²⁷In the manuscript notebook, these names are placed to the left margin, with the lines of speech indented (YCAL HG 148). BTS Volume 14 places the names, and the lines of speech, to the left margin. *Geography and Plays* follows the BTS arrangement. This alteration could represent Alice Toklas' decision in typing, or an amendment by Stein in the interval between writing and typing. In her careful proof-reading for the publication of *Geography and Plays*, Stein chose not to alter the page design back to her manuscript indentation.

James Morey, she translates the Spanish name of the American Consular Agent in Palma: Juan Morey y Cabanellas.²⁸ With one name, Stein returns the indefinite landscape to a juxtaposition of Mallorca and America. An echo is created with the names of boats, in Palma harbour, which allude to American cities.

Varied landscapes in *Mexico. A Play* represent Stein's enquiry into the limitation of locating a play within a single scene. She makes the assumption that if scenery can be released from the dictates of the playwright, then characters may also be freed. In this, landscapes are vitally bound to the presentation of the cast in the script, and on the stage. The written page has no character ascription which, according to convention, would centre the names, or set them in parentheses to the left margin. This would isolate the names from the text in the same manner that a painted screen would be set apart from voices in the performance. Stein chose to incorporate the scenic details, and the names of the cast, into the script so they could be heard on the stage.

Unassigned speech is a free-for-all. Any actor can claim the language and, by speaking the name of another cast member, can also speak their lines. It is conceivable that the entire text is a monologue, with one actor assuming all the roles. Stein uses the formation of landscapes to create a similar mobility, as Marianne DeKoven notes:

It is a new vision for Stein, a new serenity: an active and energetic but unperturbed, untroubled sense of union with the natural world, perfectly reflected in the structural unity or integration, and the peaceful stasis comprised of constant energetic motion, of the 'landscape' writing.²⁹

A sense of the 'peaceful stasis comprised of constant motion' captures exactly the shifting landscapes in *Mexico. A Play*. A director may situate the entire play in Mexico,

²⁸Juan Morey y Cabanellas was born in Palma de Mallorca. He was appointed to the post of American Consular Agent on 20 January 1909. He was replaced by Malcolm E. Graham on 23 July 1917. (*Register of the Department of State*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1917). I thank Mr. Stephen Roberts, of the United States Embassy, for providing this information. Juan Morey's name was reported in the Mallorcan newspaper, with variations: '[...] al Consul de los Estados Unidos en Palma señor Morey.' (14 August 1915. *La Almudaina* p.2); 'Presidió don Jaime Morey [...].' (12 September 1915. *La Almudaina* p.1.).

²⁹Marianne DeKoven, 'Gertrude Stein's Landscape Writing', *Women's Studies*, 9 (1982), p.223. DeKoven refers, at this point, to the landscape writing of *Lucy Church Amiably* (1927) and *Four Saints in Three Acts* (1927).

in accordance with its title. Many countries, named and unlocated, might be conveyed by a cast of hundreds. Stein's achievement in the voice-montage of *Mexico. A Play* is that both the single location, and the multiple landscapes, are valid interpretations of the script.

3

Please Do Not Suffer. A Play uses the voice-montage to convey theatrical characters. In a performance, the audience relies upon the actors' speech to differentiate the various roles. Dramatic incident, and physical action, are replaced by the self-introductions of cast members. On the page, voices are arranged within the structure of a traditional script. Stein organizes the voice-montage to align speech closely with a particular character. Two techniques are employed: first, she displays names as indented headings; secondly, she places names in parentheses to the left margin. Conformity with theatrical convention is also found in the unity of voices throughout the play. A sense of continuity arises from the constant stage presence, by their long speeches and their frequent interjections, of three main characters; Mrs. Marchand, Count Daisy Wrangel and Genevieve. Since the focus of the play rests upon these three characters, I will examine their dramatic presentation. After an analysis of the script, I will quote the documentary evidence which identifies the real people, in Mallorca, who inspired their speech.

Before assessing the characterization of individual roles, I will consider Stein's adaptation of the voice-montage to the structure of a conventional theatre script. The extent of Stein's innovation in *Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* becomes evident by a comparison with voices presented in the narrative form. Stein's method of assigning speech to characters is entirely different in these two forms. Her originality in the Mallorcan plays is fully appreciated by distinguishing between the ideas which motivated the composition of drama and prose.

Please Do Not Suffer. A Play clearly indicates that it is a dramatic work. Its subtitle states the context within which the voice-montage will be performed. Also, its

arrangement on the page conforms with rules governing the design of a script. In this instance, theatrical voices have a different purpose from narrative voices. Two forms, the play and the narrative, represent opposing approaches in Stein's presentation of the voice-montage. By selecting two subjects, newspapers and the name 'Alice', I will show this divergence:

EXAMPLE ONE - NEWSPAPERS

(Count Daisy Wrangel.) There is a great deal to write in a newspaper.
(*Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* G&P p.265)

In reading the papers I am often struck with the different way I am impressed with the news. Should I be cheerful. I should not. Mr. Sandling says that I am. Indeed I am.

(*He Said It. Monologue* G&P p.271)

EXAMPLE TWO - THE NAME 'ALICE'

(Alice.) What did we have to eat today. We had very young pork. It is very delicious. I have never eaten it better.

(*Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* G&P p.265)

Insulting yes she is insulting she asks have we ever heard of a poet named Willis.

Alice has. I have not. She says he belonged to a group. Like Thoreau.
(*He Said It. Monologue* G&P p.273)

Personal pronouns, in the narrative form, can be read as a single authorial voice. In the play form, character ascription indicates that the 'I' refers to the speaker of the line. Whilst the monologue may be interpreted as Stein's voice, the script identifies two different speakers: Count Daisy Wrangel and Alice. Two performers mediate between the playwright's words and the audience. Division between narrative expression, and dramatic dialogue, is complex because both are constructed from a style of ordinary conversation. The Mallorcan plays project a casual, everyday speech. Their quotidian exchanges do not call attention to a theatrical language. Yet, they differ from the sentences which build the non-play monologue. Two characters, Count Daisy Wrangel and Alice, are given lines which do not connect with other speeches already heard, or to be heard. They are soliloquies. Alice responds to her own question, and Count Daisy Wrangel's statement neither requires, nor receives, a response. In contrast, the narrative monologue absorbs dialogue exchanges. Here, personal pronouns are used to record

other voices.

These fundamental differences are demonstrated in Example One, which expresses 'the different way I am impressed with the news.' As a changing emotion is described, the reader has a sense of intimacy with the author. Empathy is not easy for the audience, as it listens to Count Daisy Wrangel's impersonal, objective statement about the literary medium of newspapers. In the narrative quotation, other characters appear via the unidentified author, and their speech is reported. Mr. Sandling has said 'You are cheerful.' His statement is inferred as the reader imagines a dialogue in three sentences of the monologue: 'Should I be cheerful. I should not. Mr. Sandling says that I am.' Mr. Sandling is absent, and the narrator is anonymous. These detached figures contrast with the physical presence, on stage, of Count Daisy Wrangel.

The same points of divergence, between the narrative and the play forms, occur in Example Two. A speaker feels insulted, and alters the direct enquiry, 'have you ever heard of a poet named Willis', into indirect speech: 'she asks have we ever heard of a poet named Willis.' Similarly, Alice says 'he belonged to a group. Like Thoreau.' Her speech is reported: 'She says he belonged [...].' At this point, the monologue presents the voices of three speakers: the writer; the unnamed woman who inquires; the woman named Alice. A narrator becomes a mediator for other voices when the central character, the 'I' throughout the text, makes external speech its own. In the script, the voice-montage is assigned to characters who speak for themselves: '(Alice.) [...] I have never eaten it better.' In a performance, the characters named Count Daisy Wrangel and Alice utter their own opinions about newspapers and pork. There is no intervening narrative voice.

Despite Stein's opposing approaches in presenting the voice-montage, three critics have considered these two forms to be indistinguishable. Janis Townsend categorizes narrative works, including *He Said It. Monologue* and *Every Afternoon. A Dialogue* as plays:

They are dramatic works by virtue of their expressing conflict between two or more speaking individuals.³⁰

³⁰Janis Barbara Lubawsky Townsend, 'The Singing Self: Philosophy, Autobiography and Style in Gertrude Stein's Lyrical Mallorcan Works (1915-16)', unpublished doctoral dissertation, Wayne State Univ., 1977, pp.8-9. In adding *He Said It. Monologue*, *Every Afternoon. A Dialogue* and *Ladies' Voices. Curtain Raiser* to her category of dramatic

Jane Palatini Bowers also reads these two narrative texts, and concludes that they correspond to theatre scripts:

This incorporation of the title into the conversation is a common device in Stein's conversation plays. In *Every Afternoon*, for example, the first line of the play is 'I get up.'³¹

Furthermore, Betsy Alayne Ryan includes the same two narrative works in her examination of Stein's plays.³² Whilst the subtitles of 'Monologue' and 'Dialogue' indicate that the texts may be spoken aloud, the arrangement of a script projects voices which are governed by character ascription. If they are to be performed, the structure of *He Said It. Monologue* and *Every Afternoon. A Dialogue* is more closely aligned with a recited narrative than with the performance of a play.

I have focused in detail upon differences in the receipt of the voice-montage by a reader, and by an audience, because it is important to understand the range of Stein's formations. By merging the forms of narrative and play, the critics quoted above face the danger of underestimating the creative diversity of the Mallorcan writings. Moreover, they dilute the achievement of the eight scripts which are defined as such by their subtitles, and by their structure. To follow this route of assimilation is to overlook the full extent of Stein's originality in placing the voice-montage under two distinct linguistic pressures.

This distinction prompts a keener appreciation of Stein's use of voices in the voice-montage plays. Her idea, of creating a theatrical event from speech alone, establishes her as an innovative playwright. There is no plot, or story, in *Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* against which the characters define themselves. Their purpose is to provide a verbal representation of a few human lives. Actors need not move across the stage. Characters can sit, or stand rigid, throughout the performance. Gesticulation, facial expression, choreography, and groupings will not assist the interpretation of this play because it is realized through its words.

works, Townsend notes that there are eleven Mallorcan plays. She writes of the remaining twenty nine Mallorcan narrative texts as lyric compositions.

³¹Bowers, *Gertrude Stein's Metadrama*, p.14.

³²Ryan, *Gertrude Stein's Theatre of the Absolute*, p.114.

James Mellow states that Stein's scripts, which depend only on voices, anticipates later advances in theatrical language:

But in the Majorcan plays, through the sheer wish to make theater out of pure dialogue rather than dramatic action, she arrived at one of the most advanced concepts of theater in her time. Well before the modern Theater of the Absurd, she had decided to dispense with most of the established conventions of dramatic form. [...] After she had made this audacious housecleaning of the dramatic form, only the simplest of necessities were left - the bare stage and the actors, stripped of everything except the spoken word. Few playwrights had ever gone so far.³³

Michael J. Hoffman also recognized this affinity with the Theatre of the Absurd in Stein's use of voices to create a dramatic work. He applied his interpretation to the voices in *Mrs. Whitehead* (1914):

A kind of absurdist dialogue, Stein wrote it years before either Samuel Beckett or Eugene Ionesco wrote similar exchanges in their dramas.³⁴

With hindsight, critics can see the voice-montage scripts as precursors of later developments in experimental theatre. Stein's comments about dramatic aspects of her texts provide insights into the characters who reveal themselves through language, not action, in *Please Do Not Suffer. A Play*.

Stein had worked out her own theory of theatrical language before adapting the voice-montage in the Mallorcan plays. Since 1906-1908, she had believed that knowledge of a character need not be dependent upon plot:

I can never have really much feeling of what specifically they will be doing from moment to moment in their living I have not any dramatic imagination for action in them, I only can know about action in them from knowing action they have been doing any of them, I mention this so that every one can be certain I do not know this about any one any men or women, I tell about the living in them from the living they have had in them I cannot ever construct action for them to be doing [...].

(*The Making of Americans* p.538)

³³James Mellow, *Charmed Circle*, p.224.

³⁴Michael J. Hoffman, *Gertrude Stein* (Boston: Twayne Publishers; London: George Prior Publishers, 1976), p.63.

Stein chose to present characters through their words, and 'the living in them', rather than 'constructing action' for them. A note fragment for the composition of *Jenny, Helen, Hannah, Paul and Peter* (1912) further emphasizes Stein's early intention to expose character traits through dramatic interaction:

There were five of them all living. They all had been living. Make it dramatic not character, relation.

(YCAL MOA NB Box 2 #162)

Dramatic movement in Stein's plays is not bound to the progression of events. She explores the 'relation' of one character presented through his, or her, words who meets other individuals, each with their own words. Donald Sutherland elaborates Stein's artistic purpose in combining voices to create a theatrical situation:

It is the motion and emphasis of the exchange that matters, and in very dramatic dialogue the action and character are only there to give a style and range of quality to the verbal event, to reinforce and explain it if necessary rather than to be revealed by it.³⁵

Stein's 1934-35 American lecture, 'Plays', offers a retrospective consideration of the way characters introduce themselves, and other cast members, in *Please Do Not Suffer. A Play*. The progress of a performance requires an audience to learn identities, and relationships, through an immediate evaluation of the characters' speech:

And how are the people on the stage that is the people the actors act how are they introduced to the audience and what is the reason why, the reason they are introduced in the way that they are introduced, and what happens, and how does it matter, and how does it affect the emotions of the audience.

(*Lectures in America* p.105)

This theatrical problem is dramatized in the way the three main characters are 'introduced' in *Please Do Not Suffer. A Play*. Three women (Mrs. Marchand, Count

³⁵Sutherland, *Gertrude Stein. A Biography of her Work*, p.119.

Daisy Wrangel and Genevieve),³⁶ whose voices open the play, are each presented to the audience through a long soliloquy. These are not dialogues since the characters do not converse, and they do not recognize the presence on stage of the other two women. As these speeches have a dramatic purpose, to provide the audience with an understanding of their character, they are not isolated monologues. Each soliloquy may be spoken by a performer alone on the stage, she departs when the next character introduces herself. These three speeches are unsettling. Although composed of ordinary statements, they generate no intimacy with the audience. Despite their length, they give little information about the speakers. Three central characters are detached from each other, and from the audience, by their words. Stein's dramatic strategy indicates that, in 1915-16, she was working out the premise she would express in 1934-35: 'It is not possible in the theatre to produce familiarity [...].' (*Lectures in America*, p.109).

Mrs. Marchand's voice opens *Please Do Not Suffer. A Play*. Her soliloquy juxtaposes restless puzzling about an unnamed woman with identification of aristocratic titles:

(Mrs. Marchand.) Where was she born and with whom did she go to school. Did she know the Marquise of Bowers then or did she not. Did she come to know her in Italy. Did she learn English in Morocco. She has never been to England nor did she go to school in Florence. She lived in the house with the friends of the count Berny and as such she knew them and she knew him.
(*Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* G&P p.262)

Mrs. Marchand expresses the audience's dilemma, as it responds to this first speech of the play. The audience tries to learn Mrs. Marchand's identity, as she tries to learn about the unnamed woman. Social hierarchy, represented by the Marquise of Bowers

³⁶I will refer to Count Daisy Wrangel as a female character throughout this analysis of *Please Do Not Suffer. A Play*. This pronoun is an acknowledged limitation of Stein's deliberate creation of an androgynous figure. Ambiguity in this name contrasts with the assignment of two female roles by a married title (Mrs. Marchand), and by a feminine first name (Genevieve). It is my belief that Stein used a female name (Daisy) as a private joke about a male acquaintance. This man might have been named Count Wrangel. Later in the chapter, I will present the documentary evidence which indicates that Stein created a female character as a humorous, or satirical, comment upon a man whom she knew.

and the count Berny,³⁷ indicates a network of social roles. Yet, neither Mrs. Marchand, nor the unnamed woman, is placed within this system of aristocratic titles.

Mrs. Marchand is searching for a woman by tracing her history, and by discovering how she learned English. Like the audience, Mrs. Marchand does not have the advantage of reading a descriptive account, which could relate details about the childhood of the unnamed woman. From texts, she could gradually build knowledge by assimilating factual information. Mrs. Marchand is placed on the stage to present herself, and another woman, in immediate speech. She is confused. Questioning the sources of the other woman's language, she hopes that childhood education will clarify the grown woman's identity. Mrs. Marchand asks twice 'with whom did she go to school.' It is uncertain whether she wants this information to ask the school-mates about the school, or to ask if the school-mates have social standing. If the latter interpretation is put on the words, it would be expressed largely through the tone in which they are uttered - especially an emphasis on 'whom'. Such intonation would give the audience a hint of social snobbery, which could expose one aspect of Mrs. Marchand's character.

Stein concentrates Mrs. Marchand's opening soliloquy upon the acquisition of language:

Where did she hear English.

She heard English spoken to children.

(Please Do Not Suffer. A Play G&P p.262)

The unnamed woman learned her language free from rules. She heard English in a simple manner, 'spoken to children', and her schooling was informal: '[...] nor did she go to school in Florence.' An enigma, about the unnamed woman and her language, is introduced at the opening of the play. Stein uses this puzzle to prompt the audience to set aside its expectation for immediate details about the figures it sees. Restless striving for information is displaced, from the audience, into Mrs. Marchand's soliloquy. Through the voice of her character, Stein implies that language generated from a search for identity has more dramatic value than the statement of facts about a character's history.

³⁷The manuscript has 'Count Berny' (YCAL HG 138). BTS Volume 14, and *Geography and Plays*, have 'count Berny'. I will refer to 'count Berny' because Stein proof-read the name, in this form, in *Geography and Plays*.

In this formation, theatrical creation of character is a verbal process. An association between language and childhood suggests that the audience will appreciate the intricate creation, and non-creation, of characters by assuming a child-like attention to voices. Mrs. Marchand represents a restriction to the acquisition of a new language. When she is heard limiting her son's learning, her words represent an approach to theatrical experience which inhibits a fresh awareness of dramatic voices. She wishes to locate, and to name, other characters by posing precise questions: 'Did she learn English in Morocco.' Furthermore, she wants to choose the language for her own child, expressed in her second soliloquy:

I find that my baby is very healthy. I hope he will not talk the language spoken here but I can not say this to him. He is too young.
(*Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* G&P p.263)

Mrs. Marchand seeks to prohibit her son's haphazard learning from the voices around him. She indicates either that it is a grammatically imperfect language, or that it is foreign to her own. The 'language spoken here' is also the language spoken on the stage. A joke can be created in the intonation of 'here', as Mrs. Marchand could refer to the voices of her fellow performers. In both cases, she proposes a limit to the child's aural acquisition of language. Thereby, she provides a hint of superiority in her own character.

From her first soliloquy, the audience is given an impression of Mrs. Marchand as a restless woman; one who seeks facts as confirmation of identity. Her stage characterization depends upon her questioning language - she acknowledges defeat:

How did she come to know the people she has known. I do not understand it.
(*Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* G&P p.262)

An unnamed woman is the reason for a named character's introduction onto the stage. Mrs. Marchand achieves a sense of herself by hypothesizing aloud: 'I hear myself speaking.' (*Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* G&P p.263). It is inferred that her silence, the resolution of her quest, would result in Mrs. Marchand's absence from the stage.

Different interpretations, concerning the identity of the unnamed woman, will influence the performance of other characters. Mrs. Marchand may be introducing

Count Daisy Wrangel, whose soliloquy follows, as the unnamed woman she seeks. Mrs. Marchand's speech, in which she searches for a particular character, would be followed by the voice of that character. Thus, the identity of the unnamed woman would be resolved. This option is substantiated in the script as the androgenous name links Count Daisy Wrangel with the count Berny, and places her at the same social level. Equal social stature, in the shared title of 'count', might make Count Daisy Wrangel the unnamed woman who 'knew him'. Also, Mrs. Marchand could be introducing Count Daisy Wrangel in her soliloquy because she introduces the other woman's language. Count Daisy Wrangel's first statement, 'He speaks English very well', leads from Mrs. Marchand's final words: 'She heard English spoken to children.'

Alternatively, Mrs. Marchand's inquiries about the unnamed woman may be a puzzling about herself. She is defined within the play as a wife and a mother, but she is detached from these roles. Mrs. Marchand disappears from the stage, becomes silent, when she ends her second soliloquy with a request for absence: 'Will you excuse me while I give my baby his luncheon.' (*Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* G&P p.263). She is temporarily silenced as soon as she assumes a definite maternal role, and when the action of feeding her son replaces her vocal questioning of female identity. Despite her social roles, Mrs. Marchand is as ambiguous a character as the unnamed woman. She is given no maiden name, and no first name. Formality in her married title separates her from other women in the play, who are familiarly characterized by their first names: Genevieve, Nellie, Mildred, Carrie, Jane.

Reference to her husband has no intimacy, and her words disclose little about their relationship:

(Mrs Marchand.) [...] She walks along. We met her and Mr. Marchand who were walking.

[...]

(Mrs. Marchand.) I don't know him very well that is to say my husband has pointed him out to me and I knew he was here.

[...]

(Mrs. Marchand.) [...] Yes I like walking. We say very little when we are worrying. Let us go away. We cannot because my husband cannot go away.
(*Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* G&P p.265, p.265 and p.264)

In this formation, characters have an ambiguity which arises from the enigma of the unnamed woman, presented at the beginning of the performance. Mrs. Marchand opens

the play with a voice of uncertainty: 'I do not understand it. [...] We are not sure.' (*Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* G&P p.262). She expresses this ambivalence each time she speaks. Despite introducing her husband three times, he is characterized only through her words. Mr. Marchand need not appear on the stage. Mrs. Marchand could be looking at a detached image of herself, walking with her husband: 'We met her and Mr. Marchand who were walking.' Self-reference, in this line, would offer further indications that the unnamed woman is Mrs. Marchand.

An inquisitive voice replaces a causal progression of theatrical events. Mrs. Marchand's early questioning is re-worked at the end of the play. Her statements leave the audience with a sense that Mrs. Marchand is still unidentified as the unnamed woman. The audience knows little about this named character at the end of her long stage presence:

(Mrs. Marchand.) I am so disappointed in the morning.

We are all of us disappointed.

(Mrs. Marchand.) I did not meet you to-day.

Yes you did.

Every man swallowing. What.

(Mrs. Marchand.) I told you that you had every reason to expect warm weather and now it's cold.

(*Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* G&P p.266)

Mrs. Marchand's manner of speech, throughout the play, has not distinguished her voice from those of other cast members. Therefore, lines given to three characters with her name are not bound to a single role. There might be just one Mrs. Marchand on stage. She would be addressed by an unnamed character, or by a chorus figure. Alternatively, there may be three Mrs. Marchands. Each of these women would speak the unassigned, indented lines. If the latter case applies to the final lines, it may apply throughout the play. With each character ascription, a new Mrs. Marchand could appear. Many Mrs. Marchands might be replicas of one character, or they may be women who each look different. Repetition of one name brings a range of options for a director.

Theatrical artifice is exposed in the last moments of the performance. The script, which seemed to be held together by three characters with the largest speaking parts (Mrs. Marchand, Count Daisy Wrangel and Genevieve), may be multiplied. Unity of character ascription is lost. Actors can assume any role because the spoken voice does not bring a coherent persona to the stage. Figures with many lines are given no more

certainty than characters who appear once only, and who speak briefly.

The unknown woman Mrs. Marchand seeks may be herself, or her different selves. Dramatic tension begins in her opening questions, and it ends in the fragmentation of her character in her final lines. *Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* opens with the voice of one Mrs. Marchand. It closes with the possibility of acoustic duplication, as three Mrs. Marchands address each other. Stein uses this formation to demonstrate that many roles emerge from a voice-montage script. She dramatizes the idea that a single character represents a false certainty because all lines can be spoken by multitudes of performers.

Mrs. Marchand's first soliloquy gives voice to the question whether an unnamed woman can be known through 'the people she has known'. Count Daisy Wrangel's first soliloquy also explores this proposal. When she is 'introduced' to the audience, Count Daisy Wrangel is speaking on behalf of a man who cannot talk coherently for himself:

(Count Daisy Wrangel.) He speaks English very well. He has an impediment in his speech. He likes cauliflower and green peas. He does not find an old woman satisfactory as a cook. He wishes for his Italian. It is too expensive to bring her down. He does like dogs. He once had eight. They were black poodles. They were living in a garden on a duchess' estate. [...] He has a friend who paints a picture every morning and paints a picture every afternoon.

(*Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* G&P p.262)

Count Daisy Wrangel avoids a self-introduction. Listening to her voice, the audience is required immediately to draw together each descriptive statement about an unnamed man. This man could appear on stage. He might be one of the named characters who will speak later in the play. However, the details Count Daisy Wrangel gives are not re-enforced elsewhere in the script. No named, male character has a discernable 'impediment in his speech.' A director can decide whether the man needs to appear before the audience, or whether he is sufficiently realized through Count Daisy Wrangel's first soliloquy. If he is present on stage, the fact that he 'likes cauliflower and green peas' could only be visually reproduced by an actor eating these vegetables with relish. His wish for 'his Italian' would be more difficult to project. A stage would then become an area in which speech and action were dislocated. Count Daisy Wrangel would describe in words what another performer would enact in mime.

These details are homely. Biographical information represents Count Daisy Wrangel's attempt to produce the 'familiarity' with a character of which Stein spoke in her 1934-35 lecture. Yet, the name of this man is never known, perhaps not even by Count Daisy Wrangel. Considering the name unites two sexes, it is possible that Count Daisy Wrangel is introducing 'himself'. With this interpretation, the character would repeat the method by which Mrs. Marchand introduces herself in the guise of the unnamed woman.

In *Please Do Not Suffer. A Play*, Stein used the voice-montage to bring a sense of off-stage lives. For dramatic purposes, the unnamed man is not given scripted lines. Stein was exploring a formation in which voices create characters, their own and others peoples'. Contrasting with the multiplication of Mrs. Marchands, a director has the opportunity to minimize the script. A sparse style of theatre would result, in which a few performers conjure an array of people and activities. Count Daisy Wrangel, in her first soliloquy, introduces five other characters. Each is unnamed. Each has an activity which gives them a relationship to the man described - not to Count Daisy Wrangel. She speaks of: the old woman who is an unsatisfactory cook; the Italian who cooks well, but who is stranded from her employer due to lack of travelling money; the man who is an employer of cooks, who is not rich, who likes dogs, who paints and writes; the duchess who owns an estate; and the painter who is a friend of the employer.

Count Daisy Wrangel is given a voice on stage, but she is silent about herself. There is no disclosure of her character from the words she uses. She is as distant as these diverse off-stage lives, which range from a servant to a duchess. She speaks only to introduce an unnamed man to the audience, but even this man is not revealed with any certainty. His acquaintance is varied, it gives no indication of his social status, and he is not presented with the exactness of his 'friend who paints a picture every morning and paints a picture every afternoon.'

Count Daisy Wrangel's words act as a shield against the audience's curiosity about the character on the stage. In this formation, Stein's technique is to deflect the presentation of visible figures by introducing other characters, whom the audience do not necessarily see.

Genevieve's first soliloquy relies upon factual detail to introduce her character.

She presents her own life story. It is a self-introduction which contrasts with Mrs. Marchand's inquiries about the unnamed woman:

(Genevieve.) [...] This is my history. I worked at a cafe in Rennes. Before that I was instructed by a woman who knew knitting and everything. My mother and father worked at gardening. I was ruined by a butcher. I am not particularly fond of children. My child is a girl and is still a little one. She is living in an invaded district but is now in Avignon. I had a coat made for her but it did not fit her very well and now I am sending the money so that it will be made at Verdun.
(*Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* G&P p.263)

Genevieve's encapsulated 'history' introduces five other characters: her daughter; her mother; her father; her female friend; and her male lover. This soliloquy builds progressively, spanning three generations: Genevieve's childhood with her parents; her education; her sexual maturity; finally, back to childhood in her present role as a reluctant mother.

Similarly, her catalogue of French towns has coherence in its limitation to one country. Each town has a relevance to her history: her 'belief' in Fraconville;³⁸ her work in Rennes; her child in Avignon; and her purchase of a coat made in Verdun. On hearing this third speech, the audience can trace a symmetry between the introductory voices. Mrs. Marchand speaks of her son, and Genevieve speaks of her daughter. Both Count Daisy Wrangel and Genevieve introduce five characters in their first soliloquies.

Logical progression, and interweaving patterns, belie the uncertainty of Genevieve's self-introduction. Ambiguity in her 'history' centres upon a euphemism: 'ruined'. Genevieve simultaneously gives factual information, and uses her voice to disguise her past. The audience interprets the word 'ruined' by the ellipsis of the next informative statement: 'I am not particularly fond of children.' Yet, these two sentences need not represent a causal development.

There are alternative intonations with which Genevieve can deliver her words, and the tone of her soliloquy will indicate different interpretations of her past. If she speaks wistfully of her mother and her father, who 'worked at gardening', this would express nostalgia for an idyllic childhood. If she speaks resentfully, this would suggest that she felt uncomfortable with her parents' low social status. She may speak bitterly about the

³⁸The manuscript has 'Franconville' (YCAL HG 138). BTS Volume 14 has 'Fernville'. G&P has 'Fraconville' (p.262).

butcher, and align the violence of her seduction with the meat which he sells. She may speak sadly, thereby indicating that she loves the butcher. In this case, her 'ruin' would be the fact he has not married her. Genevieve gives information to the audience which provokes as much questioning as Mrs. Marchand's restless search for the unnamed woman. One voice, which seems to introduce a stable character to the audience, actually provides a misleading dependence upon factual data. Stein makes a careful progression in these three self-introductions. Mrs. Marchand knows nothing about an unnamed woman, Count Daisy Wrangel knows an unnamed man, and Genevieve knows autobiographical details, but she voices them ambiguously.

Count Daisy Wrangel describes an unnamed man in the present tense, and he could be a visible figure on the stage. Genevieve speaks of the past when she gives information about her youth. A change of tense indicates that these versions of the younger Genevieve do not appear before the audience. She gives details of her present character, which is her role on stage: 'I like knitting and I like to buy provision.' (*Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* G&P p.263). Genevieve's character is expressed through her words. She says that she likes to knit, and to buy 'provision'. Yet, she does not need to perform these activities on stage. Genevieve's soliloquy is full of sensual images. She builds a history with references to life (the garden), to death (the butcher), to eating and drinking (the café), and to productivity (knitting and sewing coats). Her words have tactile and symbolic implications, but the audience is principally attending to her voice.

The three women who speak first in the play do not acknowledge the existence of each other. Their dramatic purpose is to present different aspects of characterization: of an unknown woman; of an unnamed man, who is known; of the self through autobiographical detail. Each woman is given a separate, uninterrupted opportunity to introduce herself to the audience. Each chooses to use her allocation of time to speak of people other than her own current stage character.

These three women are placed together at the end of the play in a balanced verbal structure to their opening soliloquies. They are still dislocated from each other. Although they finally provide information about themselves, the audience remains uncertain about their characters:

(Genevieve.) I wish to spend a little money on some things. I am waiting for the boat. I have nothing to do except sleep. Really not.
(Mrs. Marchand.) I understand Spanish.
(Count Daisy Wrangel.) To please him and to please me I do not dine at home.
(*Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* G&P p.266)

In three short speeches, there are hints of the long opening soliloquies. Genevieve talks about spending money, referring back to buying provisions. Mrs. Marchand speaks about the acquisition of language, as she had tried to discover how the unknown woman learned English. Count Daisy Wrangel mentions dining, as she had spoken of the unnamed man's preference for an Italian cook. Such allusions are subtle. Interweaving themes might not be caught by an audience because it does not have time for cross-reference. At this moment in a performance, the speeches would be heard as a lack of connection between three introspective characters. Only a memory of earlier lines would disclose the unity of individual characterizations.

For a reader of the script, it is easier to follow Stein's iterative technique. These single lines show the care with which she constructed theatrical characters in a voice-montage script. Echoes can be heard within the three opening soliloquies, and between early and late statements by the same characters. In this formation, Stein created consistent characters whilst promoting the miscellany of voice-montage roles.

Beneath the ambiguity of these spoken self-introductions is a level of informative documentary evidence. I will now consider the theatrical implications of factual data which identifies the real people, living in Mallorca, from whom Stein heard her characters' voices. In the opening three soliloquies of *Please Do Not Suffer. A Play*, Stein used the voice-montage, in a dramatic context, to explore the anonymity of the actor's role. She achieved the characterization of three women who have a stage reality, but who are never fully known by the audience. Strategies of detachment, which Stein employed, are most clearly seen when one appreciates how this play transforms its original sources.

A character named Mr. Marchand brings new complexities to the understanding of the *dramatis personae*. He is presented to the audience through Mrs. Marchand's

words: 'We met her and Mr. Marchand who were walking.' (*Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* G&P p.265). Mr. Marchand could be an unrelated character who, coincidentally, has the same name as Mrs. Marchand. Alternatively, he might be her husband, her son, her brother-in-law, her father-in-law or a more distant relative. A director's interpretation of this name will determine Mr. Marchand's visual appearance, and his interaction with Mrs. Marchand. If a director chooses to represent this figure, the name will be defined by the physical familiarity between an actor and an actress. A woman speaking the male name draws the audience to imagine a marital union, but this relationship is not explicit. Mrs. Marchand does not converse with the character, who might be played as her husband, because Mr. Marchand has no speaking part. He is introduced in the past tense; he was walking with an unnamed woman. This named man may never be seen on the stage. His absence would promote Mrs. Marchand's consistent dramatic role of conjuring off-stage characters.

Emphasis upon the spoken name could lead a performer to interpret aural games, providing a visual translation for the audience. Mr. Marchand is described as 'walking'. If an actor gives an English enunciation, he has the opportunity to imitate the name in a characteristic gait: 'march and'. Alternatively, an actor can interpret this role as a shopkeeper, if he gives the name a French enunciation. However, the latter is not substantiated by the text, in which his title is 'Mr.' rather than 'M.'. These aural interpretations of the name would indicate activities on the stage. They are relevant considerations if a director chooses a physical representation of Mr. Marchand.

If the play had been performed in 1915-16, at the time of its composition, few people in the audience would have recognized the name, Mr. Marchand. Yet, the name had significance for Stein, in Mallorca. Between 24 November 1913 and 1 October 1919, M. Georges Marchand was the 'gérant du vice-consulat de Palma'.³⁹ Moreover, he lived in Terreno, the same suburb of Palma where Stein rented the house at Calle Dos de Mayo, 45:

³⁹MARCHAND (Georges-Félix), [...] élève drogman à Tanger, 9 février 1899; gérant du vice-consulat de Fez, 21 novembre 1900-9 avril 1901 [...] vice-consul à Larache, 30 juillet 1909; consul honoraire, 10 mars 1911; vice-consul à Tétouan, 1er juillet 1911; chevalier du Mérite agricole, 17 juillet 1911; gérant du vice-consulat de Palma, 24 novembre 1913; vice-consul à Larache, 1er octobre 1919 [...]. (*États de Service du Personnel*, p.297). I thank Monique Constant, of the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Direction des Archives et de la Documentation, Paris, for this information.

Anocha visitamos en su domicilio del Terreno al cónsul de Francia en esta M. Marchant [...].
(19 June 1915. *La Almudaina* p.2)

[...] el Cónsul de Francia en Palma, M. Marchand [...].
(20 June 1915. *La Almudaina* p.1)

In Palma, M. Marchand played a diplomatic role. The official status of an individual provides a source for words spoken by the theatrical character, Mrs. Marchand: 'Let us go away. We cannot because my husband cannot go away.' (*Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* G&P p.264). If the director chooses to interpret the character named Mr. Marchand as Mrs. Marchand's husband, then a figure on stage would speak words which were based on fact. The real M. Marchand would not have been free to leave his consular responsibilities.

There is documentary evidence which shows that Georges and Lina Marchand had become acquainted with Stein, during her stay in Mallorca:

Madame Marchand was in yesterday - & we talked much of you both. She had just received your second letter.
(24 April [1917] Lettie Lindo Webb. YCAL Webb correspondence.)

The Marchands just the same dear dears - I love her. But they have had such a lot of trouble with Felix, the poor little chap seems only to get out of one illness into another.
(24 August [1921] Lettie Lindo Webb. YCAL Webb correspondence.)

A letter sent by Lina Marchand, soon after Stein's departure from Mallorca, indicates their friendship:

J'ai été si contente de recevoir votre si aimable lettre et je vous en remercie beaucoup. [...] Les chers moustiques sont toujours les mêmes, les gens de Palma aussi, rien n'est changé ...
(29 June 1916. Lina (Mme. Georges) Marchand. YCAL Miscellaneous Letters File M)

These factual details emphasize the detachment Stein brought to the names M. and Mme. Marchand, when she incorporated them into a voice-montage script. She created

a theatrical character, with a large speaking part, inspired by the wife of a prominent man. As she had transformed Mrs. Whitehead's dramatic manner of speech into a late 1914 text, Stein continued to focus upon the everyday, domestic voices of the lesser-known women. Both the diplomat, and the philosopher, had international status and high reputation. Yet, they are not heard in the voice-montage. In this formation, a female character speaks about a silent male figure.

Further distance from the real lives of M. and Mme. Marchand arises from Stein's presentation of their family situation. The character, Mrs. Marchand, says of her son: 'I find that my baby is very healthy.' (*Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* G&P p.263). Documentary evidence, quoted above, shows that the actual son, Felix Marchand, was a sickly child. A character is given his first name:

(Felix.) What kind of wool do you prefer black or in color, heavy or thin and for what use do you desire it.

(*Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* G&P p.265)

In the play, Felix is not represented as a speechless infant. He is a character who utters words taken from an actual letter, sent by Emily Dawson to Stein in Mallorca.⁴⁰ Theatrical voices show how Stein was transforming names, and information, from her Mallorcan experience. She replaced their factual context with the anonymity of an actor's role. Felix is given no reply to his enquiry about wool, and his character is not elaborated by further speeches. Unlike the character named after his mother, Mrs. Marchand, Felix is heard fleetingly in two sentences. He is one of a group of itinerant speakers who, towards the end of the play, make brief statements, and then disappear from the stage.

After 1932, it would be possible for members of an audience of *Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* to know about the real M. and Mme. Marchand:

There were several french families there [in Palma], the french consul, Monsieur Marchand with a charming italian wife whom we soon came to know very well. It was he who was very much amused at a story we had to tell him of Morocco.

(*The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* p.201)

⁴⁰Emily Dawson's message is re-worked in *Letters and Parcels and Wool* (See Chapter 5).

Facts about the unnamed woman, which Mrs. Marchand seeks in her opening soliloquy, can be discovered in this section of *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*. The real Mme. Marchand inspires the character's voice in the play. Her Italian origin is a source for the reference to Florence, and for the question: 'Did she come to know her in Italy.' References to Morocco, 'Did she learn English in Morocco. [...] When did she first know about Morocco [...] She went to eat an Arab dinner', arise from M. Marchand's official diplomatic positions in Fez, Larache and Tétouan, which are in Morocco, before his appointment to Palma in 1913. The factual background to this play provides the identity of one woman (Mme. Marchand) which the character (Mrs. Marchand) cannot discover.

There are many documentary indications that the character, Count Daisy Wrangel, was based upon a man whom Stein knew. She was intrigued by an actual acquaintance, and she chose to twist historical facts by imposing a female name upon a male title.

It is possible to follow a trail to a Count Wrangel, who could have inspired this speaking role in *Please Do Not Suffer. A Play*. 'Wrangel' is the name of a distinguished Swedish family, and members of this family assume the title, Count. Two options are available: first, that Stein met Count Wrangel in Palma; secondly, that she knew this Count in Paris. Considering a Mallorcan connection, Linda Simon states that Stein met, in Palma, a 'Swedish count to whom David Edstrom had once introduced them.'⁴¹ David Edstrom was Swedish, but there is no reference to a Count Wrangel in his autobiography.⁴² Count Wrangel was not the Swedish Consul in Palma. This diplomat was Julien Thibaut, whose name does not appear in the Mallorcan writings.⁴³

If Stein met a Count Wrangel in Paris, there are two figures who correspond to this title. Anton Magnus Herman Wrangel (1857-1934) was a Swedish diplomat. He had undertaken official duties in Paris, and he was a delegate there after the Great

⁴¹Simon, *The Biography of Alice B. Toklas*, p.98. Professor Simon has confirmed to me that she has no further details about the 'Swedish count'. I thank her for this information.

⁴²David Edstrom, *The Testament of Caliban* (London: Robert Hale Ltd., 1938).

⁴³'En el vapor 'Lulio' salió ayer tarde para Argel el consul de Suecia M. Julien Thibaut, acompañado de su distinguida familia.' (3 December 1915. *La Almudaina* p.2).

War.⁴⁴ A more probable candidate is his brother: Fredrik Ulrik Wrangel (1853-1929). Fredrik Wrangel was a writer, described in his obituary as 'Bohémien och aristokrat'.⁴⁵ An acquaintance with Stein is possible since he had spent several years living in Paris before 1914.

The fact that a Swedish aristocrat was known to Stein is established in a letter from William Cook, who had left Mallorca three months previously:

Haven't run over Daisy yet but I probably will, poor thing I've been feeling sorry sorry for him ever since you suggested it. Hadn't thought of it myself so it'll be your fault. How do you suppose he'll take it. I have no way of guessing how they consider those things at the Swedish court. [...] Naturally I shall expect to meet you at the station with an auto and conduct you chez you, maybe we can wing Daisy on the way.

(7 March 1916. YCAL Cook correspondence)

William Cook's letter indicates that the name 'Daisy' refers to a man who was a member of the Swedish court. If this name corresponds to Count Wrangel, it shows that he was living in Paris in 1916.

Stein and Cook share a joke about knocking this man over in a car, he is a figure of fun. It is my opinion that Stein created a female character, based upon a male acquaintance, as part of this private joke. Count Wrangel is the true name, and Daisy is the humorous nickname. My interpretation is also derived from the fact that Daisy is a name which would not be given to a Swede who had the surname, 'Wrangel'.⁴⁶ An ambiguous sexual identity, in the theatrical character, could be a comment upon the

⁴⁴'Anton Magnus Herman Wrangel made a career in the diplomatic world. He was an attaché in Copenhagen and in Paris in 1884, chargé d'affaires in Berlin 1886 and in Madrid 1891. He went to North Africa in 1895. He was the secretary of the Swedish legation in Paris in 1896, envoyé extraordinaire et ministre plenipotentiaire in Brussels and in the Hague in 1901, envoyé in St. Petersburg in 1904 and in London from 1906, and he was a delegate in Paris in 1919.' I thank Anna Hamilton, of the Genealogical Department of the Riddarhuset, in Stockholm, for this information.

⁴⁵*Acta Wrangeliana* (1929 No.2), p.17. I thank Anna Hamilton for sending me a copy of this obituary.

⁴⁶I thank Mrs. Agneta Wrangel for this information, given during our conversation in Palma, on 4 May 1992. Mrs. Wrangel did not know of any relations who lived in Palma from 1915-16. There is now a large Swedish and Norwegian community in the area around Calle Dos de Mayo, 45. However, Mrs. Wrangel informed me that this is a recent phenomenon.

Count whom Stein knew.

In a further merging of dramatic roles, and real acquaintances, Stein allows Count Daisy Wrangel to describe William Cook. It is worth noting that the unnamed man, whom Count Daisy Wrangel introduces in her first soliloquy, bears a resemblance to William Cook: he speaks English; he paints; he likes dogs; and he had previously painted the portraits of English duchesses (See Chapter 5).

Stein tantalizes the audience with snatches of reality in a theatrical performance. A fleeting reference to the Swedish nationality, which the letter from William Cook implies is a reference to an actual Count Wrangel, is absorbed into a list of other countries. Count Daisy Wrangel's speech, which offers autobiographical data, is dominated by her naming of a more easily identifiable person, Bernard Berenson:

(Count Daisy Wrangel.) It is the same name as an island. We were from Courland and some are Russians and some are Prussians and some are Swedes. None are Lithuanians. Mr. Berenson is a Lithuanian.
(*Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* G&P p.263)

Manuscript evidence shows that Stein first considered using a pseudonym, and that she altered the script to present a biographical fact (YCAL HG 138). The name 'Henderson' was erased in favour of 'Berenson'. Bernard Berenson was the son of Lithuanian Jewish immigrants to Boston.⁴⁷ Stein's incorporation of a real name, Bernard Berenson, has relevance for the prominent role given to the ambiguous Count Daisy Wrangel. Many references occur to Count Daisy Wrangel, in the character ascription, because it is a large speaking part. Yet, if the name did belong to an actual person, the character is detached from its factual basis in the androgyny of this repeated name. The audience would respond to the contrast between the female name, and the male title. Consequently, it would listen for aural nuances when she names other people.⁴⁸ A

⁴⁷*Time*, 19 October 1959, p.3. Bernard Berenson's obituary.

⁴⁸Stein created an aural game with the name Wrangel in another Mallorcan play. There is a reference in *Turkey and Bones and Eating and We Liked It. A Play*: 'None of us have running water. The count Rangle had.' (G&P p.243). The manuscript notebook has the name 'Wrangel' written beneath 'Rangle' (YCAL HG 141). Stein could have taken a real name, and altered it from Rangel to 'Rangle'. There is evidence that a man named Emilio Rangel stayed in Mallorca: 'Ayer llegaron de Barcelona, en el rápido *Rey Jaime I* [...] don Emilio Rangel.' (4 July 1915. *La Almudaina* p.1). In her research from the Riddarhuset, Anna Hamilton informed me that there has never existed

single utterance of the recognizable name 'Berenson' interjects a real person into the play, whilst the audience listens to an ambivalent character whom it cannot identify. Stein's decision to replace the ordinary name 'Henderson', with one which would pierce the performance with a sudden allusion to a famous individual, exemplifies her dramatic purpose. In a formation governing the presentation of characters, she juxtaposed references to a real world in the context of a theatrical illusion.

Stein consistently transformed aspects of her Mallorcan experience into *Please Do Not Suffer. A Play*, and this technique is further emphasized in the characterization of Genevieve. This third, central female role is given substantial biographical data. Yet, the character is detached from the actual woman upon whom this information is based. Unlike Mrs. Marchand, the name 'Genevieve' disguises the identity of the original source. A letter from William Cook indicates that Stein's Breton servant, Jeanne Poule, was the stimulus for the character, Genevieve. William Cook responded to news given by Stein, who had written to him from Mallorca:

Your Jeanne certainly has had hard luck with her child, am glad she has heard she is all right.
(22 March 1916. YCAL Cook correspondence)

William Cook's word, 'heard', implies a distance between Jeanne Poule and her child. Communication between mother and daughter must take place by letter, or by intermediary. Also, the inference of 'all right' is that there was some danger for Jeanne Poule's child. Genevieve speaks of her child, a girl like Jeanne Poule's, from whom she is separated. She identifies a threat in the Great War, which causes this distance:

She is living in an invaded district but is now in Avignon.
(*Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* G&P p.263)

An alignment between the voice of Jeanne Poule and the character, Genevieve, can be heard in another Mallorcan play:

a Swedish count by the name 'Drangel' or 'Rangel'.

Genevieve was patient. She was angry because the water was another color.
(*Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* G&P p.216)

Anyway we have taken this little house for a few months and have imported our french servant who remains critical of the blue of the Mediterranean. It isn't water color she says.

(10 August 1915. *Letters of G.S. and C.V.V.* p.46)

Stein was transforming the voice of her Breton servant into her voice-montage plays. She left hints of the social role in the character of Genevieve, who says: '[...] I like to buy provision.' (*Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* G&P p.263). Genevieve presents her theatrical identity in the self-introduction of her first soliloquy. This bears a resemblance to the factual details of Jeanne Poule's background. Nevertheless, the audience listens to a stage character who speaks of her stage role through her account of a personal 'history'. Stein was hearing a particular voice, but she changed the name from an actual woman to a character named Genevieve. Her dramatic purpose was to detach the extensive, and sensitive, biographical facts away from a single individual.⁴⁹

In the three main speaking roles (Mrs. Marchand, Count Daisy Wrangel and Genevieve), Stein transformed actual voices into a voice-montage script which mixes pseudonyms and real names. Other members of the cast were similarly incorporated from the outside world. Minor characters emphasize further the theatrical use Stein was making of acquaintances in Mallorca. Differences emerge between the introduction of lesser characters, who have only a few lines, and the larger speaking roles of the three women. Long soliloquies give time for the three women to introduce themselves to the audience, and they are not revealed by their speeches. Itinerant characters have only a short time to announce themselves, and to express their dramatic roles. Under the pressure of speedy self-introduction, they make descriptive statements.

⁴⁹In the Mallorcan plays, Jeanne Poule's name is translated from the French as 'Jenny Chicken'. Further evidence that Jeanne Poule's language is used in the 1916 scripts is found in *I Like It To Be A Play. A Play*: 'She said that she could read Spanish because all the words that were real words resemble french.' (G&P p.289). 'When Jeanne [Poule] comes in with an especially complicated story and we ask her how she understood it she says it's easy as all the real words in the language resemble the french.' (10 April 1916. *Letters of G.S. and C.V.V.* p.51).

Although the name of M. Georges Marchand is used for a character within the script, his status as an official in the French consulate is not mentioned. In a similar way, James Lindo Webb, who was the British Vice-Consul in Palma, from 9 October 1915 to 3 October 1916,⁵⁰ has an oblique part in the play. His diplomatic role is given to a speaking character, but his real name is not associated with this figure:

(The English consul.) All right. The dog is too closely muzzled. He can't breathe properly.

[...]

(The English Consul.) He has had some trying experiences but he has a pleasant home. He has a view of the sea and also of the woods.

(Please Do Not Suffer. A Play G&P p.265 and p.266)

Stein does not present the diplomatic role of an actual, named Vice-Consul. Instead, she projects the theatrical role of an unnamed Consul. Mr. Lindo Webb is characterized through his public role, but his voice is given anonymity by a formal title.

As documentary evidence shows that stage characters have qualities similar to people on Mallorca, it becomes clear that Stein makes some of them introduce themselves. William Cook, who was a painter (See Chapter 5), is scarcely disguised in his cameo role:

William and Mary.

(William.) He is fond of reading and drinking. He drinks wine. He also drinks siphon. This is water with sterilised water in it. [...] He is a painter by profession.

(Please Do Not Suffer. A Play G&P p.264)

A strategy of detachment separates the self-introduction of a real man (William Cook), the introduction of a stage character (William) and the creation of an off-stage figure (He). The character, William, describes an unnamed man: 'He is a painter by profession.' If William introduces William Cook, there is a dislocation. William speaks of a painter who is not necessarily named William. The painter, who is akin to William Cook, is presented in the third person, and he need not be seen by the audience.

⁵⁰WEBB, JAMES, appointed Vice-Consul at Palma, October 9, 1915. Resigned, October 3, 1916. In charge of the Consulate there from June 10, 1919. Re-appointed Vice-Consul, September 13, 1919. Resigned, March 31, 1924. Acting Vice-Consul there in 1931, 1932 and 1933.' *The Foreign Office List 1936*, p.452. I thank Mrs. Gillian Allen, of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, for this information.

Following this technique of displacement, Stein gave seemingly direct information about her brother and her father:

(Michael.) Michael was the son of Daniel.
(*Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* G&P p.265)

An audience could hear an imitation of Old Testament style in this progression of names; the son begotten by the father. Resonances in these names, heard in the theatre, would come from their sparsely factual context. With the pace of a performance, the audience might not catch an alignment with Stein's family history. Furthermore, the character named 'Michael' is detached from the subject of his statement. A performer says that 'Michael was the son'. It is implied that Michael refers to another man named Michael. If the character spoke about himself, it would not be in the past tense because he would always be 'the son of Daniel.' Through such subtleties of the voice-montage, Stein simultaneously projects, and disguises, names which bind her script to an actual world outside the theatrical event.

With this formation, Stein introduces a theatrical dilemma in the presentation of characters. A director's options arise from the dramatic technique of incorporating actual names into the stage roles of *Please Do Not Suffer. A Play*. Research into the factual basis of the script highlights the final product - a dramatic work which relies upon voices to create characters.

A director can choose to investigate the lives of these named individuals, and then present them on stage as imitations of real persons. Alternatively, a director may choose to bring anonymity to the names, and to conceal the documentary evidence. It is only by identifying the sources of these voices that one can appreciate the opportunities, available to a director, in interpreting the speaking parts.

In the opening moments of the performance, Mrs. Marchand's first soliloquy presents the uncertainty of theatrical identity. Donald Sutherland notes that the biographical context of the plays should be evaluated carefully. Facts provide a recognition of the divergence between theatrical representation and the people who inspired the voices of the cast:

So it goes, for a great many plays in the volume *Geography and Plays*, and most of them make very easy and entertaining reading, only provided one reads them as one would watch a vaudeville or a ballet, without expecting them to make any sense but their own, without wondering about the life of Mrs. Lindo Webb before she went on the page.⁵¹

Stein was placing the voice-montage within a dramatic structure to deliberate effect. Her theatrical purpose is best illustrated by returning to the difference between the play and the narrative forms, which I emphasized at the opening of this chapter. In a notebook for *The Making of Americans*, Stein jotted the sort of speech which might be overheard on any day, and which could be transferred into a narrative text:

Conversation

No it isn't that. Well then what is it why don't you say it. Why it isn't that I [did] don't know why I don't say it. I guess I just kind of don't want to.

(YCAL MOA NB. The word 'did' is lined through in pencil.)

Mrs. Marchand's opening questions differ, in their presentation of uncertainty, from the vagueness of this unscripted conversation. A theatrical character does not know the answers, but she knows the questions. In framing consistent inquiries, she moves the voice-montage script away from the randomness of everyday speech. Simple diction in *Please Do Not Suffer. A Play*, as heard in the three soliloquies, belies Stein's subtle examination of stage characters, and their language. This formation is motivated by a different idea from that which guides the narrative texts.

Stein dramatizes the question whether characters are able to introduce themselves, despite their transient voices, in the progressive movement of a performance. Characters can be endlessly multiplied. A new person could arrive on stage with each utterance. Replicas of the same individual might appear with each named ascription. Also, the script may be reduced to a minimum cast. A few voices could conjure an array of off-stage characters. Stein's achievement in *Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* is this mobile sense of theatrical roles. Characters who are defined speak only briefly, and those whose voices are heard throughout the play remain unfamiliar.

⁵¹Sutherland, *Gertrude Stein. A Biography of her Work*, p.112.

Mrs. Marchand informs the audience that her language is affected by her disquiet: 'We say very little when we are worrying. Let us go away.' (*Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* G&P p.264). Saying 'very little' contrasts with her large speaking role, and this gives emphasis to Mrs. Marchand's plea for escape. Her words are repeated in the title of the most pessimistic and 'worrying' of all the Mallorcan scripts: *Do Let Us Go Away. A Play*. In *Do Let Us Go Away. A Play*, Stein developed a formation which prompts an awareness of off-stage events. External events have a negative influence upon speakers on the stage. Voices create dramatic tension because they respond to occurrences which are not a direct part of the performance.

Unsettling incidents recur, through eddies of dialogue, when different characters converse about the same subjects. Varied off-stage events have a unity since they arise from Stein's reception, in Mallorca, of the dominating event of the Great War. Whilst *Mexico. A Play* invokes references to the Mexican revolution, it is the Great War which sparks Stein's dramatic imagination in *Do Let Us Go Away. A Play*. Incidents relating to the Great War are transformed into a theatrical experience through a range of speakers who express either particular fears, or general discouragement. Named characters, and symbolic figures, give voice to Stein's receipt of distant war news in her immediate Mallorcan surroundings. A pervasive atmosphere is generated which taints situations unrelated to the war. The drowning of sailors, and the gathering of an almond crop, provide opportunities for characters to vent their anxieties. By detaching the voice-montage script from historical incidents, and visual enactments, Stein was able to construct a play from a series of moments in which characters meet to discuss events.

Speakers in *Do Let Us Go Away. A Play*, more than in any of the other seven Mallorcan plays, are influenced by the Great War. War is the encompassing event which takes place off-stage, and which affects the presentation of other theatrical events. A voice-montage script enables Stein to maximize the impact of repeated references to war. She exploits the miscellaneous voices of a large cast to accumulate expressions of unease.

A sense of threat is created, throughout the performance, as different characters

speak of the war directly:

(Nicholas.) [...] It is so easy to kill mosquitoes but what is the use when we are discouraged by the war.

[...]

(Paul.) [...] I hope that a war will come. I would like to be interpreter.

(*Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* G&P p.215 and p.218)

Through these characters' voices, the audience learns the consequences that the external event of war has upon individuals on the stage. The range of emotional response in the play is exemplified by these two speeches. Nicholas feels such despondency, over the death of men in battle, that he can no longer kill the smallest insect. Paul anticipates his own validation, and his increased status, in the role of interpreter. Stein creates a spoken event from these characters' conversations. Thereby, she gives a theatrical voice to ordinary people affected by the war.

Off-stage events are discussed by characters who are detached from the war, and who are neglected by the diplomatic authorities. Two characters quibble over official documents, and the hierarchy of titles. Their voices contrast with a report of characters who suffer in a world outside the theatrical performance:

(Nicholas.) I have seen the consul he is going to get me my passport.

(William.) But he can't he is only consular agent. He has to send to Barcelona.

(Nicholas.) I was not speaking of him. I was speaking of the ambassador.

(William.) Oh that's another matter.

Mr. and Mrs. Clement came in they said that they had lost a friend.

(*Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* G&P p.219)

This dialogue contrasts with the opening soliloquies of *Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* in that Nicholas and William hear the other's voice, and they respond. Stein is using voices to create a sense of events filtering through the stage characters. In this formation, she is not exploring the presentation of the characters themselves. This dialogue is a fragment amid a miscellany of conversations. It seems to continue a previous exchange, unspoken on the stage. For the audience, the encounter between two men is completed in five lines of speech. Once the misunderstanding has been resolved, there is no further need for Nicholas and William to converse. Beyond this point, the play moves on to the voices of other characters.

An actor, playing the role of William, has the opportunity to speak the line referring to Mr. and Mrs. Clement. With this assignment of speech, William could report a past event. Consequently, the named couple would not appear on the stage. Alternatively, the indented line can be interpreted as William speaking a stage direction. When he utters this statement, Mr. and Mrs. Clement could silently enter from the wings. Two actors, playing the roles of Mr. and Mrs. Clement, might take part of the line from William. In this case, their words would refer to people other than themselves: 'they [not Mr. and Mrs. Clement] had lost a friend.' A dramatic juxtaposition of bureaucracy and death can be performed in many ways, according to different readings of the voice-montage script.

After the precision of an exchange which delineates the hierarchy of consular agent, consul and ambassador, reporting the loss of a friend should introduce an intimate tone. A sudden change of subject contrasts personal bereavement with anonymous officials. Yet, the voices which discuss exact procedures for gaining a passport are brought closer to the audience than the third person account of the loss. At this moment in the performance, the audience will not recognize the name of Mr. and Mrs. Clement. By contrast, Nicholas has had a large speaking role before this dialogue. It is not explained whether Mr. and Mrs. Clement are suffering, whether the loss is death in the war, whether the friend is temporarily absent, whether the friend is a man or a woman. Facial expressions, and physical gestures, will define the context of this line.

A director can choose to present this off-stage event, the loss of a friend, to conjure a sense of dislocation, and of sadness. This approach is indicated in the manuscript, in Bound Typescript Volume 14 and in *Geography and Plays*. Each of these texts has page space after this sentence, to give it emphasis. It is followed by one word: 'Music.' Such an instruction could be heard as a funeral tribute, as the Last Post, or as the 'gay music' intended to raise money for drowned sailors, who are the subject of the exchange which follows. Different sounds of this music will provide contrasting interpretations of the spoken words. Visual arrangement of space within the script implies a stage silence after the word: 'friend.' There would be a pause before the playing of music or, at least, the speaking of the word 'Music'. As the play builds its uneasy atmosphere, the loss of the friend combines the euphemism of death with the need for escape: 'do let us go away.' Desire for a passport, which will let Nicholas 'go away', is countered by the loss felt by Mr. and Mrs. Clement - they suffer the emotional

pain of their friend's departure.

Characters are influenced by events of the Great War in their speeches, and also in their stage roles. When Stein introduces the word 'king' into this Mallorcan script, she is exploring the theatrical presentation of kings. Her use of the title allows a director to interpret this figure in a range of visual manners: as the actual kings involved in the Great War; as the symbolic role of a king; and as the stage presence of a 'player king'. A character named The King, in *Do Let Us Go Away. A Play*, is a more ambivalent figure than his interlocutor: the Marquis of Ibyza. Many interpretations may be placed upon the enactment of this regal role. One option is a generalized representation, in which a male actor wears a crown. An alternative characterization would be an imitation of the actual King of Spain. The latter identification is based upon the Spanish context in the reference to Ibyza. Emphasizing the impact of the Great War upon this script, a character given the role of The King is heard in the context of a dispute:

(Marquis of Ibyza.) I hate the English.

(The King.) Have you any daughters.

(Marquis of Ibyza.) I have.

(The King.) Then leave them all alone.

(*Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* G&P p.223)

The King and the Marquis of Ibyza have entered the stage just to argue. These are their only spoken lines. Furthermore, these two characters are not mentioned in subsequent dialogues by other members of the cast. It is a dislocated unit of acrimonious exchange. Although it has no direct bearing on events in the rest of the play, it contributes to the cumulative atmosphere of discord.

As governors of society, their rank and their lack of reason indicate a general social decay. The Marquis of Ibyza does not explain his hatred of the English. The King, whose nationality is uncertain, does not clarify whether the Marquis should leave his daughters, or the English, alone. His logic does not follow that if the Marquis has daughters he should like the English. Unreasoned hatred is met with irrational argument. The King gives an order, 'leave them all alone', which is unresolved since they do not return to the stage. This verbal confrontation has the absurd quality of repartee in a circus. A macabre juxtaposition is created between humorous irrelevance and implicit reference to the fighting royal families of Europe.

Detachment from exact reference to the Great War arises from the generalized role of The King. A director is guided to convey only the title. A visual representation of any king, or an embodiment of kingship, could be seen in the performance of *Do Let Us Go Away. A Play*. Anonymity in the role of The King is most clearly understood by its contrast with Stein's personification of the Great War at the close of *Mexico. A Play*. The threatening name of Kaiser Wilhelm is disguised in the ordinary character, William King:

William King. Are you pleased with everything.
Certainly I am the news is good.
Marcelle Helen. How do you do I have been in a bombardment.
(*Mexico. A Play* G&P p.330)

This pseudonym is sinister because it is easily missed. William King can be enacted to create two different visual effects: first, as an unidentifiable man; secondly, as a representation of the Kaiser. A director's decision on the physical appearance of this character will influence the ways an audience hears the words. If William King is portrayed as Kaiser Wilhelm, then he is addressed by an unnamed character who speaks the first line. An anonymous person would call William King's name, and ask whether he is 'pleased'. William King/Kaiser Wilhelm would then reply with the second line: 'Certainly I am the news is good.' Such an interpretation relates the 'news' to the successful bombardment affecting Marcelle Helen. Thereby, an alignment is made between a visual embodiment of the war and a speech referring to a military attack.

Characterization of The King in *Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* gives a director different options from the portrayal of William King in *Mexico. A Play*. Whereas William King can be dressed as a member of the populace, The King cannot be played as an ordinary man. He can embody the idea of kingship, which the similarity of two men's names (William King and Kaiser Wilhelm) does not encourage. Artifice, inherent in the actor's role, is presented to the audience when a figurative persona is given a speaking part.

Off-stage events are brought into the performance by the voices of named characters, and of symbolic representations. Both roles allude to the Great War, and fleeting exchanges emphasize its pervasive influence.

In *Do Let Us Go Away. A Play*, disquiet generated by the external event of the Great War is given specific embodiment in a character ascription: The War. It is easier to read than to act. This personification has the same challenge for a director as other characters who are known by their titles: Brothers, The wife, The owner of the house, and The older woman. Yet, with The War, the theatrical implications are greater.

Into a performance where characters discuss war, this sinister figure enters as the source of their fears. The War converses with a Spaniard, whose name translates his role in the play since it means a fact, or a piece of information:

(The War.) Are there German submarines in Spanish waters.

(Signor Dato.) There are no german submarines in Spanish waters.

(*Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* G&P p.223. MS has 'german' in both lines. YCAL HG 132. BTS and G&P have 'German' in the first line, and 'german' in the second line.)

One line is spoken by The War. Danger from German submarines is given force by the resonance of this single utterance. Both the character, and its speech, are based on war. A repeating question-and-answer format emphasizes warfaring vocabulary. Nevertheless, the formulaic style creates an artificial exchange. A sinister characterization can be undermined in a performance by the intonation of comic repartee.

In this two-line dialogue, the words 'German submarines' are spoken twice. Despite re-statement, there is a sense of distance from this subject. First, these voices converse about submarines which need not be represented in the theatre. Secondly, the audience is given a negative assurance that 'there are no german submarines' present around Spain. This brief exchange will make an impact upon the audience through the visual presence of the character, The War. However threateningly this role is performed, its voice will still place the submarines at a distance from the stage situation.

In the figure of Signor Dato, Stein interjects a direct reference to the Great War into *Do Let Us Go Away. A Play*. The War's interlocutor exemplifies the transformation of the external influence of the Great War into a theatrical event. Señor Eduardo Dato was 'el Presidente del Consejo de Ministros' of Spain in 1915-16. *La Almudaina* carried daily reports about his actions, and his statements, under the section devoted to 'Manifestaciones de Dato' (for example, 1 October 1915, p.3). By using the actual name of a prominent member of the Spanish government, Stein borrows authority from the real world for the statement in her play: 'There are no german submarines in Spanish

waters.' Signor Dato's only line has the sound of an official declaration.

For an audience unaware of the historical reference to Señor Eduardo Dato, this interpretation would be lost. People might catch the similarity between 'Dato' and 'data', and accurately translate the Spanish word. Stein's multilayered joke could be heard by an audience unfamiliar with the Spanish language. Knowledge of Spanish history is not a prerequisite in following the play on the character's name, which translates his speaking role as the provider of information.

Spanish characters rarely appear in Stein's Mallorcan plays. Names in the casts generally sound English (See Appendix 4). Emphasis on the Spanish title, Señor, draws attention to the presentation of this Spanish character, and to the reference to Spain in his only spoken line. Stein incorporated the name of a Spanish politician into her script because the event about which he speaks was part of her Mallorcan experience. In 1915-16, there were 'German submarines in Spanish waters':

Just now we and our local paper are so excited because our local boats have just rescued real sailors who have been sunk by submarines.

(18 April 1916. *Letters of G.S and C.V.V.* p.53)

A previous letter from Stein, dated 10 April 1916, mentions the 'Sussex', which Edward Burns notes was a channel steamer 'torpedoed by a German submarine off the coast of Mallorca' on 24 March 1916.⁵² Documentary evidence shows that Stein was responding to events in Spain by talking with her acquaintances, and by reading the 'local paper'. *Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* is a theatrical presentation of the excitement she says has been generated in Mallorca.

Two lines of script project the actual event. Brevity in its enunciation belies the varied meanings which she concentrates into a fleeting exchange. Whilst expressing certainties, this dialogue creates many ambiguities. Intonations which actors place upon these few words will alter the audience's understanding of the events about which they speak. Signor Dato's negative pronouncement will be disbelieved by the audience if an actor's voice conveys uncertainty, or brash over-confidence. Since the absence of submarines is stated in response to a question by The War, an actor playing Signor Dato could speak in a grandiose manner. This would be heard as an attempt to deny an

⁵²Burns' note, *Letters of G.S. and C.V.V.*, p.52.

embodiment of war the satisfaction of power in the Mediterranean. If an actor portraying The War implies that it knows there are submarines, its intonation of the question would taunt a representative of the Spanish government. One short exchange has many layers of interpretation deriving from its simple utterance, and from its historical reference.

Personification of the war introduces a carnivalesque figure into the performance. A dialogue exchange about German submarines requires this character to speak. Thus, it cannot be portrayed as a silent, symbolic abstraction. The War must participate in the dramatic progress, and its presence could remind the audience of processions mentioned earlier in the play:

(Nicholas.) [...] We hope to see the fire-works. There will also be a procession. Do you believe you will see the procession. We will see the fire-works from here.
(*Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* G&P p.218)

The War can be performed as a masked figure, as if it was part of a carnival or a parade. In this formation, where events have many layers of reference, the 'fire-works' are part of the Spanish festival, and evocative of shell-fire in the Great War trenches. A procession, about which Nicholas speaks, could be represented as lines of soldiers. *Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* has affinities with processions because groups of characters have no relation to each other, except that one follows another.

Frederick Lowe states that the tableaux of pageantry are essential to understanding the ideas motivating Stein's plays:

Pageantry, it is obvious, was her notion of what a play is. Set on a stage, as in a frame, the composition of landscape and the movement of pageantry are the structure of a play.⁵³

Stein gave a speaking role to The War to ensure that its characterization is an interactive part of the varied tableaux of the play. This character can move across the stage, in imitation of the 'movement of pageantry'. Alternatively, the figure can remain upon the stage throughout the performance, as part of the theatrical 'landscape'. Either the fleeting appearance, or the constant presence, of The War will create an impact upon the

⁵³Lowe, 'Gertrude's Web', p.79.

audience. Through its costume, and its single line, this personification embodies the context of war within which other anxious voices are heard.

A theatrical event occurs in the visual opposition of two characters, The War and Signor Dato, and in the verbal confrontation of their question and denial. By conversing about German submarines, these figures transform a real incident in Mallorca into an event conveyed only by voices. During 1915-16, there was concern that German submarines in the Mediterranean were supplied with oil from boats such as the 'Fangturm', which was confined to Palma harbour. A two-page report in the Mallorcan newspaper is representative of many expressions of suspicion about German boats and German submarines:

Los submarinos alemanes en el Mediterráneo.
[...] ¿Cómo se abasiecen de gasolina eros submarinos en sus actuales operaciones entre el Adriático y al Estrecho de Gibraltar?
(27 May 1915. *La Almudaina* p.1 and p.2)

Stein reminds the audience of the dialogue between The War and Signor Dato by re-using their vocabulary, 'german submarines', later in the play:

(Paul.) Why does the german boat give out oil.
(William.) Because it wishes to feed german submarines.
(*Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* G&P p.225)

Speakers who discuss the off-stage event of submarines in the Mediterranean bring unity to the dramatic progress because this subject is heard at different moments in the performance. William could be dressed in a fashion suggestive of Kaiser Wilhelm, and thereby remind the audience of The King in *Do Let Us Go Away. A Play*. The question and answer format unites these two dialogues, as much as the shared topic of 'german submarines'. A dark humour adds a disconcerting joke to the menace of death at sea. Political tension, over German boats supplying oil to German submarines, is transformed into an exchange which repeats its vocabulary for threatening emphasis. Yet, this conversation has an absurd logic which is akin to slapstick comedy. From an actual event, Stein creates two sets of voices which can convey a funny, or a sinister, stage

situation - depending on the actors' enunciation of two-line dialogues.

To understand how Stein blends Mallorcan events in this formation, it is necessary to return to the 'Fangturm', which has been discussed with reference to *Mexico. A Play*. This was the 'german boat', in Palma harbour, which contained a cargo of oil. In *Do Let Us Go Away. A Play*, characters speak of this German steamer both indirectly, and directly:

(Henry.) I do know the chorus. Individual cases do not bring the war home to me. I suddenly remember and I rest in it. I am ashamed. I have patience and earnest feeling. I am liking the new boat. It is still painted white and is enormously disappointing. Some one has been willing. Oh I am disgusted.

[...]

Please have peace. Say the date. Please have the Fangturm. Please have peace.
(*Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* G&P pp.215-16 and p.217)

Reference to the painting of the 'Fangturm' shows how a theatrical character responds to a specific boat, belonging to the real world. In his speech, Henry acknowledges that the influence of external events might be missed: 'Individual cases do not bring the war home to me.' Shame, earnestness, disappointment and disgust are expressed by this named character. Henry brings to a stage performance the direct impact of the war upon an 'individual case'. However, the 'Fangturm' is presented to the audience only through Henry's reactions to an off-stage activity, which is the painting of the boat. It is the projection of Henry's soliloquy which is the event on stage.

To appreciate Stein's dramatic technique in using the painting of the 'Fangturm', as an event through which characters are given speech, it is useful to compare the script with her treatment of the same subject in the narrative *Advertisements*.⁵⁴ An authorial voice unifies the following prose paragraph, but the personal pronouns are not located to a named individual:

⁵⁴In her 1934-35 American lecture, Stein aligned *Advertisements* (1916) with the composition of her Mallorcan plays: 'Then I went to Spain and there I wrote a lot of plays. I concluded that anything that was not a story could be a play and I even made plays in letters and advertisements.' (*Lectures in America* p.119). *Advertisements* directly precedes *Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* in BTS Volume 14. These two texts present the same subjects in many instances.

THE BOAT

I was so disappointed in the boat. It was larger than the other. It did not have more accommodation. It made the noise which was disagreeable. I feel that I would have been willing to say that I liked it very well if I had not seen it when it was painted.

(*Advertisements* G&P p.345)

A section entitled 'THE BOAT' has a similar intensity of emotion as Henry's speech. Short sentences, most beginning with the personal pronoun, join the style in the narrative and the play forms. However, *Advertisements* is structured by headed paragraphs to convey an unlocated sense of disquiet. *Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* uses the script to assign one character the direct expression of emotional response. This paragraph gives anonymity to the authorial voice, or voices, and the sub-heading divides it from the subjects of other segments of text. Stein repeated this event to assess the forms into which a similar voice might be presented, and to distinguish reading aloud from performing.

Death at sea, implied in dialogues about German submarines and about the 'Fangturm', is given further expression in the event of drowned sailors. A single, off-stage occurrence, the death of sailors, is used as a thematic device. Continuity of subject matter is brought to a miscellany of speeches. A sense of dramatic progression is created whenever various characters converse about the same event. An audience does not see the event of drowning. Instead, it hears intermittent discussions about the men already drowned. Different voices carefully build up the audience's expectation until the sailors, who have already been drowned, actually appear on the stage.

William is the first speaker to mention drowned sailors. He talks of the result of the event, not of the event itself:

(William.) [...]

Music.

When they ask for money for the sailors who were drowned they make gay music.

(*Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* G&P p.219)

Three events are presented in this single line: the asking for money; the drowning of

sailors; and the making of music. All three events could take place off-stage. One speaker responds to other voices it hears, 'they ask', and musicians act as intermediaries between the drowning and the current performance. Also, the grammatical tense, 'they make gay music', does not indicate that music is actually heard because it is dependent upon an unspecified time: 'When [...].' The only event on stage is the vocal reaction to the spoken demand for money. 'Music' is an indented heading which can be assigned to the character named William. Speaking the heading, 'Music', would then introduce the subject matter of his speech. A director is free to choose whether this heading is spoken by William as an instruction for music to be played, and whether his order is acted upon. Another option is that it represents a silent stage direction for a musical interlude.

These intertwined themes of drowned men, music and money are re-introduced later in the performance. Two different characters discuss funds raised by the music:

(The colonel.) [...] We met the people who are going around together and asking for money.

(Genevieve.) Widows should have it.

(Do Let Us Go Away. A Play G&P p.220)

Again, the events of drowning, playing music and asking for money take place off-stage. A representative figure, entitled The colonel, refers to the past event of meeting people who were 'asking for money'. Characters requesting money do not need to be seen, or heard, on the stage. The colonel gives a present response to their past words. Gradually, the audience is prepared for the appearance of the drowned sailors. These men are the cause of the music, of the requests for money, and of the debate about how the money should be spent.

In personifying The Cuban Boat, Stein juxtaposes the conventional theatrical device of building tension with the dramatic challenge of giving the boat a voice:

(The Cuban Boat.) It has sunk.

(The sailors.) They all came from Saint Katherine square.

The sailors were all drowned. A great deal of money was collected for their families.

(Do Let Us Go Away. A Play G&P p.223)

As The Cuban Boat refers to its own sinking, so The sailors refer to their own

drowning. A director has the opportunity to project this group of sailors as macabre representations of drowned men who speak. This interpretation would create a surreal form of theatre, which would have visual aspects similar to pageantry. Alternatively, they could be performed as sailors commenting on the death of their fellows. This would provide an ordinary representation, with no impact to startle an audience.

In addition to these contrasting visual effects, a director is free to interpret the sound of these lines. The sailors may talk in unison. Each sailor could speak one sentence, or one word. Presenting spectres of drowned men is an easier task than projecting a boat which speaks. Stein's personification of *The War*, and *The Cuban Boat*, is a challenge for a director to capture the nuances of these names. Such nuances might be lost if a literal stage presentation gave a single, visual interpretation. Although these roles were based upon one particular event in Mallorca, during the Great War, their characterization transforms an actual incident into a performance.

Voices which discuss musical performances to raise money for families of drowned sailors, and a character named *The Cuban Boat*, were inspired by events in Mallorca during September 1915. On 21 August 1915, whilst Stein was in Palma, a boat named 'Ponceño' was sunk in a hurricane off Cuba. This distant event had a great impact in Mallorca because sailors from the island were drowned. The sailing vessel was built in Palma, where it was also registered, and it was bound for Barcelona when the incident occurred.⁵⁵ Therefore, it is not surprising that the local newspaper carried many reports:

El naufragio del 'Ponceño'.

He aqui la carta del Alcade de Las Martinas (Isla de Cuba) que ayer se leyó en el Ayuntamiento dando cuenta del naufragio del 'Ponceño'.

(14 September 1915. *La Almudaina* p.2)

⁵⁵The 'Ponceno' is listed in *Lloyd's Register of Shipping* for 1913-14 as a sailing vessel. It was made of wood and built in 1907 by S. Llompert in Palma where it was also registered. The owners were Segura, Bonin & Co. It was still in the *Register* for 1915-16 but disappeared after that. A report of her loss appears in the *Lloyd's Weekly Index* for September 9th 1915. The actual loss was reported in Havana on August 21st. The entry reads "The Spanish brig Ponceno, Santa Cruz del Sur for Barcelona with timber was wrecked during the recent hurricane. Crew supposed drowned." The Captain on the voyage was named Segui.' I thank Ms. Lynne MacNab of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, for this information.

Otro naufragio.

Ayer circuló con insistencia por ciudad el rumor de que el ciclón que fué causa del hundimiento del *Ponceño*, había producido también el hundimiento de otro buque en Cuba, tripulado en parte por Mallorquines.

Se decía que en las inmediaciones de la Habana había ocurrido el naufragio y que de él habían resutado algunas victimas, que eran vecinos de Andraitx.
(17 September 1915. *La Almudaina* p.2. Andraitx is a town in Mallorca.)

In addition to reading these daily reports in the Mallorcan newspaper, Stein might have known about the local events which were held to raise money. A fund was established, by the Palma Red Cross, for the families of the drowned men:

Para las victimas del 'Ponceño'.

De la suscripción abierta en la Cruz Roja de Santa Catalina hasta anoche se habian recibido los siguientes donativos.
(15 September 1915. *La Almudaina* p.2)

Santa Catalina is a suburb of Palma. It is situated adjacent to Terreno, where Stein was living during September 1915. This name probably inspired the translation of 'Saint Katherine' in *Do Let Us Go Away. A Play*. 'Music' called for in the play, and the voices which discuss the money raised by a concert, have a source in an actual soirée:

En el Centro Obrero de la calle del Sindicato, 124, se celebró anteayer domingo, una velada á beneficio de las familias de las víctimas del naufragio del 'Ponceño'.
(21 September 1915. *La Almudaina* p.2)

My discovery of this factual basis to the theatrical event gives insights into Stein's method of incorporating aspects of an external world into her script. It also has implications for the impact of this documented event during a performance. Unless the audience had researched the incident, or had knowledge of Mallorca in 1915-16, it would not be aware of the sinking of the 'Ponceño'. In the early stages of the performance, the drowned sailors would be placed in a context of the Great War because reference has been made to German submarines, and to German boats. With the introduction of the speaking role of The Cuban Boat, the audience would not necessarily locate its sinking in Cuban waters. People would still place this boat in the Mediterranean, which has been mentioned by previous speakers. It would be heard as

a Cuban boat sinking off Spain, not a Spanish boat sinking off Cuba.

In the context of a theatrical performance, *The Cuban Boat* is aligned with the other events which centre upon the Great War. With this formation, Stein brought an artistic detachment to the real events which inspired the voice-montage script. She chose not to use the stage space to give a visual presentation of the war action, nor of the sinking of a ship. Instead, she listened to the people who were affected by these events, and she re-created their voices. *Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* transforms actual events in Mallorca to create a type of theatre akin to a spectacle, composed of vivid tableaux. Brief dialogues accumulate, with no pause to relieve the sense of unease. Mounting tension, and gathering themes, build until their manifestation as *The War and The Cuban Boat*. With these characterizations, Stein brought a focus to the pervasive disquiet. Two figures intensify the sense of claustrophobia expressed by the voice in the title: 'Do let us go away.'

In addition to the influence of death in the Great War, and in the drowning of sailors, Stein brought a threatening situation onto the stage in the collection of an almond crop. Through the uneasy voices of people affected by this event, domestic concerns are magnified. One small incident becomes representative of the encompassing event of war.

Characters identified as the proprietor, and as the owner, are the villains of the piece. Since their names indicate a similar role, it is uncertain whether one actor is given two names, or whether two performers separate the parts. A director might decide that they will be presented as two characters, who duplicate the action of taking almonds. This will give the audience an impression that the threat is multiplied. These characters are named only by their position of authority, and by their ownership of the almonds. In this respect, they have a detached menace similar to the characterization of *The War and The King*. These male figures concentrate the fears of the cast:

(Nicholas and Jane.) [...] The proprietor came and took the almonds.

[...]

(The wife.) [...] When did the owner of the house decide to write to us. He did not write. He came.

(*Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* G&P p.218 and p.221)

Giving a voice to characters directly threatened by the proprietor, and by the owner, creates tension in a performance. The audience hears disquiet in the speeches of these two women, even though they talk of a past event. An immediate impact is generated by the spoken concerns, and the physical gestures, of figures on stage. By contrast, the same incident is given detachment when it is placed in the narrative form:

We had that impression. Do speak. Have they been able to arrange matters with the proprietor.
(*Advertisements G&P* p.343)

Voices in these prose statements are not assigned to one speaker. Therefore, the threat is dissolved into an 'impression' given to unnamed individuals. A plea for information, 'Do speak', is not heeded, and the question whether matters are 'arranged' is left unanswered. In the narrative form, this dispute with the proprietor does not involve the authorial speaker because the third person pronoun places the event at a distance: 'Have they been able [...].'
Do Let Us Go Away. A Play exploits the same event to give the sharpness of a theatrical plot to the miscellany of the voice-montage.

Progression of the incident about collecting almonds is reconstructed from different voices. The proprietor's, and the owner's, appearance on stage is anticipated, thwarted and finally realized. Keys and almonds create points of recognition for the audience. These objects highlight Stein's technique of using intermittent conversations to compose echoes of a dramatic plot. A character named Helen mentions the almonds early in the play:

(Helen.) [...]
They grow almonds in their grounds and I like to eat them green or later. I like to eat them.
(*Do Let Us Go Away. A Play G&P* p.216)

Helen refers obliquely to the proprietor, and to the owner, and she mentions more than one figure: 'They grow almonds in their grounds [...].'
Her dramatic purpose is to stress the importance of the almonds by her pleasure in eating them. Almonds become a valuable item. A struggle for their possession will provoke a language of discord, and will establish relationships between members of the cast.

Midway through the performance, an off-stage event is reported with reference to

the almonds. A future dispute about the key is added to the plot:

(Nicholas and Jane.) [...] The proprietor came and took the almonds. We said do not take the grapes, we will not give you the key.
(*Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* G&P p.218)

A sense of threat, expressed by Nicholas and Jane, is increased by the speech of a character named only by his title. Figures of authority, represented by the proprietor and the owner, are reinforced by an embodiment of official status: The colonel. This character gives a pronouncement of facts which seems to support the claim to the almonds made by the proprietor, and by the owner. Entry of a military figure into a domestic dispute adds to an awareness that events spoken about in *Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* are influenced by the larger event of the Great War. The threat is given a vocal immediacy as the event, which was described in the past tense in the previous quotation, is placed in the present tense:

(The colonel.) He owns this house and he wants the almond crop.
(*Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* G&P p.220)

It is possible that the almond crop has been taken, since Nicholas and Jane say that he 'took the almonds'. In this case, the man who 'owns this house' would return for more almonds. Otherwise, a single intention would be re-stated by three different characters: Nicholas, Jane and The colonel. When a character described as The owner of the house appears on stage, his language is conciliatory. His words contradict the menacing impression given previously by other characters. He is not what the audience has been led to expect, which adds to the disquiet:

(The owner of the house.) I am assisting and I am further obliged to come tomorrow. Will you kindly give me the key.
(*Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* G&P p.220)

An actor playing The owner of the house can interpret the character as a pleasant landlord, or as a smooth-talking villain. His question 'Will you kindly give me the key' could be enunciated as a convivial request, or as a sinister demand. Time may pass because The owner of the house anticipates his future return, and his next lines occur

later in the script. If this character's first and second appearances take place without the indication of an interval, then the play continues under the threat of his return. His projection of another day, 'tomorrow', would not be realized in the time-span of the performance.

When a character named The owner talks on stage, a director can decide whether he is the same man as The owner of the house. Three figures could appear, including the proprietor, each of whom possess proprietorial rights to the house, and to the almond crop. An interpretation of these roles will influence the presentation of the event of collecting almonds. If two character ascriptions sharing the title 'the owner' are portrayed as one man, his second speech would give no indication whether stage time has passed. He could be acting upon his threat to return the following day. Alternatively, he might continue his earlier conversation, after a short interruption:

(The owner.) Did the storm do much injury.

A little rain came in.

(The owner.) I meant to the trees.

I do not think so.

(Do Let Us Go Away. A Play G&P p.221)

This exchange is humorous because the unnamed respondents assume that The owner is concerned for their welfare. It may be heard as a dark comedy if an actor playing the role of The owner speaks callously. Thereby, he would indicate that he gives his trees more importance than human safety during the storm.

A theatrical plot arises from a dispute over possession of an almond crop. It is an event exemplifying the conflict which Lawrence Kornfeld believes is central to Stein's plays:

Gertrude Stein's plays can be very boring if the director tries to make them all about the words of ideas, or the words of love, or the words of painting or the words about words. This is wrong. The director must fight the plays and then he will find out what the words mean, not what the words are about. Only Gertrude Stein knew what the words were about; we can manage to hear what they mean if we put up a good fight.⁵⁶

⁵⁶Lawrence Kornfeld, 'How the Curtain Did Come: The Theatre of Gertrude Stein.' *Gertrude Stein Advanced*, p.136.

Leon Katz, a Professor of Drama, believes that Stein came to understand characters through their interaction in conflict:

She 'saw' character in the thrust and withdrawal, the attack and resistance, the fight and surrender, the campaigning skill or ineptitude of human beings; from the days of her earliest writing, and her first analyses of May and Mabel Haynes, characters became clarified for her, became 'themselves' in fact, when they were in motion, struggling, winning and losing in their endless war for power over one another.⁵⁷

In *Do Let Us Go Away. A Play*, the audience 'fights' to join the fragments of plot from intermittent exchanges. It reconstructs the off-stage conflict of collecting keys, almonds and grapes. A director 'fights' to organize actions which will interpret the event, but will not limit the voices by over-definition of visual enactment. 'War for power' brings unity of plot through the dispute over possession of the almonds. Paradoxically, it is also a fight for the audience to accept the play's indeterminacy. Whilst Stein acknowledges the desire for causal progression by offering a presentation of one event, she shares it among many voices. There may be many different owners, many different gatherings of the almond crop and many different characters affected by these actions.

Stein uses the voice-montage script to project, and to multiply, an event which seems to have happened at her rented home in Palma. Documentary evidence indicates a dispute with the owner of Calle Dos de Mayo, 45 over trees in the small garden:

I see that the prop. Rossello is rapidly going to the dogs, diamond rings and moth ball perfume can mean nothing short of the beginning of the end, and as for taking the rent and not trimming the trees and taking home the wood, well they all go crazy down there sooner or later.

(22 March 1916. YCAL Cook correspondence)

Since Stein's proprietor took 'home the wood' in the spring of 1916, it is possible that he took the almond crop in the autumn of 1915. An almond tree could have grown

⁵⁷Leon Katz, 'The First Making of *The Making of Americans*: A Study Based on Gertrude Stein's Notebooks and Early Versions of her Novel (1902-1908)', unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia Univ., 1963, p.284. See also Katz, 'Weininger and *The Making of Americans*', *Twentieth Century Literature*, Vol 24 No.1, (Spring 1978), p.21.

within the walls, or the nuts could have fallen from the adjacent garden.⁵⁸ A source for the plot in an actual event would provide a reason why Stein chose to transform it into a dramatic situation, with many voices expressing concern. An event which involved her directly would influence the decision to focus on ordinary characters, not on its symbolic potential. The proprietor's, and the owner's, demands for the almond crop are unexplained. They represent anonymous authorities invading a garden. Stein hints of wider implications through characters who speak of war, but she does not emphasize the symbolism in this male aggression. Amid the many disputes in the play, this incident is a parochial conflict which contributes to the pervasive influence of the Great War. Stein's 'meaning', in Lawrence Kornfeld's terms, arises from the way all of the characters seem involved in different 'fights'.

In contrast to the specific threat posed by the proprietor, and by the owner, to collect the almond crop, *Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* registers different characters' responses to an insidious menace. A voice-montage script is particularly effective in intensifying an atmosphere of disquiet because its source is not confined to a single event. Stein generates an air of dramatic tension as speakers, throughout the play, express their direct reactions to an unexplained situation:

(Nicholas and Jane.) [...]

I am so bothered.

I am angry.

I am angry at these sounds.

[...]

(The wife.) [...]

It is a disappointment to me that we have not been able to be rid of that which is bothering us. It is a great disappointment to me.

(*Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* G&P p.218 and p.221)

A personal sense of annoyance is expressed by named speakers. Also, unassigned

⁵⁸No almond tree is currently growing on the site of Calle Dos de Mayo, 45. However, one stands in the adjacent garden. I thank Mrs. Elaine Kerrigan, the present occupant of the house, for informing me that '[...] there was an almond tumbling over our staircase & shedding, each in its seasonal turn, flowers, leaves, & finally almonds, so there could have also been one in the garden [...] I'd guess there was an almond at one time here.'

voices generate a pervasive sense of ill feeling. An emphatic speaker amplifies a single phrase: 'It is a disappointment to me [...] It is a great disappointment to me.' The wife juxtaposes a strong emotion with a silence about its source: 'that which is bothering us.' In this script, the Great War is not identified as a cause of tension. Yet, references to war indicate that this external event is displaced into characters' irritations. Argumentative voices reflect Stein's strong feeling about the war, which manifests itself through strategies of detachment. In a letter to Henry McBride, she expressed this deflection of anxiety: 'There is no use talking about the war it's not fit to talk about.' (YCAL November 1915. McBride correspondence). Her dramatic technique was to place anger within a performance, without locating its stimulus in the Great War.

By expressing disquiet through named characters, the theatrical progression builds a claustrophobic atmosphere. Different speakers concur in their negative statements:

(Henry.) [...] Oh I am disgusted. [...]
(Maggie.) [...] I am so disappointed. [...]
(Iphegenia.) [...] I am in a way disappointed.
(*Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* G&P p.216, p.219 and p.224)

Expressions of despair from Henry, Maggie and Iphegenia are incorporated into longer speeches which are full of miscellaneous comments. A sudden outburst of feeling by a named character pins down the randomness of a voice-montage script. As the audience hears each interjection of vehement emotion, it follows the speakers' alternation from fanciful musing to deep suffering.

Insecurity among the stage characters creates a cumulative impact because it is voiced by different speakers throughout the play. They talk of many things but, as the title indicates, they are united by the need to 'go away'. Many characters fear being left behind when others depart. The play opens with cries of farewell:

(Theodore.) [...] We visit one another and say good-bye.
[...]
(Theodore.) [...] 100 dollars good-bye good-bye good-bye.
(*Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* G&P p.215)

Theatrical tension is created, not by actors physically entering and leaving the stage, but by the effect upon the speakers who remain:

(Paul.) [...] We do not know whether it has anything to do with the weather whether they will go away. [...] We can see signs that they are going away.

[...]

(William.) [...] If they go away they leave suddenly. This is not the way they came. They came unexpectedly. They will not go away suddenly.

(*Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* G&P p.224 and p.225)

The confinement of stage space gives a definition to the actors' entrances and exits. Yet, Stein's concern is with talk of events, rather than with movement. Her few stage directions do not define an off-stage, and an on-stage, boundary: 'They withdraw. Several people come in.' (*Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* G&P p.215). If all the actors are seen throughout the performance, this would emphasize that no figure actually comes in 'unexpectedly', nor goes away 'suddenly'.

Stein's choice of the name William, for a character who speaks of other people who 'leave suddenly', is relevant to the 'signs' of departure. It suggests that she was influenced by the departure, from Mallorca, of William Cook in December 1915. This source of disquiet would date the play to the autumn, or the early winter, of 1915. A date of composition ranging between September and December is substantiated by the response in Mallorca, throughout September 1915, to the sinking of the 'Ponceño'. Stein did not decide to stay the winter in Mallorca until November 1915. At this point, she wrote to Henry McBride:

After all we are staying the winter here. [...] For a while I didn't work but now I am working a lot. I have done a number of short things and a play and now I am doing some longer things and another play. These last things the best.

(YCAL McBride correspondence)

Stein's decision not to 'go away' resulted in 'a play and [...] another play.' She used the stage space as a location where voices could displace her own hesitation about leaving the security of the island, and her reaction to the departure of her friends. Biographical detail is presented indirectly. A conventional theatre script distributes the playwright's personal feeling into the speeches of a miscellaneous cast.

The influence of the Great War upon the presentation of events in *Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* exposes Stein's complex response to her own German heritage. She used

an off-stage event, the collection of an almond crop, to sharpen a pervasive sense of threat. In addition, she used dialogue exchanges to create spoken events when characters talk of their unease. Stein consistently detached herself from her German background, always expressing herself as a patriotic American. One word, 'dishonored', in *Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* provides an insight into the ways she converted her deep feeling about the war with Germany into literary forms:

(Theodore.) [...] We are dishonored.

(Arthur.) Dishonored. Never believe in September. Never believe in September in the sense of visions.

(*Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* G&P p.215)

I was winsome. Dishonored. And a kingdom. I was not a republic. I was an island and land.

[...] Not to be dishonored. Not to be tall and dishonored they usually aren't but some are, some are tall and dishonored.

(*Advertisements* G&P p.341 and p.344)

These extracts, from the play and the narrative forms, are linked by the word: 'dishonored'. In the manuscript notebook of *Advertisements*, the word 'german' is written below the word 'kingdom' (YCAL HG 131). Stein's excision of 'german' seems to have been an immediate alteration since there is regular space for the longer word: 'kingdom'. Also, the next sentence, 'I was not a republic', is evenly spaced on the line. As kingdom connects with republic, and as island connects with land, so german connects with dishonour. The grammar of these sentences joins dishonour, and the german nationality, with the personal pronoun: I was winsome, dishonored, and a german. It is a significant trace of word association, which Stein erased soon after it slipped into her text.

Excision of the word 'german' is part of a consistent pattern of removing direct references to Germany. In *Three Lives*, Stein had modified her hereditary language. Lawren Farber suggests that Germanic names are commentaries upon various characters:

Dr. Shonjen is a transliteration of two German words, 'schön' and 'schone'. 'Schön' means 'nice, fine, lovely' and 'schone' means to 'take care of (look after) something; to treat something with consideration or care.' This defines both Dr. Shonjen's character and Anna's relationship to him.⁵⁹

Stein erased the overt Germanic influence in the names by her 'transliteration'.

In *The Making of Americans*, Stein removed the word 'german' throughout the opening section of her first draft. She replaced the specific nationality with more generalized adjectives: certain, sweet, ordinary, older. One example serves for many:

Like all good german women she had all her life born many children and she had made herself a faithful working woman to her husband who was a good enough ordinary german.

(*The Making of Americans* YCAL Box 2 (1st draft) v.1-12 1906-1908)

Like all good older women she had all her life born many children and she had made herself a faithful working woman to her husband who was a good enough ordinary older man.

(*The Making of Americans* p.6)

When Stein reviewed the typescript of *The Making of Americans*, she wrote different names above the German names, which she had originally given many characters. For instance, in the typescript: on p.1490 Herman Dehning becomes Henry; on p.1431 von Weller becomes Arragon; on p.1712 Dr. Florence Hamburg becomes Harden, Mr. James Auerbach becomes Curran, Ernest Brachman becomes Brakes, Linder Hahn becomes Henna (YCAL MOA Typescript). Stein's erasures are consistent and thorough.

In 1915-16, Stein's awareness of the current 'dishonour' of Germany is seen in the insertion, and the subsequent excision, of the word 'german' in *Advertisements*. She was enthusiastic for the Allied forces. Letters from William Cook show that they shared an anger toward President Woodrow Wilson for his policy of American non-intervention. Mallorca was officially neutral in the conflict, as Spain did not enter the war, but pro-German opinions were an influence in the island community:

⁵⁹Lawren Farber, 'Fading: A Way. Gertrude Stein's Sources for *Three Lives*', *Journal of Modern Literature*, 5 No.3 (September 1976), p.465.

The war doesn't seem to exist down here. The sympathies are pretty strongly German [...] the church of course is anti France - and they run every thing here. (6 January [no year, but it must be 1915. Cook is waiting for Stein's and Toklas' arrival, mentioned elsewhere in the letter.] YCAL Cook correspondence)

Some letters Stein received, in Mallorca, from Mildred Aldrich were fierce in their condemnation of Germany's actions in the Great War. They are important documents because they show that the war did 'exist down here' - through the written word:

If war cannot be prevented - then I want (since life is of so little value) German babies to suffer & die, and if I were a German baby I'd choose it, so would they if they could understand. [...] I am afraid that if I were a Pole like you⁶⁰ I'd go back to Poland in 1917 and grow up with the country & have some Polish babies of course. It is a sweet thing to be proud of one's country as Jeanne has every right to be.

(13 February 1916. YCAL Aldrich correspondence)

Stein's keen awareness of events in the Great War is given artistic detachment in *Do Let Us Go Away. A Play*. Many characters express their disquiet about war, both directly and indirectly. None discloses the source of anxiety as the Great War. Stein adapted the voice-montage to a theatre script to transcend the limitations of historical incidents.

The 'Ponceño', which is characterized as The Cuban Boat, is indicative of this formation. She seized one event in Mallorca, and placed it in a theatrical context where it sheds all reference to historical fact. Distant deaths of sailors off Cuba, like soldiers in France and Belgium, were brought into Stein's Mallorcan experience by the written word, and by local responses. By alluding to far and near incidents, Stein merged the boundaries between real life and theatrical performance. The Cuban boat and The War are given speaking parts to embody this juxtaposition of an external factual world, and an internal dramatic world. These figures are simultaneously present in front of an

⁶⁰The letter addresses Alice Toklas, and it is not quite correct. Alice Toklas was American, born in San Francisco on 30 April 1877. Her father, Ferdinand Toklas, was born in Poland. He came to America in 1865. (Simon, *The Biography of Alice B. Toklas* pp.3-7). Toklas visited Silesia with her parents in 1885 where 'my father's numerous family welcomed us' (Toklas, *What Is Remembered*, p.6). She later distanced herself from her Polish heritage: 'My mother had found in Kempen a young Polish governess for me who was a pleasant companion, but as she spoke English perfectly I didn't learn any more Polish than my father had already taught me, 'The Lord's Prayer' and 'God Save Poland,' which I forgot over a half-century ago.' (Toklas, *What Is Remembered*, p.7). Toklas did not record her reaction to the fate of Poland in the Great War.

audience, which listens to their voices, and absent by the artifice of their representative roles.

It is the voice-montage which allows an audience to hear a variety of human emotions, arising from the event of the Great War. A collection of speakers reproduces the miscellany of experience. Stein's strategies of detachment enable a performance to range among the timeless voices of any group of people who are affected by the threat of external events.

5

During 1915-16, Stein composed eight texts with the subtitle 'A Play'. These Mallorcan plays are a body of innovative scripts. She assessed the potential of the ordinary spoken voice to create a theatrical performance, and this was a new direction in her work. Variations on the conventional structure of dramatic scripts emerged as a direct consequence of the increasing sophistication of the voice-montage. She had examined the voice-montage in different formations during the Parisian winter 1914-15. This work allowed her to spend the year in Mallorca continuing an investigation which was already begun. When Stein arrived in Mallorca, she had completed one voice-montage play, *Not Slightly. A Play*. From this single text arose a collection of plays which are a testimony to her sustained exploration of the play form. Her decision to include each of the eight Mallorcan plays in *Geography and Plays* shows her belief that their artistic achievement called for the attention of readers, and of directors.

Plays which use voices to conjure landscapes, characters and events require an imaginative response - in the audience, in the director and in the performers. These voice-montage plays thrive on the acoustic effects of miscellaneous human voices. Stein's achievement is to capture ordinary conversations, and to transform them into exciting theatre. Her plays are enlivened by careful reading, and by daring performance:

What Miss Stein has demanded for her theatre are consummate artists who are able to embody through their own creativity, what in the terminology of the Stanislavsky system would be called her 'ruling-ruling idea.' This idea is not the message the play may appear to be delivering, its characters or events to be interpreted, but rather the meanings it embodies.⁶¹

Stein's 'ruling-ruling idea', guiding the Mallorcan scripts, was to place the voice-montage under the pressures of actual performance. She was giving her idea the ultimate test - to give ordinary speech to ordinary speakers. Recognition of the homely talk is countered by the surprise of the montage technique. This is the essence of Stein's creativity. It is the point at which she made unfamiliar theatrical events from familiar voices. Her artistry lies in accurately catching the composition of 'chance casts'⁶² as they mingle, speak, and rearrange themselves on stage. In her American lecture, Stein referred to this approach as 'a series of completions' (*Lectures in America* p.107). Voices in the Mallorcan plays are arranged into 'completions' in the eddying movement from one voice to the next. Groups of speakers create a dialogue unit, and then disperse or re-compose in a new arrangement. Single characters are 'completed' in one line, and then disappear from the stage. Ambiguous and invigorating 'meanings' will arise from a performance which preserves the freedom of voices to echo around the stage, and to encounter other voices unexpectedly.

Each of the formations in the Mallorcan plays demonstrates the intricacy with which Stein was examining theatrical convention. Many landscapes are talked about, characters introduce themselves ambiguously, and off-stage events are presented through the discussions of the cast. She sought to convey a sense of movement in the voice-montage scripts. *Mexico. A Play* creates a shifting background to the voices. A performance relies upon the ear to catch resonances of many places, not the eye to depend upon a painted scene. Characters in *Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* have a similar mobility in their verbal self-definition, although they may remain in one physical position throughout the production. Events in *Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* are speaking events. Recurrence of the same subject of conversation provides an echo of dramatic progress. By using the names of actual people, Stein explored the artifice of arranging

⁶¹Wilford Leach, 'Gertrude Stein and the Modern Theatre', unpublished doctoral dissertation, Univ. of Illinois, 1956, p.179.

⁶²Bush, *Halfway to Revolution*, p.320.

everyday speech into the formal context of character ascription. In the Mallorcan plays, Stein presented a fine delineation between daily life, and daily life as material for script. She incorporated specific aspects of her Mallorcan environment: boats in Palma harbour and concerts for drowned Mallorcan sailors. Thereby, she demonstrated that events in life could be transformed, through the voice, into living theatre.

In these ways, the play form places different pressures upon the voice-montage from the narrative form because the audience combines the words it hears, with the actors it sees. Liveliness in the Mallorcan plays arises from Stein's challenge for an audience to listen afresh to the spoken word in the theatre, and it is heard most clearly by its difference from the narrative voice-montage.

CHAPTER 4

MALLORCAN NARRATIVES.

Alongside Stein's investigation of the play form, a range of imaginative formations resulted from her application of the voice-montage to the narrative form. By displaying the voice-montage within diverse structures, and within texts motivated by different ideas, she was able to create a visual impact from unlocated voices. It is a challenge for the reader to listen for dialogue exchanges, whilst looking at patterns upon the page. In these formations, she prompts a fresh appreciation of the art in transferring vocal expression into the printed word.

To 'see how narratives proceed',¹ it is useful to align the prose works of 1915-16 into formations which identify Stein's guiding ideas. She was experimenting widely, and the structures are varied. Yet, the framework of designs within which she arranged the voice-montage is clearly seen.

Two formations, the dialogue and the monologue, raise the question of allocating voice-montage exchanges. Neither work has character ascription, nor punctuation, to delineate boundaries among the units of speech. Differences of approach are polarized in *Every Afternoon. A Dialogue* and *He Said It. Monologue*. Whilst the former diffuses voices into multitudes of unnamed speakers, the latter concentrates the text into one speaker.

Stein created rhythmic spoken exchanges by interspersing a narrative text with reiterated sentences. A formation of the repeating title phrase is exemplified by *Lifting Belly*, *Let Us Be Easily Careful*, and *Look At Us*. By aligning three works within one formation, it is evident that *Lifting Belly*, which was begun in Mallorca, should be read in conjunction with two other works of similar linguistic style. It becomes part of a series of texts, which explore the same iterative patterns.

A release of intimate meanings and erotic rhythms, through the structure of repeating a title phrase, contrasts with the detached tone in the formation of headline

¹'Let me see how narratives proceed. They proceed without present separation. A narrative is this. A play is another thing, a play is lively, a narrative is not lively in love, a tragedy is when it might has been something.' (*Narrative* 1930 SIM p.252).

texts. Stein used capitalized, indented subtitles to re-create the impression of a newspaper page. Many narratives correspond to this formation, a notable example is *We Have Eaten Heartily and We Were Alarmed*. This structuring device was used in other Mallorcan headline texts to express her reaction to news of the Great War, and to the local news in Palma.

At the beginning of *All Sunday*, Stein presented different ways to arrange a narrative work. Later in the text, she moved on to a formation which accumulated brief stories. Early sections reveal Stein's method of selecting formations, and this is of particular interest since internal references date its composition to the first months of her visit to Mallorca. My research dates *All Sunday* to the summer of 1915, it shows that Stein began exploring the design of the narrative form soon after her arrival in Mallorca.

By distinguishing each innovative formation, it is possible to trace Stein's consistent examination of the voice-montage in the narrative form. She displayed fragments of speech in various arrangements to bring a new awareness of the visual impact in reading voice-montage prose.

1

Two descriptive titles, 'Dialogue' and 'Monologue', were used for the first time in the corpus of Stein's writing in 1915-16. She emphasized their significance to the interpretation of the voice-montage by isolating the terms as subtitles for two Mallorcan narratives. Contrasts emerge between spoken exchanges involving many interlocutors and the single voice which has no respondent.² A letter to Henry McBride indicates that Stein was composing *Every Afternoon. A Dialogue* and *He Said It. Monologue*³ concurrently in the Mallorcan winter 1915-16:

²*He Said It. Monologue* is dated 1915 in the 1929 *transition* bibliography, and in the HG chronology. It is the last text (number 17) of BTS Volume 13. *Every Afternoon. A Dialogue* is dated 1916 in both chronologies. It is included in BTS Volume 14 (number 10 of 31 texts). I believe the Mallorcan compositions were typed, and compiled, on Stein's return to Paris in 1916. These two narrative works may have been composed concurrently, and bound separately.

³BTS Volume 13, and the 1929 *transition* bibliography, have *He Said It. A Monologue*. I refer to *He Said It. Monologue* because Stein proof-read this title in *Geography and Plays*.

We are having a delightful winter here as to work and climate. I have done two more plays and am doing another and a monologue and a dialogue.
(13 January 1916. YCAL McBride correspondence)

Advances in the voice-montage resulted from the 'delightful winter', which enabled work to be accomplished, and from the accumulation of texts: 'and [...] and [...] and'. The relevance of this letter lies in its indication that the monologue and the dialogue were the outcome of a simultaneous examination of the spoken voice in prose. These narrative works allow the voice-montage to be read independent from character ascription. Unlocated lines of speech, which may be attributed to any speaker, have opposing implications in the dialogue and in the monologue. In *Every Afternoon. A Dialogue*, Stein expresses the ephemeral, often musical, diffusion of unlocated exchanges. In *He Said It. Monologue*, she explores the power relationship between anonymous speakers when one voice can take over the dialogue exchange.

Diffusion of voice-montage exchanges in the dialogue formation arises from Stein's first title of *Every Afternoon. A Dialogue*. On the inside cover of the manuscript notebook, in Stein's handwriting, is one word: 'Dialogues' (YCAL HG 130). The plural implies there is not one dialogue, but many dialogues. Dialogues within the text might be uttered by different, unnamed interlocutors. Alternatively, the same two persons might talk of various matters.

A sense of many dialogues is enhanced by a division which separates the narrative work into two parts. The manuscript notebook leaves one half page empty, and *Geography and Plays* reproduces this break as a double line space (G&P p.254). Thus, the text is visually structured into two sections of dialogue exercises. Both the original title, and the textual division, affect the reading of the voice-montage within a formation which does not differentiate between the single dialogue and the many dialogues.

Stein's technique of diffusing the voice-montage promotes the miscellany of the subject matter, and the interweaving of conversing partners. Increasing ephemerality has three stages: first, allusions to Alice Toklas; secondly, a musical wafting of voices; and thirdly, non-communication in *verbatim* repetition. Referential echoes finally fade into silence.

A blend of identification and indeterminacy marks Stein's subtle use of her dialogues with Alice Toklas. A voice of intimate exchange is detached from precise location in autobiographical fact by the multiplication of anonymous speakers. She merges the personal dialogue into a mixture of unlocated dialogues. Private talk inspires the voices of *Every Afternoon. A Dialogue*, but Toklas' voice cannot be clearly heard above the exchanges of many unnamed speakers. She provides an example of Stein's strategies of detachment because Toklas' voice would seem to be the most easily identified. Stein consistently used the events, and the voices, of her daily life as material for her texts. During 1915-16, the variety of exchange was limited. Nuances of her relationship with Toklas became a subject for the voice-montage. Small alterations of mood, tensions and casual chat are integral to this formation.

A new context of domestic intimacy was influencing Stein's compositions. The year from April 1915 to June 1916 was the longest period that she had lived alone with Alice Toklas. For the first time, they established a shared household without relatives present, and without playing the role of house guest. They were on their own.⁴ This inter-dependence is vital to the interpretation of Stein's Mallorcan dialogues. Friends in Palma, local incidents and the Great War provided subjects for miscellaneous conversations. Yet, it was the additional aspect of a new stage in her relationship with Alice Toklas which had the strongest impact upon the 1915-16 voice-montage texts. Considering adjustments to this private situation, the diffusion of Toklas' voice represents Stein's accomplishment in the detachment of her dialogue exchanges.

Ulla Dydo stresses that Stein's literary achievement is the transformation of a particular subject into a work of art:

⁴From the time Alice Toklas moved into 27 rue de Fleurus (1909) until Leo Stein left for Italy (1914), there were three people sharing one household. Stein and Toklas had spent a few months alone in Spain (during the summer of 1913), but they had travelled around the country. Stein had focused upon recreating her impressions of the Spanish landscape, and had written obliquely of her relationship with Alice Toklas. They had been alone for just four months in Paris (October 1914 to March 1915). During this time, refurbishment of 27 rue de Fleurus, visiting friends and concern about the Great War had brought Stein disparate, external subjects for the voice-montage.

Alice Toklas was not Stein's subject when she wrote; her subject was always writing. But Alice often gave her access to the world which held the ideas for writing. [...] If Stein did not invent anything but used everything from the world around her, what is the invention of her art? The invention is in the construction.⁵

In the Mallorcan dialogue formation, Stein incorporates domestic activities undertaken by Toklas within the 'construction' of the voice-montage. Diffusion of Alice Toklas' presence in *Every Afternoon. A Dialogue* is most evident when unlocated voices discuss her pastimes of knitting, cooking and sewing:

Reading or knitting.
Yes reading or knitting.
In the evening.
[...]
Between meals.
Do you really sew.
(*Every Afternoon. A Dialogue* G&P p.255)

Stein uses a representation of a specific household to highlight the ephemeral quality of these verbal exchanges. Alice Toklas is not directly mentioned in the text. Private conversations become anonymous on the page. Thus, the aesthetic value of the dialogue formation lies in the liberty of speech. A reader is free to distribute the voice-montage fragments among any number of interlocutors.

It is difficult to identify Alice Toklas' part of the exchange in this text since it does not name the participants. Linda Simon's analysis of the Mallorcan narratives emphasizes that the island defined the limits of Stein's dialogue exchanges:

⁵Ulla E. Dydo, 'To Have The Winning Language: Texts and Contexts of Gertrude Stein', Diane Wood Middlebrook and Marilyn Yalom, eds., *Coming To Light. American Women Poets in The Twentieth Century* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1985), p.71.

In the pieces she wrote during 1915 and 1916, Alice was everywhere. [...] Where earlier pieces centered on the guests that had passed through their salon each Saturday or the various anecdotes provided by their friends, Gertrude's Mallorcan pieces revolved around her love affair with Alice. [...] Gertrude apologizes for upsetting her, and Alice could be upset easily and often. 'I am sorry I spoke as if I were not pleased,' Gertrude simpers.⁶

Stein's conversion of her daily exchanges into the voice-montage is less straightforward than the claim that 'Alice was everywhere.' A biographical identification of personal pronouns risks limiting Stein's exploration of verbal freedom. It transfers ephemeral speakers back into the method of naming characters in conventional narrative texts. 'Gertrude simpers' imposes an interpretation of the speaker, and of the tone of utterance. An unlocated voice actually emphasizes the uncertainty of dissembling language: 'I spoke as if I were'. *Every Afternoon. A Dialogue* hints at exchanges between Stein and Toklas within a formation which presents a diffusion of unlocated dialogues.

Only once are the title, and the subtitle, included in this narrative work. The dialogue which follows distances Alice Toklas from the exchange:

Every afternoon.
A dialogue.
What did you do with your dog.
We sent him into the country.
Was he a trouble.
Not at all but we thought he would be better off there.
(*Every Afternoon. A Dialogue* G&P p.256)

This conversation is formal and stiff. It sounds as if 'every afternoon' the same question is asked, and 'a dialogue' has become predictable. Voices communicate briefly, informatively and without emotion. A reader cannot share the certainty of the language due to the uncertain identity of the interlocutors. Whilst the reader is excluded from this dialogue, the participants communicate to their mutual satisfaction: 'Yes I agree with you./ Yes.' (p.256). By creating a hermetic exchange, Stein shields the speakers from precise identification.

Reference to 'your dog' further indicates how Stein distanced Alice Toklas from this voice-montage dialogue. An unnamed dog, about which these anonymous speakers

⁶Simon, *The Biography of Alice B. Toklas*, p.99 and p.100.

converse, is followed by the name of Stein's Mallorcan hound (an indigenous Mallorcan breed). Her dog, called Polybe, brings a shouting voice to the page:

Calling him.

Yes Polybe.

Come.

(*Every Afternoon. A Dialogue* G&P p.258)

Polybe was given away in the winter of 1915-16. This was the time when Stein was composing *Every Afternoon. A Dialogue*.⁷ In a letter dated 13 October 1915, Mildred Aldrich asked about the departure of Stein's dog: 'So you are not bringing Polybe back to Paris?' (YCAL Aldrich correspondence). This segment of text may be Stein's dialogue response to Mildred Aldrich's question.

Biographical data reveals how far Toklas' voice is detached from this formation. Alice Toklas cannot be identified as the speaker of the enquiry, 'What did you do with your dog', because she would know the answer. Her voice might be part of the unlocated reply: 'We sent him into the country.' This dialogue need not take place between Stein and Toklas. It could represent an exchange between Stein, or Toklas, and a third person. Details of a particular daily life are only glimpsed in the voice-montage. A factual context, exemplified by a dialogue about Polybe, does not bring Alice Toklas' voice clearly into the exchange.

An ephemeral quality in these references shows how Stein absorbed them with ease into the narrative text, and how she shed their ties to a documentary account. Stein's method of diffusion in the dialogue formation is most evident in the example of Alice Toklas' voice. Although her exchanges were essential to the Mallorcan writings, it is an over-determination to hear her voice throughout. Where the subject of conversation seems to indicate that the speakers are Stein and Toklas, the elusiveness of the voice-montage transcends the limits of a biographical interpretation.

In *Every Afternoon. A Dialogue*, the mobility of unlocated voices creates a musical

⁷Stein's letter to Henry McBride dated 13 January 1916, quoted at the opening of this section, indicates that *Every Afternoon. A Dialogue* was composed during the Mallorcan winter 1915-16: 'I [...] am doing [...] a dialogue.'

effect. Diffusion of voices, away from identification with Alice Toklas, is increased by the polyphonic impression of speakers in constant motion. Unnamed figures converse about various subjects, and then they move on to talk about something new. Different people may take over the dialogue, with a new direction, each time a halt comes to one exchange. Stein captures voices which can be overheard 'every afternoon', and she brings a lyricism to daily conversations.

A sparse page design, and a lightness of tone, in these anonymous dialogue exchanges creates the sense that this narrative text could be sung:

What is a conversation.
We can all sing.
(*Every Afternoon. A Dialogue* G&P p.257)

Stein hears melodies in the patterns, pauses and repetitions of everyday conversation. If all speech can create a musical effect, there can be no hierarchy of value in dialogue exchanges. She creates an equilibrium between each unit of voice-montage by giving anonymity to the speakers. All spoken words have an aesthetic equality - even when they are unlocated, and unconsidered:

Here.
Not here.
(*Every Afternoon. A Dialogue* G&P p.256)

No central plot, or single event, imposes a causal organization upon the accumulation of dialogue fragments. Each exchange contributes to a sense of the hesitancy, and the incompleteness, of ordinary talk. Every speaker is free from the informative statements of novelistic prose. Stein places emphasis on the musical quality of words, which might be overlooked in the haste for communicative discourse. For example, the word 'here' is displayed in two single-line statements. Stein plays with the sound of isolated words in the location 'here', on the page, and in the need to 'hear' the dialogue formation. She questions the ways a reader imagines intonation when looking at a narrative text.

Michael J. Hoffman believes that the musical quality of Stein's work is suited to opera performance:

Stein's ritualistically repetitive dramas fit almost perfectly the needs of the operatic composer. The speeches are simple and rhythmic, they contain much internal rhyme, and they repeat.⁸

Stein used the dialogue formation to diffuse printed, narrative sentences into the lightness of singing. Her awareness of an operatic quality in the unlocated exchanges of *Every Afternoon. A Dialogue* is recorded in the text. An opera singer is the only named character:

We will go and hear Tito Ruffo.
(*Every Afternoon. A Dialogue* G&P p.258)

Emphasis on the lyrical voice in the narrative form occurs in the reference to an actual Italian baritone. In the proposal to hear a singing voice, one person speaks on behalf of silent opera-goers: 'We will go [...].' The future tense anticipates Tito Ruffo's voice, and it plays with the hearing of words: 'He is to be here.' (G&P p.258). Stein juxtaposes the unconsidered fragment of ordinary conversation with the libretti assigned to named characters. Renown of the opera singer's voice contrasts his famous name with the anonymous speaker who will hear him perform. His name is inserted into the voice-montage to represent a musical quality in the dialogue formation.

Stein diffused an exact reference to her Mallorcan environment by allowing an unlocated speaker to mention a named singer. Titta Ruffo (1877-1953) was scheduled to sing at the Teatro Lírico, in Palma, at the beginning of March 1916. His arrival was announced in the Mallorcan newspaper:

Titta Ruffo.

Dias pasados dimos la noticia de que el eminente barítono Tita Ruffo había escrito á Palma con objeto de incluir á nuestra ciudad en su tournée por España.

Las gestiones han dado resultado satisfactorio y el gran artista cantará dos óperas en Palma, probablemente en el Lírico, *Rigoletto* y *Hamlet*.

(11 November 1915. *La Almudaina* p.2)

In this instance, an unlocated voice in *Every Afternoon. A Dialogue* could be expressing Stein's own expectation of hearing Titta Ruffo sing. A biographical interpretation of the

⁸Hoffman, *Gertrude Stein*, p.78.

line arises from Stein's reference to the composition of 'a dialogue' in her letter to Henry McBride, dated 13 January 1916, cited at the opening of this section. Excitement was generated, in Palma, by the impending opera performances. During the winter 1915-16, many reports of Titta Ruffo's singing were printed in *La Almudaina*. Stein incorporates a specific reference to a baritone to indicate the musical tone in which her narrative voices may be heard. Enjoying the sound of the opera singer's name, musical in its double syllables, she alters the name slightly to create an aural rhyme: Tito Ruffo. Different spellings in the newspaper report bring variety to the enunciation of the opera singer's name. Titta Ruffo's voice is diffused in this narrative work. It is unknown whether the anonymous speaker, and the silent companions, eventually hear songs by the named singer. Stein replaces a prose description of anticipated operatic performances with her own composition, which has a lyrical aspect to its dialogue exchanges.⁹

Lighthearted play is made with the words 'hear' and 'here', in the context of hearing Titta Ruffo sing. Stein uses references to sound, within the voice-montage narrative, to establish the presence of unnamed speakers. The reader becomes a listener to the dialogue formation, and imagines the location of characters who talk. Anonymous interlocutors realize each other through their voices:

Do you hear me.
Yes I can hear you.
(*Every Afternoon. A Dialogue* G&P p.257)

In this dialogue, one can hear a process of physical positioning. Without using the word 'here' to place themselves, the speakers talk, and find each other by hearing their voices. There are two speakers, and the first asks, in effect: 'Are you here, and do you hear me.'

⁹Later circumstances prevented Titta Ruffo from singing in Palma. He gave a poor performance in Barcelona: 'Pita contra Titta Rufo./ Anoche se despedia del pública de Barcelona el baritono Titta Ruffo cantando en el Liceo./ Como su labor no satisfizo al publico que llenaba el Liceo apesa de a crudeza del tiempo, se promivó una silba fenomenal acompañada de cencerros.' (25 February 1916. *La Almudaina* p.3). The paper announced that the concert in Palma had been cancelled: 'La Empresa de Teatro Lírico ha rescindido el contrato con Titta Ruffo, que tenia que debutar el jueves próximo.' (27 February 1916. *La Almudaina* p.1). There is a reference to 'Tito Ruffo' in *Mexico. A Play* (G&P p.329). Stein refers to *Rigoletto*, the opera by Giuseppe Verdi which Ruffo was scheduled to sing, in *Mexico. A Play* (G&P p.329), and in *For The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters* (G&P p.230).

The second speaker confirms his, or her, physical proximity with the interlocutor. After hearing the first speaker's question, the second replies, in effect: 'Yes I am here, and you are here because I hear you.' Affirmation by the responsive voice creates a textual pattern which joins the lines. Separated from surrounding voices, these two lines are defined as a dialogue.

Applying this method throughout the text, the reader listens to the words and arranges the speakers' voices into communicative units. Even two-line dialogues comply with the author's guidance in the subtitle:

You mean you are taught early.
That is exactly what I mean.
(*Every Afternoon. A Dialogue* G&P p.255)

The subject of this discussion is unclear since the interlocutors do not explain what is 'taught'. Also, their words do not refer to the preceding lines: 'To another./ I do not wish reasons.' (G&P p.254). Two speakers find certainty in a private definition of what they 'mean', which is unavailable to the reader. Fragments of conversation are made unfamiliar by their sparseness, despite being recognizable as ordinary speech. Without a context to interpret them, they have the diffusion of snatches of different exchanges overheard in a crowded place. When lines combine into dialogues, they have the musical quality of voice-montage duets.

Stein was investigating not only the unity, but also the disunity of dialogue. When unnamed people talk at cross-purposes, the reader appreciates the discontinuity of life-like exchanges. Lack of communication creates a sense that sometimes the speakers do not hear each other. There are sections of this narrative text which do not cohere. Voices become disjointed in their attempts to engage in conversation:

He was so necessary to me.
We are equally pleased.
Come and stay.
(*Every Afternoon. A Dialogue* G&P p.255)

Stein was sensitive to the incomplete statements in dialogue exchanges. She caught the

hesitancy of a half-sentence, an aimless utterance, and a fading away of unfinished expressions. Communication is often tangential. The dialogue formation captures familiar inconsistencies, pauses and interruptions of everyday conversation.

Similarly, the repetitions in ordinary speech are part of this dialogue formation. They indicate features of unconsidered talk which are essential to seize the verisimilitude of voices in the narrative form:

Don't receive wood.

Don't receive wood.

[...]

A great many people come in.

A great many people come in.

(*Every Afternoon. A Dialogue* G&P p.256 and p.257)

These dialogues can be interpreted as two voices. One speaker could be repeating another person's words. Alternatively, they might be the re-emphasis of an individual, who creates a two-line statement. An artifice in traditional narrative dialogue, in which one named character responds coherently to another, is brought to the reader's attention. Exchanges in this text are often halted. Combining lines into meaningful dialogues, akin to conventional novelistic prose, is hindered in the voice-montage when sentences make sense in isolation, but not as informative utterances. *Verbatim* repetition is the furthest point of diffusion of the dialogue formation.

Since the exchanges have nebulous boundaries, a reader can distribute the lines among any number of conversing partners. A technique of diffusion ranges from hints of a biographical interpretation of dialogues between Stein and Toklas to anonymous interlocutors who reiterate each others' statements. The voice-montage multiplies the speakers of these unlocated units of dialogue until their representative value is lost. Stein is exploring the quality of unconsidered conversations which can be transferred into a narrative form with the lyricism of songs. She encourages readers to listen to the musical resonances of each short dialogue fragment, and to hear their attractive sounds. In this formation, she detaches herself from the precision of locating any of the ephemeral voices as her own.

In *He Said It. Monologue*, Stein examines the power relationships which are exposed in the unlocated voice-montage when one voice is absorbed by another. Equality in a dialogue exchange is replaced by the authority of one speaker. Within the monologue formation, there is the implicit silence of an interlocutor. Interpreting the narrative form in accordance with Stein's subtitle concentrates the voices, which seem to be conducting a dialogue, into one speaker. An unnamed individual takes over both sides of the exchange. Verbal domination is being enforced, which contrasts with the everyday language through which the single voice expresses itself.

A question of attributing the narrative text to a single voice is raised the opening lines of the monologue formation:

Spoken.

In English.

Always spoken.

Between them.

(*He Said It. Monologue* G&P p.267)

Corresponding with the monologue subtitle, this extract can be heard as one voice presenting four lines of speech. A single speaker would then combine different lines to express alternative statements: 'English [is] always spoken between them. '; 'Spoken in English [, it is] always spoken between them.' *He Said It. Monologue* immediately introduces the subject matter of dialogue. It also opens with the silence of external characters, whose speech is presented by another person. At this point in the monologue, these unnamed people, who converse in English, are detached from the speaker. Stein uses a subtitle which prompts the reader to concentrate each line, and many interlocutors, into the voice of a single narrative figure.

A single, male speaking voice is indicated in the title: 'He Said It'. An individual who speaks above his interlocutors is inferred in the subtitle: 'Monologue'. Both are challenged in a context of frequent references to debate, and to discussion. Monologue is not limited to the written word. One speech, or many speeches, in this narrative text could be presented on a stage. A director can divide the text among various speakers of short monologues. Alternatively, a single performer could recite the entire work. Stein tests the impact of a single voice assuming all dialogue roles when there is no

character ascription:

I often talk about nothing.

What have I to say.

[...]

I am inclined to be talkative.

Are you.

Yes sir.

This is the way I say it.

(*He Said It. Monologue* G&P p.270 and p.269)

Three aspects of the monologue formation are introduced here: the self-reflective comment; the question and answer of dialogue; and the reporting of the talker's own voice. Fear of purposeless talk, that without response, is implied in the self-reflective statement: 'I often talk about nothing.' A need for dialogue is the paradox of a monologue formation: 'Are you./ Yes sir.' The single voice requires a silent audience to validate its words. Furthermore, the loneliness of talking to oneself for lack of a listener is indicated in the excess of talking often, and being 'talkative'. Speaking a monologue may be the monopoly of dialogue by one person who fears their own silence.

In this formation, speech is a way of ensuring sound. A speaker of the monologue has control over an interlocutor's voice:

Many people fear distraction and divert themselves with discussion. Not I.
(*He Said It. Monologue* G&P p.269)

A 'discussion', which implies a dialogue, is believed by the single speaker to be an evasion of meditative silence. Thoughtful isolation is mentioned earlier in the text: 'Indeed I think alone.' (*He Said It. Monologue* G&P p.268). According to this speaker, dialogue is a more frivolous use of language than monologue. It is monologue which confronts the fear of loneliness, and of 'distraction'. Yet, these words are set in a context of many personal pronouns. Self-pronouncements may represent the conflicting opinions of an individual who speaks a monologue. Lack of character ascription, of who 'said it', enables the reader to control many voices by hearing just one speaker.

An anonymous character uses the word 'talkative' as an acknowledgement that they monopolize conversations. Also, a figure refuses to partake in a shared 'discussion'. From such innocuous statements arise two more serious concerns. First, the control of

a dialogue is the expression of domination in a power relationship. Secondly, a wider implication of this powerful enforcement of another person's silence is its place in a context of the Great War.

The monologue formation is suited to present the subject of power relationships. By interpreting the voice-montage according to the subtitle, one can assess the implications of a single person speaking throughout, and forcing a silence upon the interlocutor. To bring a focus to this approach, I will study the example of Stein absorbing Alice Toklas' voice. It shows the ways in which Stein uses everyday language to examine the power-play in a spoken relationship.

Daily habits of Stein and Toklas are incorporated into an exchange about rising early and late. It is an exercise in the monologue formation, rather than a presentation of autobiographical data. Distance from the author's history is achieved in the anonymity of a single speaker, who controls both question and reply:

Yes and what time do you wake up.
At half past seven.
I don't wake up till nine.
(*He Said It. Monologue* G&P p.272)

Linda Simon identifies these speakers as Stein and Toklas: 'Day after day, Alice waking at seven-thirty, Gertrude at nine, they went about their independent tasks, relying on each other almost completely for companionship.'¹⁰ Betsy Alayne Ryan also provides a biographical analysis, and avoids the implications of the subtitle: '[...] *He Said It. Monologue* (1915), a straightforward dialogue between, for all appearances, Stein and Alice Toklas [...].'¹¹ However, the voice-montage endows domestic details with value beyond a documentary account. Since this narrative text is defined as a monologue, it states a relationship of verbal control by one speaker over another. My interpretation of the extract quoted above is that Stein presents the complex power-play between partners, as it is exposed in the details of ordinary activity. One speaker asks 'what time

¹⁰Simon, *The Biography of Alice B. Toklas*, p.99.

¹¹Ryan, *Gertrude Stein's Theatre of the Absolute*, p.86.

do you wake up', and also assumes the response: 'At half past seven.' Thus, these words have become an expression of one person's authority.

Within the language of a personal relationship, dialogue implies an equality in unified voices. Following this interpretation, monologue implies dominance:

Are you pleased.
I am not pleased.
I am delighted.
It has been a very fruitful evening.
It is not very likely she was pleased.
(*He Said It. Monologue G&P p.267*)

A speaker is 'delighted' with the 'very fruitful evening', indicating the triumph of a single voice. Ignoring a negative response, 'I am not pleased', this speaker insists upon one impression of the pleasurable atmosphere. Yet, the monologue formation is complex here. One voice could express the discontent of another person. In this case, the sentence 'I am not pleased' belongs with the personal pronouns in the other statements. This would interpret the single voice as replying to its own question, 'Are you pleased', and voicing the words of another speaker who is then silenced. It would not be a dialogue of two different voices which disagree: First voice - 'I am not pleased.'; Second voice - 'I am delighted.' Joining these two statements could also be read as a playful exaggeration, uttered by a single speaker. An individual would say, in effect: 'I am more than pleased, I am delighted.'

Utterance of another person's discontent implies the dominance of the speaking voice. If the words 'I am not pleased' are spoken by the same person who asks the question, 'Are you pleased', then the monologue speaker acknowledges the other woman's discontent by speaking her line directly. When the expression of displeasure is repeated, it is in a manner which detaches the two interlocutors. The monologue speaker distances the voice of the discontented woman by using the past tense, and the third person pronoun: 'It is not very likely she was pleased.' In two instances, both centring upon the word 'pleased', one speaker takes control of a voice other than its own.

In the manuscript notebook, Alice Toklas responded to the line: 'It is not very likely she was pleased.' She brought a dialogue exchange to the monologue formation. This quoted extract, beginning 'Are you pleased' and ending 'It is not very likely she was pleased', fills one right-hand notebook page. At the top of the following left-hand page,

effectively continuing the text, is a line in Alice Toklas' handwriting: 'It is not very likely she was pleased. D.D.' (YCAL HG 120). There is sufficient room for Stein's next paragraph, which begins by repeating the language of pleasure: 'Pleasures of the chase.' (*He Said It. Monologue* G&P p.267).

There may have been a pause in the process of composition. During this interval, Toklas added a note to Stein, agreeing with the text and confirming her displeasure. Toklas is not contributing to the text, she is communicating with Stein about the textual content. Stein might have instructed her to write this line, as Stein's acknowledgement of Toklas' displeasure. Stein's monologue formation may have been used to record a dispute between herself and Toklas. In this case, the reiteration by Toklas of her discontent brings her voice into the manuscript text, through the visual exchange of handwriting styles. Toklas' *verbatim* repetition implies an acknowledgement of her silent part in the exchange, since she knew the private notes were not to be typed.

Although the displeased woman is unnamed in the draft, a study of the manuscript shows a complex power-play within the process of composition. Expressions of offense, and conciliation, are released in the exchange of roles in the relationship, concentrated in the act of writing in the notebook. As Toklas handwrites a section of *He Said It. Monologue*, she places a disequilibrium in their relationship in terms of the control of language.

Power relationships, expressed through the monologue formation, contain strong resonances in the context of the Great War. Stein's letter to Henry McBride, quoted at the opening of Section 1, indicates that she composed *He Said It. Monologue* during the second winter of the war. The speaker of the monologue is ascribed to a male figure in the title, and this offers an interpretation of the text as Stein's exploration of authoritarian language.

Harriet Scott Chessman aligns the threat of war with the monopoly of dialogue exchange. She argues that Stein created unlocated voices to deny the control of the single narrator, who could be dangerously representative of dictatorial power:

For Stein, this monologic model, whereby a literary work emanates from one source, evinces a dangerous alliance with notions of ownership and priority, leading directly to war.¹²

Stein could have used the monologue formation to acknowledge wider applications of power relationships, when one figure silences the speech of an interlocutor. Not simply aligned to commanders in the Great War, the sexual polarity in 'He Said It' alludes to any dominant partner whose speech is a weapon of control.

Harriet Scott Chessman argues that the multiple, unlocated speakers in Stein's narratives represent a female subversion of the single male voice. Stein had presented the dominating male voice, which absorbs the female voice, in her 1911 portrait of Henri Matisse: *Storyette H.M.*. Early notebooks for the composition of *The Making of Americans* show her private awareness of Matisse's powerful role in his relationships: 'Matisse is brutal and not in any sense a sounding board because his intellect and emotion is subservient to his brutal egotism, always.' (YCAL MOA NB-F). She incorporated this monopoly of speech, 'not in any sense a sounding board', in the power-play of a verbal exchange. A relationship is exposed when monologue takes over from dialogue:

The one that was going was saying, the one that was glowing, the one that was going was saying then, I am content, you are not content, I am content, you are not content, I am content, you are content, you are content, I am content.
(*Storyette H.M.* P&P p.40)¹³

This monologue voice is similar to the absorption of the female voice in *He Said It. Monologue*: 'It is not very likely she was pleased.' In each instance, Stein chose not to reveal the sexual identity of the speakers. Both titles, 'Storyette' and 'Monologue', indicate a male monologue voice in the words which follow. However, the initials 'H.M.' only hint at Henri Matisse for readers without access to the documentary evidence in Stein's notebooks. He is not specifically named in the final draft. Also, the identity

¹²Chessman, *The Public Is Invited To Dance*, p.112.

¹³An extended version of this monologue voice is found in an early notebook: 'Matisse and Mrs. M. about going to Spain / I am content, what you are not contented, I am content, you are not contented, I am content, you are content, you are content, I am content.' (YCAL MOA NB-N).

of the pronoun 'He' is not disclosed in *He Said It. Monologue*.

Stein was composing this monologue formation in a context affected by the Great War, and by authoritarian declarations of conflict. In her exploration of the narrative form, she displaced her reaction to the Great War in the same way that she detached her exchanges with Alice Toklas. Stein generates many resonances from the voice-montage. The silence of an interlocutor, whose words are absorbed into a monologue voice, could be enlarged to represent communities which have no say in the announcement of war. Stein was responding to the Great War in multitudes of ways in her Mallorcan writings, and particularly to its impact upon language. In *He Said It. Monologue*, she was assessing the implications of a dominant, monologue voice in the political situation, and in everyday conversation.

3

'Lifting belly is famous.' (*Lifting Belly* BTV p.77). Stein's words were prophetic. Of the Mallorcan narratives, this text has become the most 'famous'.¹⁴ However, it is one part of a consistent examination of the formation of a repeating title phrase. A characteristic of this formation, distinguishing it from texts which fleetingly refer to the title, is the high proportion of sentences which contain the complete title phrase. It is a noticeable technique, one which draws attention to the iterative construction of the work. Stein was making specific use of the title phrase to create a pattern of *verbatim* repetition, and also to promote the changing contexts into which the phrase is placed.

Opening sections of *Lifting Belly* were composed in Mallorca, and their style corresponds with two other Mallorcan narratives which release nuances from the repetition of a title phrase. *Let Us Be Easily Careful* weaves references to Stein's concern with money into the formulaic structure. *Look At Us* calls for detached observers to witness the harmony of her relationship with Toklas. These three narratives are unified by a method which exploits the miscellany of the voice-montage to alter

¹⁴*Lifting Belly* was first published in *Bee Time Vine* (1953). It was anthologized in *The Yale Gertrude Stein* (1980), and published as a separate volume edited by Rebecca Mark in *Lifting Belly* (1989). Extracts were selected by Judy Grahn in *Really Reading Gertrude Stein. A Selected Anthology* (1989).

slightly the repeating title phrase in various contexts. The two lesser-known Mallorcan narratives demonstrate that *Lifting Belly* is not an isolated experiment. It is integral to Stein's process of investigating this particular voice-montage formation in 1915-16.

By establishing the date of early sections of *Lifting Belly*, it is possible to trace the emergence of its guiding formation. Before studying the verbal effects which arise from repeating the title phrase, I will present evidence which shows that this work had its origins in a Mallorcan experiment. Whilst I acknowledge that Stein may have made notes in 1915-16, for use at a later date, it is my opinion that she composed the draft of *Lifting Belly* during her stay in Palma. From my research in the Stein Collection, I have concluded that there was not a long delay between the date of textual references and the date of the composition. Biographical data is particularly relevant to date this text because it demonstrates that erotic imprecision is placed within a realistic setting.

Lifting Belly was written over a period of two years: 1915-17.¹⁵ It was begun when Stein was living in Palma, Mallorca and it was completed when she was working in Nîmes, France.¹⁶ Opening sections of the text are Mallorcan compositions, up to the statement: 'We go to Barcelona to-morrow.' (*Lifting Belly* BTV p.77). This probably marks the end of the Mallorcan sections because Stein and Toklas travelled to Barcelona

¹⁵After the Mallorcan sections, the text documents events in Stein's life during the Parisian winter 1916-17. Part II questions 'Can you buy a Ford.' (*Lifting Belly* BTV p.92), and Part III shows possession: 'We are in our Ford.' (*Lifting Belly* BTV p.105). The last section has a reference to Perpignan, where Stein and Toklas were working for the AFFW between 25 March 1917 and 6 August 1917: 'Strawberries grown in Perpignan are not particularly good.' (*Lifting Belly* BTV p.113). The final date is established by a textual reference: 'In the meantime listen to Miss Cheatham.' (*Lifting Belly* BTV p.115). M.G. Cheatham was a Dame Infirmière at the Hôpital Mixte in Nîmes, where Stein was based between 12 October 1917 and 16 December 1918. She communicated with Alice Toklas for supplies: 'Will you give the bearer a chandail & other things he wants. He is a Belgian & so the S de S don't give him much.' (9 November 1917. YCAL Miscellaneous Letters File C). The MS and BTV have 'Cheatham' (HG 152 and BTV p.115). Alice Toklas typed the name she would have read in the requests for supplies: 'Cheatham' (BTS Vol 15).

¹⁶The texts listed in BTS Volume 14 are dated 1916. *Lifting Belly* is the first text listed in BTS Volume 15. It is therefore dated 1917 in the 1929 *transition* bibliography, and in the HG chronology.

after they left Palma in 1916.¹⁷ Beyond this reference to Barcelona, Stein included details of her travels through Spain on her return to Paris: 'No I said Avila. [...] It is done in Avila.' (*Lifting Belly* BTV p.79 and p.80). These internal references indicate a division in the composition, and a point before which the voice-montage is Mallorcan.

In the first part of *Lifting Belly*, Stein inserted direct references to her Mallorcan environment:

Anybody who is wisely urged to go to Inca goes to the hill.

[...]

The Cataluna has come home.

[...]

Conquistador. James I.

(*Lifting Belly* BTV p.73, p.75 and p.76)

Inca is the town in the centre of Mallorca where Stein went to a bullfight with William Cook in the summer of 1915.¹⁸ The Cataluña was a steamer which transported passengers between the Iberian islands and mainland Spain.¹⁹ Conquistador Jaime I ordered the construction of the cathedral which stands on the waterfront of Palma (circa 1230). Stein was naming features in Mallorca to juxtapose an identifiable place with the ambiguous nuances which arise from the formation of a repeating title phrase.

In addition to these Mallorcan names, Stein began her narrative with indirect references to her life in Palma. Events are incorporated into the voice-montage without the identification of the named town, boat and ruler. However, they offer further indications which date the composition of the early part of *Lifting Belly* to Stein's Mallorcan year. For instance, she included a dialogue exchange about a meteor:

Miracle you don't know about the miracle.

You mean a meteor.

(*Lifting Belly* BTV p.72)

¹⁷Mike Stein sent a letter to Gertrude Stein addressed to the Grand Hotel Quatro Naciones, Rambla, Barcelona. It is dated 1 May 1916 (See Appendix 3).

¹⁸'We are going to Inca Sunday for the first bull-fight. [...] We will think of you. You remember for Jeanne's first bull fight we all went to Inca - Wish we might all be going this time.' (25 February 1941. YCAL Cook correspondence).

¹⁹'Para Alicante é Ibiza, salieron ayer en vapor Cataluña [...] don Nicolás Morey.' (10 July 1915. *La Almudaina* p.2).

Astronomical terminology provides different interpretations of this brief conversation. A 'meteor' is classified as: 'The brief luminous trail observed as a particle of dust or piece of rock from space enters the Earth's upper atmosphere.'²⁰ Stein could have seen shooting stars in an annual meteor shower. As an amateur, she would probably refer to the Perseids which are visible in Mallorca between 23 July and 22 August.²¹ Two unlocated figures would then discuss a regular phenomenon.

If the dialogue refers to an unusual event, the word 'meteor' is inaccurate. It should be the word 'meteorite'. A distinction in vocabulary lies in the fact that a meteorite is classified as: 'The recovered fragment of a meteoroid that has survived passage through the Earth's atmosphere.'²² Linda Simon speculates that a meteor fell into the Bay of Palma during 1915-16.²³ My research into this occurrence has led me to differ with her opinion. Whilst a meteorite fell near the road from Palma to Manacor on 17 July 1935,²⁴ no record exists of a meteorite falling in Mallorca during 1915-16.²⁵ From this documentary evidence, I have concluded that Stein's dialogue

²⁰J. Mitton, *A Concise Dictionary of Astronomy* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1991), p.243.

²¹'This is the most famous of all meteor showers. It never fails to provide an impressive display and, due to its summertime appearance, it tends to provide the majority of meteors seen by non-astronomy enthusiasts.' Gary W. Kronk, *Meteor Showers: A Descriptive Catalog* (Hillside, N.J.: Enslow Publishers, Inc., 1988), p.163. Meteor showers which were recognized as such by 1915-16, and were visible in Mallorca are: Delta Aquarids (seen 14 July to 18 August); Alpha Capricornids (seen 15 July to 11 September); Kappa Cygnids (seen 26 July to 1 September) (Kronk, p.121, p.148 and p.154). I thank Mary Chibnall, of the Royal Astronomical Society, for this information. Any of these meteor showers would have been seen during the summer of 1915, because Stein had left Mallorca at the time of the 1916 meteor showers.

²²Mitton, *A Concise Dictionary of Astronomy*, p.244.

²³Simon, *The Biography of Alice B. Toklas*, p.107. I thank Professor Simon for confirming that she had no further information about this meteor.

²⁴M.H. Hey, *Catalogue of Meteorites. Third Edition* (London: Trustees of the British Museum (Natural History), 1966), p.287.

²⁵'A "meteor" which apparently fell in the sea was probably a fireball (a particularly bright meteor) which either actually did fall into the sea as a meteorite (therefore could not be recovered, and would not have got into catalogues of meteorites), or appeared to do so but in fact remained in the atmosphere (in which case it would only have been recorded if it were part of a regular meteor shower).' I thank Mary Chibnall, of the Royal Astronomical Society, for this information.

exchange does not refer to a falling meteor.²⁶

Stein's method of recording details of her Mallorcan environment is consistent if one interprets the 'meteor' as the name of a ship. This would continue an aspect of the voice-montage which was discussed in relation to *Mexico. A Play* (See Chapter 3). Stein delighted in playing with names which have multiple layers of reference. I propose that she was creating a dialogue exchange from the war reports of a German auxiliary mine-layer called the 'Meteor'.²⁷

On 8 August 1915, the 'Meteor' was engaged in action off the Firth of Forth, Scotland against the British Navy steamship, the 'Ramsey': 'The 'Meteor' torpedoed and sank the 'Ramsey' and the casualties were 54 killed and 4 officers and 39 men saved.'²⁸ Stein may have referred to the numbers of officers, and men, who survived as the 'miracle' in the conversation in *Lifting Belly*. This incident was reported in the local Mallorcan newspaper:

El vapor alemán <Meteor> hunde un buque inglés. - Voladura del <Meteor> Londres. - Un telegrama oficial dice que el vapor auxiliar alemán *Meteor* ha hundido al vapor vigía inglés *Ramsey* salvándose 33 tripulantes.

Al aproximarse los cruceros ingleses al lugar de acción la dotación alemana del *Meteor* lo abandonó haciéndolo volar.

(13 August 1915. *La Almudaina* p.3)

Reference to the 'Meteor' in this newspaper report indicates that the first part of *Lifting Belly* was composed after 13 August 1915. It was probably written close to this date

²⁶I also thank Mr. P. Woolford of the National Meteorological Library and Archive, Dr. P. J. Andrews of the Royal Greenwich Observatory and Mr. H. Miles of the British Astronomical Association for their assistance in searching for records of a meteor which may have fallen in the Bay of Palma in 1915-16. No record was found.

²⁷R.H. Gibson and Maurice Prendergast, *The German Submarine War 1914-1918* (London: Constable and Co., 1931): '[...] auxiliary mine-layer 'Meteor' was escorted by U17 on her trip to the Moray Firth, which was mined on the night of the 6th [August 1915]' (p.56); 'In June 1915 the mine-layer Meteor had deposited her field in the entrance to the White sea.' (p.111).

²⁸I thank Ms. Lynne MacNab, Assistant Librarian of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London, for this information. She gave further details: 'The 'Ramsey' was a steamship built in Barrow-in-Furness in 1895 and requisitioned by the Navy on 28th October 1914 for use as an armed boarding steamer. Her commander was Lieutenant Raby.'

because Stein seems to have incorporated Mallorcan events into the voice-montage without a long delay. If she referred to a meteor shower, this date would remain accurate because the Perseids would have been seen in Mallorca during August 1915.

Another indirect reference locates the early sections of *Lifting Belly* to the late summer of 1915. It is Stein's use of her domestic situation at Calle Dos de Mayo, 45:

I want to tell about fire. Fire is that which we have when we have olive. Olive is a wood. We like linen. Linen is ordered. We are going to order linen. [...] We like a fire and we don't mind if it smokes.
(*Lifting Belly* BTV p.65 and p.66)

A letter to Henry McBride records that Stein was mentioning burning olive wood in a new fireplace. It had been installed when winter approached in 1915:

After all we are staying the winter here. It's nice and warm spring vegetables are coming in and our landlord has made us a chimney where we burn olive wood after the sun sets.

(ND. Sent around 23 November 1915. The envelope was stamped at the New York Sun office on 7 December 1915. Date established from a postcard postmarked 23 August 1915 which was stamped at the New York Sun office on 7 September 1915. YCAL McBride correspondence)

References to the olive wood, the newly installed fireplace and the purchase of linen in *Lifting Belly* align it with another Mallorcan narrative which repeats a title phrase:

Do use a large piece of wood and ask your landlord to put in a fireplace. We use very large wood.
[...] We had a pleasant house an excellent table comfortable chairs and a fire and fine linen.
(*Let Us Be Easily Careful* PL p.37)

Governed by one formation, two texts present the same subject. Immediate absorption of her domestic situation into the structure of a repeating title phrase would date these extracts to the autumn of 1915.

Whilst tracing documentary evidence which dates references in early sections of *Lifting Belly*, it should be recognized that they are elements within the formation. Stein is exploring the impact of re-iterating a single phrase, and her purpose is to release

nuances from a repetitive pattern. Manuscript sources which date the work represent just one aspect of the voice-montage references. They also show how the ambiguities of the phrase 'lifting belly' are set within a real, identifiable context.

Catching this balance between exact reference and overall formation, Peter Quartermain refers to Stein's inclusion of household details as a 'pre-existent narrative'. He stresses that the factual basis of the composition is sheltered from a purely biographical interpretation by the ambivalence of a repeating verbal structure:

Lifting Belly is predicated on the paradoxical desire to write out the humour and affection of sexual and domestic love while at the same time preserving and protecting it through a cryptic style which on one hand encodes certain references and thus withholds them from the reader, and on the other records in a more-or-less daily journal the events of the day. The poem refers, that is to say, to a pre-existent narrative already known to the lovers, whose voices are registered throughout the poem. [...] The strategies of *Lifting Belly* force the reader to trust the situation of the telling, and thus to trust language patterns, the recurrences and variations, as manifesting the poem's coherence.²⁹

References to Stein's daily life in Palma are arranged within a style which draws attention to the formation in which they are encased. By locating *Lifting Belly* in a context of named features in Mallorca, and of such homely incidents as smoking chimneys, Stein encourages the reader to 'trust the language patterns'. She emphasizes the artifice of repeating a single phrase by interjecting it with recognizable physical details. Flights of fancy arising from 'lifting belly' are released from a realistic environment.

Having concentrated on the ways in which Stein located the formation of a repeating title phrase within a context of factual data, I will now assess the nuances of the phrase. Erotic indeterminacy of the two words, which has made the work 'famous', is effective because it contrasts strongly with a definite sense of place.

²⁹Peter Quartermain, "'A Narrative of Undermine": Gertrude Stein's Multiplicity', unpublished essay, © 1989 (revised and expanded version of a paper given at the 11th James Joyce Symposium, Venice, 17 June 1988), pp.14-15 and p.16. I thank Professor Quartermain for his permission to quote from this essay. The extract quoted will be published in Quartermain, *Disjunctive Poets: From Gertrude Stein and Louis Zukofsky to Susan Howe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp.29-30.

In *Lifting Belly*, Stein guides the reader carefully in a fine balance between realistic details and verbal patterns. Within the formation of a repeating title phrase, Stein first uses the two key words in the Mallorcan section of the work. She introduces the phrase in terms which promote its linguistic application:

Lifting belly is a language.
[...]
Lifting belly is an expression.
[...]
Lifting belly is a repetition
(*Lifting Belly* BTV p.78, p.77 and p.78)

Stein emphasizes that, by repeating a single phrase, she is investigating the structure of the narrative form. Reiteration is the technique through which she can examine the impact of visual patterns upon the reading of prose. She expresses earnestness in her purpose, and recognition of her experimentation. At the same time, she restates the two words which affirm her certainty in the artistic value of this formation:

Lifting belly is no joke.
[...]
Lifting belly is such an experiment.
(*Lifting Belly* BTV p.71 and p.74)

Whilst enjoying the ambiguities of this phrase, Stein places it within a carefully controlled literary 'experiment'. She has deliberate strategies to liberate a sexual nuance from the repeating title phrase. A domestic situation, which is ordinary and cosy, enables Stein to convey a type of intimacy which is not erotically charged. By interjecting this tangible world with phrases alluding to the art of composition, she also indicates that a sober context is giving rise to a verbal 'experiment'.

Furthermore, the repeating title phrase is given a homely realism. Stein uses the 'expression', meaning the phrase, as an 'expression' of an emotional range:

Lifting belly is anxious.
[...]
Lifting belly quietly.
[...]
Lifting belly was very fatiguing.
(*Lifting Belly* BTV p.71, p.75 and p.76)

These statements of emotion give a sense of stability. They are not extreme feelings, they are rather endearing and vulnerable. Sexual intimations arise from this two-word phrase. Yet, Stein ensures that erotic nuances will have a considered literary context in which to be released. The language is poised between an ecstatic celebration of the physical 'belly', and an awareness of the realistic base from which it is 'lifting'. It is the latter aspect which moderates the sexual interpretation.

Joy in the phrase, suggesting sexual activity, is balanced by disclaimers. Stein indicates the difficulty of creating a new formation:

I am so discouraged about lifting belly.

[...]

Lifting belly is so satisfying.

[...]

Lifting belly is not very interesting.

[...]

Lifting belly is my joy.

(*Lifting Belly* BTV p.69, p.74, p.69 and p.75)

Of the three Mallorcan narratives which explore resonances in the formation of a repeating title phrase, *Lifting Belly* is the most carefully delineated. Sexual reference, implicit in the title phrase, means that this text has a danger of losing literary value if its content is read as merely startling or sensational. Ambiguity in the two key words allows their application to many varied sentences. This is also true of 'let us be easily careful' and 'look at us'. However, 'lifting belly' is more evidently limited by a purely sexual interpretation of its every expression. To release an erotic celebration from a harshly repetitive formation, Stein realized that the voice-montage must offer and withdraw, suggest and deny, the single sexual inference. *Lifting Belly* has become 'famous' through critical attention to sexual innuendo. Stein's artistic achievement lies in structuring an erotic ambivalence amid the straightforward statements of the voice-montage.

In *Let Us Be Easily Careful*, Stein uses the formation of a repeating title phrase to express a personal concern about money. Ambiguity, arising from different contexts

of the word 'careful', brings detachment to the focus upon private financial matters. Euphemism in the title indicates a need for financial prudence, which forms the subject of various voice-montage exchanges. An encoded communication leads to the other central pre-occupation, which is the union of two people. One speaker calls to another person: 'let us'. With this plea, a bond is 'easily' established between the unnamed interlocutors. Weaving a personal comment about money into the narrative form is a new aspect of Stein's work. She evades a biographical interpretation of the voice-montage by combining the indeterminacy of unlocated voices with the formulaic repetition of a single phrase. Exploiting these two techniques of obscurity, Stein responds to the particular economic situation of 1915-16.

To appreciate the repeating title phrase, which insists upon the need to be 'easily careful', it is useful to consider Stein's financial context. Economic matters were pressing enough, in 1915-16, to become part of a voice-montage formation. New circumstances arose in Mallorca which drew Stein's attention to the relationship between money and writing.

Stein was careful with the allowance from her family. She conserved this money to advance her work in two ways: directly, through self-financed publication; indirectly, through ensuring an amenable place in which to write. In 1915-16, it was the latter use to which Stein put her money. Her financial situation had been eased when Mike Stein bought from her Matisse's painting *La Femme au Chapeau*. He had purchased the picture before she travelled to Mallorca in late March 1915. He paid one instalment of \$2000 on 12 February 1915, and another of \$2000 in early March 1915 (See Appendix 2). With funds available, Stein still chose to eke out this income. She moved to the cheaper economic environment of Mallorca in order to continue writing. Paris was expensive during wartime. William Cook provides an indication of the financial pressures in the capital. He wrote to Stein later, when she was preparing to leave Mallorca: 'Do come back [to Paris] before the price of living gets so high you wont be able to stay.' (22 March 1916. YCAL Cook correspondence). Stein invested the large sum of money, from the sale of Matisse's painting, indirectly back into her work by remaining on the island for a year, when she had initially anticipated a short visit.³⁰

³⁰'Why do we stay on the island. We have several reasons. It is inexpensive, money is easily gotten and there are no victims.' (*All Sunday A&B* p.126). The words 'money is easily' in *All Sunday* aligns the financial concerns with 'easily careful' in *Let Us Be Easily Careful*.

Receipt of Mike Stein's money, prior to her departure for Mallorca, must have made Stein aware that she could not depend upon an income from her own publications. She had hoped that Carl Van Vechten might raise some money by selling her work:

As I wrote to you I want to make some money just now and as you know I have quantities of things short things and long things.
(9 December 1914. *Letters of G.S. and C.V.V.* p.34)

However, Stein sold only one piece between the date of this appeal and her departure for Mallorca.³¹

Conserving funds throughout the year living in Palma infiltrates the compositions because Stein had become closely involved in the daily expenses of a household. For the first time, she was budgeting for the costs of establishing a new home for herself and Alice Toklas. Unlike her varied life in Paris, there were few distractions to divert her attention from the minutiae of housekeeping finances. Stein was not impoverished, and this is indicated by the relaxed tone of being 'easily careful'. Yet, *Let Us Be Easily Careful* gives a literary expression to the frugal use of monetary resources.

Let Us Be Easily Careful aligns money with writing, and with readership. The formation of a repeating title phrase imposes a structure upon these interweaving themes. It is my interpretation that the word 'careful' expresses Stein's new attention to financial expenditure. Evidence for this opinion is partly based upon her use of the same vocabulary in another Mallorcan narrative: *Farragut or A Husband's Recompense*.³²

³¹'Aux Galeries Lafayette' appeared in *Rogue* 1, 1 (March 1915), pp.13-14 (Wilson, *Gertrude Stein: A Bibliography*, p.124).

³²*Farragut or A Husband's Recompense* is arranged in BTS Volume 13, before *This One Is Serious*. The latter is the first text written in an Amengual Y Muntaner Mallorcan notebook (See Appendix 1). It is placed after *Monsieur Vollard et Cezanne*, which was written in Paris (See Chapter 2). *Farragut or A Husband's Recompense* is probably a Mallorcan composition because the name 'Ferragut' appears regularly in *La Almudaina*. One member of the Ferragut family was a Lieutenant in the Mallorcan navy: '[...] el ayudante de Marina señor Ferragut [...]' (18 April 1915. *La Almudaina* p.1); 'El teniente de navio don Antonio Ferragut, nombrado recientemente Ayudante de Marina del distrito de Sóller, ha tornado posesión del cargo.' (11 July 1915. *La Almudaina* p.1. Sóller is a town in northern Mallorca).

Mention of a clock, in the final lines of *Let Us Be Easily Careful*, joins its subject with *Farragut or A Husband's Recompense*. In both texts, financial concerns are focused upon small daily economies:

Leave out the clock.
We are not tired of it.
(*Let Us Be Easily Careful* PL p.39)

When I was wishing and sitting I wished for a clock. I meant to pick out an expensive one. I did so and now dear one is economising.
(*Farragut or A Husband's Recompense* UK p.14)

Purchase of this clock provokes Stein to consider, through unlocated speakers in the voice-montage, that the sale of her work cannot accommodate such extravagance. Whilst she reflects that her writing is not financially lucrative, she also expresses the certainty that present thrift is only a temporary necessity:

It is right for dear one to be economising. And some day we will be rich. You'll see. It won't be a legacy, it won't be selling anything, it won't be purchasing, it will just be irresistible and then we will spend money and buy everything a dog a Ford letter paper, furs, a hat, kinds of purses, and nearly something new that we have not yet been careful about.
(*Farragut or A Husband's Recompense* UK p.15)

The words 'selling anything' could refer to Mike Stein's purchase of Matisse's painting, *La Femme au Chapeau*, which replaced the 'irresistible' recognition of readers buying her work. Stein's confidence in her future acknowledgement by the literary establishment is couched in economic terms. A single sentence gains momentum as its vocabulary accumulates into a fantasy shopping list. It ends by repeating the key word of *Let Us Be Easily Careful*, in anticipating the day when they will no longer need to be 'careful' about spending money.

If the authorial voice in the text is read as Stein, the unnamed woman may be read as Toklas.³³ Upon this woman is conferred the desire for money. In terms of an

³³My interpretation that this extract from *Farragut or A Husband's Recompense* refers to Alice Toklas is based upon Stein's earlier assessment of Toklas as an admirer of success. Success is aligned with Toklas in the early notebooks: 'Alice Toklas has not

encoded relationship, this represents the success of readership:

Success is what she was supposed to favour. How was she supposed to favour success. She was supposed to favour success by being fond of money.
(*Farragut or A Husband's Recompense* UK p.11)

'A husband's recompense' is Stein's pledge that the eventual sale of her work will repay Toklas for her steadfastness. Thrift, which is Toklas' gesture of confidence in Stein, is essential to the fidelity of their relationship.³⁴ In *Farragut or A Husband's Recompense*, Stein speculates about the shared pleasures of spending money in the future. By contrast, in *Let Us Be Easily Careful* she uses the formation of a repeating title phrase to reiterate the call to share economies which are required immediately.

Farragut or A Husband's Recompense conveys a sense of extravagance. Through a shopping list, it captures the exuberant fantasy of unlimited wealth: '[...] a dog a Ford letter paper, furs, a hat, kinds of purses [...].' It mixes the cheap and the expensive items. In this random accumulation, Stein omits comma pauses to imply hasty acquisition. *Let Us Be Easily Careful* records the purchase of modest items using the same word, 'economising':

Large water and towels. I don't see any necessity for economising.
We are going to change everything.
Let us make out a careful list of what we have ordered.
(*Let Us Be Easily Careful* PL p.35)

'Careful' has the sense of 'accurate' in this call for limiting excessive spending by listing

a slow mind, it is a blind mind and not an awful lot of it but it is quick enough [...] perfect specimen of flavor group except that it does not satisfy her. Have to do miracle on another to win her, the worldly side of her, the appeal to her admiration of success.'
(YCAL MOA NB-C).

³⁴The text continues: 'Didn't Henry and Herbert love you.' (*Farragut or A Husband's Recompense* UK p.11). The manuscript notebook has 'Nellie' lined through, with 'Henry' written above it (YCAL HG 112). The question 'Didn't Nelly and Lily love you' is repeated intermittently in Stein's work (after 1907) as confirmation that Toklas had absolute constancy. 'Lily' is Elizabeth Hansen whom Toklas knew in Seattle, and called 'Lily Anna'. 'Nellie' is Eleanor Joseph, a friend from San Francisco who later married Frank Jacot (Toklas, *What Is Remembered*, pp.11-12). 'Didn't Nelly and Lily Love You' is the title of a text written in 1922 (HG 262).

exactly which items were ordered. A resolution to 'change everything' indicates a new attention to small details. One speaker realizes that there is 'necessity for economising'. Comparison with *Farragut or A Husband's Recompense* creates a Mallorcan context for my interpretation that *Let Us Be Easily Careful* is concerned with Stein's financial situation. Moreover, the contrasting styles emphasize her innovative formation of a repeating title phrase. Stein uses an iterative pattern to release subtle nuances from a rhythmic structure of the narrative form.

Repeating the title phrase means there is no escape for the reader, nor for the unlocated speakers, from the insistent verbal pattern. *Let Us Be Easily Careful* accumulates impressions of a pressing financial concern via unnamed interlocutors who consistently re-formulate the phrase. An awareness of money has been shown to be a factor in Stein's Mallorcan context, and it is expressed in more than one Mallorcan narrative. However, the formation of a repeating title phrase structures an entire work from this subject matter. Above the theme of controlling domestic purchases, Stein's concern in *Let Us Be Easily Careful* is with the resonances arising from a single phrase.

To balance the iterative formation, Stein uses one-line statements to bring lightness to the visual presentation of the voice-montage. Also, she plays humorously with the need to be financially 'careful'. There is a wry glance at the substitution of cheap items for expensive ones:

We praise the menu.
Yes and we ask what can we substitute for lobsters.
There is no substituting anything for them.
(*Let Us Be Easily Careful* PL p.37)

Another Mallorcan narrative creates a lightly comic statement from the cost of lobsters: 'I satisfied her by saying that cuttle fish are lobsters for the poor.' (*I Have No Title To Be Successful* PL p.24). Stein makes a joke from the call in the title: 'Let Us'. An inequality within the relationship in *Farragut or A Husband's Recompense* was caused by the imposition of thrift upon one partner by the extravagance of the other. This text repeats the need to share economies, and finds a humour in it:

Lettuce. He said they did not have lettuce. Green peas. They have green peas.
(*Let Us Be Easily Careful* PL p.35)

A sense of unity, expressed in the words 'let us', sets apart those who are 'easily careful' from those who are not: '[...] they did not have lettuce.' One group becomes worthy of imitation, due to their economies: 'Let us be easily careful to compare ourselves with another. [...] We are examples of moderation.' (*Let Us Be Easily Careful* PL p.36 and p.37). Verbal play in the words 'let us' and 'lettuce' creates a pleasant sense of amusement, and it serves to enforce the bond between unlocated speakers.

In another way, Stein creates a sense of lightness to counteract the insistent verbal structure. Repeating the title phrase becomes a loving language, as well as the reality of paying for merchandise:

Let us be easily careful.
Say that with me.
I say that with you.
(*Let Us Be Easily Careful* PL p.38)

A language of financial care arises 'easily' from the simple vocabulary. Dialogues between responsive voices, a spacious visual structure and the gradual accumulation of lists all contribute to alleviate the weight of repeating a single phrase.

The formation of a repeating title phrase releases a hymn-like incantation. It creates a verbal pattern which leads to other repetitions:

Do you pronounce it.
I always pronounce it.
[...]
It is very fortunate that we did so. Why fortunate. Because we consider it fortunate.
(*Let Us Be Easily Careful* PL p.38 and p.35 MS & BTS have 'Why fortunate.' HG 133. PL has 'Very fortunate.')

Variations upon the call, 'let us be easily careful', represent a discipline for Stein to work within structural constraints. This technique places an insistence for thrift within the requirements of an iterative pattern. The subject, and the formation, could have combined to create a dense narrative text. However, Stein chose to celebrate a sense of union between unlocated speakers by exploiting an ambiguous phrase. Voices

are never tied to named characters, and the precise details of how they will economize does not weigh down the voice-montage:

Let us be easily careful.
Finish again.
We are easily careful in this way.
I am going to try to begin earlier.
(*Let Us Be Easily Careful* PL p.38)

Repeating a title phrase concentrates the subject of financial prudence which is expressed, but is diffused, in other Mallorcan narratives. Stein conveys a positive union between two speakers, one of whom states a new resolution: 'I am going to try [...].'
Artistic merit in *Let Us Be Easily Careful* lies in its contrast between the formulaic single phrase and the shifting contexts of the voice-montage. A reader is not invited to learn in which 'way' the speaker will be 'easily careful'. Stein applied the formation of a repeating title phrase to a subject that was directly influencing her. By detaching direct references to it, she promoted the light sound of the voice-montage.

Household economy has relevance in the context of women writing about their experiences during the Great War. *Let Us Be Easily Careful* exploits the formation of a repeating title phrase to ensure that the reader cannot escape the demands of saving money. Financial concerns influence the author's life, and consequently her insistent narrative text. An iterative formation concentrates aspects of economic prudence, which are arranged within other Mallorcan texts:

What have you selected. Very good sponges. But they are expensive. They are not necessarily cheap. We feel that they ask an extraordinary price here.
(*I Like It To Be A Play. A Play* G&P p.288)

Some find that at the end of the war they are not able to continue paying on their houses.

Does this affect you.

Oh no because even if the father of my child is killed his sister will continue to give the money. She is obliged to by law.

(*A Collection. My Dear Miss Carey: A Story* G&P p.24)

Emphasis upon being 'easily careful' introduces women's ordinary lives into the literary discourse of the Great War. In 1915-16, Stein presented her experience of the daily effort to spend wisely. In this respect, she was giving voice to an unrecorded aspect of female lives. 'Some are wives not heroes' she noted in *Lifting Belly* (BTV p.81), as she turned her attention towards the need to make small economies in a larger context of war. Stein was creating innovative formations to bring an aesthetic expression to a silent part of society.

Martin Stephen seeks to incorporate female authors into the canon of war literature by including their work within his anthology of Great War poetry. He argues that the critical neglect of texts by women, dated 1914-18, results from their social roles, which became their subject matter:

Perhaps most tragic of all was the plight of women who lost husbands, fiancés or lovers in the war, and who were then often faced with families to bring up through long, lonely years, in a world where the one-parent family was regarded as being morally, socially and culturally unacceptable. History has stayed curiously silent on this particular aspect of suffering in the war.³⁵

Martin Stephen highlights the suffering of women excluded from society by the death of the male head of the household. Stein's approach to the same subject is vigorous and realistic. Referring to the facts of French law, high prices and rent payments, she counteracts the passive mourning of 'long, lonely years'. Her vision of female lives in the Great War is positive. In the two examples quoted above, for instance, the dialogue focusing upon the cost of sponges creates unity between the interlocutors who agree that they are being overcharged. Also, the unmarried mother is clear-sighted that the law will protect her financially. Stein wrote honestly of how the Great War affected her life in Mallorca, and that was partly financial.

Margaret Higonnet reasons why women's war writing is rarely included in collections of war poetry. She believes critics feel that it deals with issues defined as small, in relation to male involvement in combat:

³⁵Martin Stephen ed., *Never Such Innocence: A New Anthology of Great War Verse* (London: Buchan & Enright Publishers, 1988), pp.263-64.

Since the definition of war poetry privileges actual battlefield experience, women who are barred from combat can only participate in this literary mode at second hand. [...] Even when women writers describe the wartime losses that they have suffered as women - as wives, mothers, and lovers - they are displaced, for the primary loss in war literature is inevitably death; mourning is secondary.³⁶

By focusing upon women who survive financial hardship, Stein denies this interpretation of secondariness. She presents a testimony to women's unity and optimism. *Let Us Be Easily Careful* frames the voice-montage in the formation of a repeating title phrase to demand the reader's constant awareness of economic pressures. Critics wishing to redress the neglect of women's war writing might look to *Let Us Be Easily Careful*. They would find a work which rebuts the definition that 'war poetry privileges actual battlefield experience'. Stein creates visual patterns, and aural rhythms, in a narrative text which repeatedly states one impact of war upon ordinary women. This is the essential dualism of *Let Us Be Easily Careful*. Stein's achievement is greater than her attention to female thrift during the Great War. She encases this subject within an innovative formation. Critics seeking to uncover an unwritten female experience would also encounter complex resonances arising from the repeating of a title phrase.

5

Household matters are presented within the formation of a repeating title phrase in *Look At Us*. Emphasis is placed upon calling people to 'look' at unnamed figures performing domestic chores. A bond is established among a group of speakers who feel that they deserve the admiring gaze of observers. Repeating the call for watchers to confirm an ideal union marks a division between the active speakers and the dependent observers, who are commanded to 'look at us'. Neither the callers, nor the watchers, are identified.

Anonymity creates an uncertainty about the individuals to whom the repeating title phrase is addressed. People invited to 'look at us' differ in various applications of the phrase. In some cases, they are the watchers of a domestic situation. One speaker

³⁶Margaret Randolph Higonnet, ed., *Behind The Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars* (New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1987), Introduction, p.14.

catalogues ordinary activities, and demands praise. In other cases, it is the reader of the printed text, where these activities are described, whom the author addresses. Also, the person invited to look may be identified as Alice Toklas. She becomes the interlocutor of a private, sensuous exchange. I will consider each of the three options to show how Stein uses the voice-montage to conjure impressions of many external observers.

In *Look At Us*, insular activity is balanced by an outward call to detached observers. Household chores, and everyday events, are placed in a context where a speaker seeks validation by other unnamed persons. Observers who 'look' at simple actions have the purpose of unifying the group which calls for praise.

Stein uses the voice-montage, and the formation of a repeating title phrase, to express the subject of domestic economy. An unlocated dialogue records a similar concern to *Let Us Be Easily Careful*, but a contrast lies in the need for witnesses:

We were not pleased altogether and yet we talked of household economy. How do you save.
Why do you look at us.
(*Look At Us* PL p.260)

This interrogative voice, which asks 'How do you save', defines two groups of speakers. One group is questioned about how they save, and why they look. A bond is created between the people who talk of household economy, and who are watched. An excluded group defines a unified group by their act of looking, and by provoking the others' call to 'look at us'.

Look At Us answers the question 'Why do you look at us' by describing a paradigm of domestic happiness. Stein conveys the ideal unity of a couple as they perform various daily tasks. Unlocated speakers constantly invite observers to witness their pleasure by calling, in effect: 'look at what we do'. Whilst documenting events in an ordinary life, the iterative structure takes its expression beyond the depiction of quotidian chores. For instance, the detail of purchasing a hat is given the progression of a narrative plot:

Did we get a hat. This is the way we did it. We went in and said we do not care to stay long. We do not care to sit down. We stand. We are very well satisfied with the hat.

(Look At Us PL p.259)

These brief statements invest a small incident with dramatic potential. A paragraph expressing determination is created from the tone of authority with which the purchase is made, the shared pleasure in the hat, and the unity of the speakers. Purchase of a hat is used to indicate a secure relationship. People are unified against the hat-seller by the inclusion in each short sentence of the word 'we'. Although the event has taken place, and the hat is bought, Stein describes it in the present tense to convey the immediacy of triumph over the hat-seller. Staccato sentences reproduce the force with which the business is conducted. Each statement transmits the directness of the verbal exchanges in the shop.

A varied domestic situation is presented in simple, informative statements:

We are by the fire and it burns. (PL p.260)

We went to dinner. (PL p.260)

We are walking, we walk a great deal. We lead a dog. (PL p.260)

We often discuss about the paper. (PL p.263)

We had a picnic. (PL p.264)

(Look At Us)

Details about a life of intimacy, and homely pleasures, are provided by an unlocated speaker who calls for observers to validate these activities. Furthermore, this speaker desires those who watch also to speak. As if presenting lyrics to troubadours, the person wants a body of singers to praise its actions: 'Look at us in the evening and sing.' (*Look At Us PL p.260*). It is not simply a visual act that is demanded, but also language. Detached observers would not only 'look' but speak, and then sing.

Ordinary activities are recorded in the formation of a repeating title phrase, which encourages the reader to 'look at' their visual presentation. An artifice implicit in the structure arises from constant calls to a detached observer. External witnesses look coldly at the relationship without knowing its history. In this interpretation, Stein replaces the autobiographical union, 'us' implying herself and Alice Toklas, with the

objective text.³⁷ Depicting an intimate life, which the reader can place within a specific Mallorcan context, the shock of detached vision is a reminder that Stein intends to be 'looked at' in publication.

Janis Townsend notes that the repeating title enables the reader to see patterns in the text. She argues that this method places the author in her work, not through autobiographical fact, but through the act of writing:

Repetitive forms refer the writer and the reader back to the context of the work - the writer herself - and do this at the same time as they reveal the writer from a variety of stances.³⁸

The role of the detached onlooker within the text represents the reader outside the text. In *Look At Us*, Stein envisages an audience, not to her life but to her writing of it:

When I ask you to look at us I want you to mean that you will be critical not of us nor of our publications but earnest and encouraging. Do you think they will publish us.

I do.

Look at us as we walk along.

(*Look At Us* PL p.260)

As the authorial voice, in this interpretation, Stein asks for an affirmative response which will express confidence in her 'publications'. In the first sentence, she addresses the critic of the future. Looking out of her text, she anticipates the readers of her published words. In the second sentence, her question is posed to an interlocutor who is present, and who speaks an immediate reply. This narrative text contains references to its own publication as Stein moves from the moment of observers looking at her, to the moment of observers looking at her words. Detachment of the author from the text is implied in the use of 'publish us', rather than 'publish me'. Such objectivity could

³⁷Stein also includes the sudden voice of objectivity in *All Sunday*. The minutiae of a daily routine, and the rhapsody of a shared intimacy, are detached by someone who does not know of their lives, or their names: 'Ask about two ladies from California.' (*All Sunday* A&B p.109). The 'two ladies' are isolated within a community by their nationality, caught in the accent of their speech. These Californian women have an implicit reference to Stein and Toklas, but the relevance of this unlocated voice is the way in which it calls for speech from the observer: 'Ask about [...].'

³⁸Townsend, 'The Singing Self', p.110.

indicate an abbreviation of the title, in effect: 'Do you think they will publish [Look At] us.' The publication of *Look At Us* is not only the printing of words. It is the publication, in the sense of making public, of the relationship which is the source of its voice-montage.

Artifice within the text is apparent in the presentation of details of a daily life within a structure which re-works a fixed phrase. When there is an alteration to this repeating formula, the work becomes a commentary on the linguistic edifice from which it is constructed:

Look at us for us.
No that was a mistake.
It has been printed that that was a mistake.
Are you pleased that it was a mistake.
Yes I am pleased that it was a mistake.
Why do you say look at us.
Because I do not say look at us for us.
(*Look At Us* PL pp.261-62)

A mistake is discovered, it 'has been printed' on the notebook page. Since it is not erased, it becomes part of the work which will be published. Stein introduces herself into the narrative text through a decision to leave the mistaken words: 'Look at us for us.' She then inserts the correction: 'I do not say look at us for us.' Using the voice-montage, Stein repeats the word 'mistake' in a prominent position at the end of four lines. She creates a new patterning in the formation, as the repeated single word balances the repeated title phrase. The author's statement of intent is to leave the 'mistake' in the final draft, but not to add the words 'for us' to the formulaic phrase. By testing an alternative phrase, Stein encourages the reader to 'look at' the visual presentation of the voice-montage.

This repeating style is structured in paragraphs, as well as in single-line arrangements. As the subject matter is not explained, an ambiguity draws the reader's attention to the repetitions. Other instances of reiteration expand the rhythmic pattern of the title phrase:

They are not necessary. A great many people are not necessary. That is to say a great many people are not necessary. Certainly a great many people are not necessary.
(*Look At Us* PL p.262)

These 'necessary' people could be Stein's anticipation of her readers. If they discern the 'mistake' in the voice-montage, which differentiates its formation from conventional narrative prose, there need not be 'a great many people' who look at the published work. Onlookers within the text, those who define Stein and Toklas as an ideal example of contented living, also need not be numerous. Only one person might be addressed in the call to 'look at us.'

Anonymous speakers in the voice-montage allow an interpretation that Alice Toklas is the one person addressed in *Look At Us*. The formation of a repeating title phrase gives prominence to her initials throughout the text.³⁹ With each reiteration in this Mallorcan narrative, Stein may be encoding her love for Toklas. By integrating these initials into the title phrase, Stein is saying, in effect: 'look, Alice Toklas, at us.'

Importance which the interlocutors attach to the title is established in an unlocated dialogue. Speakers agree that the heading should represent the content:

All the iron work in Spain.
That's a nice title.
This is not a description of that.
No indeed.
(*Look At Us* PL p.263)

Alice Toklas can be identified as the subject of the 'description', and as the one addressed. With this interpretation, she introduces an eroticism into the act of looking, which is called for in the repeating title phrase. Stein invites Toklas to join with her in looking at their bodies:

³⁹My interpretation is also based upon Stein's use of Alice Toklas' initials as a title for a voice-montage narrative dated 1914. On the inside cover of the manuscript notebook of *At* (1914), Stein doodles with the initials (which are also the title) in lower case, and in decorative upper case (YCAL HG 105). A line within the text, 'It's touching the butcher.' (*At* BTV p.156), is written in Alice Toklas' handwriting. She becomes part of the process of composition by transcribing, or copying, a sentence which focuses upon flesh and touch.

Shall we look at us.
[...]
We look at us every day.
(*Look At Us* PL p.262 and p.264)

Intimacy in this gaze might refer to Alice Toklas' eyes because she can see herself, and Stein, 'every day'. *Lifting Belly*, governed by the formation of a repeating title phrase, shows how the act of looking is also an act of loving: 'Bright eyes I make you ties.' (BTV p.90). An appeal to look is part of a lightly flirtatious dialogue:

Look at us please.
Why do you say look at us.
Look at us please.
Will you promise something if I do.
Yes.
(*Look At Us* PL p.263)

Hints of a sexual gaze slip easily into the various re-workings of the title phrase, and they are akin to the language of *Lifting Belly*. There is also a direct, physical expression of love: 'Bow to the prettiest and kiss the one you love the best.' (*Look At Us* PL p.265). In both texts, Stein avoids a straightforward account of sexual intimacy by promoting the formation of a repeating title phrase through which it interweaves. When critics concentrate upon the erotic quality of the repeating words 'lifting belly', they could also look at the other Mallorcan narrative which couches a sensuous language in a formulaic structure:

Look at us we are so pretty.
Lovely.
Beautiful.
Silky.
Oh yes we are silky.
Look at us.
(*Look At Us* PL p.267)

Unlocated voices express an admiration which gathers momentum from 'pretty' to 'lovely', and then to 'beautiful'. Physical sensuousness in these adjectives leads up to one word: 'silky'. It suggests touch, and the exchange of that touch: '[...] we are silky.' Stein exploits the voice-montage to draw attention to words which are simultaneously

descriptions and endearments. A poetic quality arises from the rhythmic double-syllables at the end of four lines; pretty, lovely, silky. These words are isolated on the page to build a visual symmetry, evoking the equal union between speakers who enjoy the physical appearance of their own bodies.

Observers have increasingly intimate roles. Detached witnesses are called upon to praise a domestic situation in which they are not participants. Readers of the published text are encouraged to study the verbal patterns, and to share the author's engagement with the words. Finally, Alice Toklas becomes representative of a private, erotic gaze. In *Look At Us*, Stein uses the voice-montage to transform an everyday, almost child-like, call into a shifting and ambivalent phrase.

A balance between iterative structure, and domestic subject, marks Stein's achievement in *Lifting Belly*, *Let Us Be Easily Careful* and *Look At Us*. Using the formation of a repeating title phrase, she weaves realistic details among these ambiguous key words. An intimate relationship gave rise to three Mallorcan narratives which praise, and also disguise, the actual union which is their source. There is a teasing fun in the language.

In these works, the voice-montage has qualities of a verbal flirtation, giving lightly suggestive impressions which evade sexual stridency. Physical union is expressed in various ways: a sexual intimacy which mingles with a realistic domestic environment in *Lifting Belly*; a companionable sharing of financial economies in *Let Us Be Easily Careful*; a voyeuristic gaze at human bodies, and also a detached onlooker at homely pastimes, in *Look At Us*.

These are three tributes to the central role that Alice Toklas played in Stein's life, and writing, in Mallorca. Moreover, they are three challenging texts which demonstrate Stein's assessment of the aural rhythms, and the visual patterns, which can emerge from a single phrase in the voice-montage. A combination of private celebration and literary innovation is exemplified by the formation of a repeating title phrase.

In contrast to the isolation of a single title phrase, by its repetition throughout the work, Stein drew attention to different sentences by separating them from the text. A formation of headline texts exploits page space to generate an impact from statements which are presented once. Capitalized, indented headings⁴⁰ create a visual shock. With this structural device, they reproduce the design of a newspaper page. Various Mallorcan compositions are arranged by sparse headlines, followed by brief paragraph units, to report aspects of international events, and domestic incidents.

Stein had used the formation of indented headings in her previous voice-montage compositions. Her change of focus in the Mallorcan headline texts is two-fold. First, the headings are capitalized. An impression of newspaper headlines is generated with this typographic alteration, and the force of the indented sentences is stronger. Secondly, Stein applies the terse style of newspaper reportage to her sentences. It is a different approach to the structure, and to the style, which leads me to delineate between the formations of the indented headings and the headline texts.

In *Pink Melon Joy*, Stein applied a technique similar to the incorporation of cuttings from actual newspapers in 'papier collé' paintings. Advertisements, and sentences akin to hyperbolic reportage, give the impression of extracts quoted directly from newspapers. This method is at variance with the formation of headline texts. Here, the voice-montage statements are purely of Stein's invention. In the headline texts, Stein applies the visual structure of the newspaper page, and the declarative sentences of reportage, to her own language. By placing her own words into this visually rigid pattern, she is able to bring detachment to expressions of personal emotion, and to descriptions of events in Mallorca.

Headline texts are aligned within two main areas: the Great War and the Mallorcan environment. Before studying each in detail, I will give an outline of their essential differences.

First, Stein exploits the newspaper design to present her feelings about the Great War. She displays words to re-create the shock of reading about carnage. News of the

⁴⁰In the manuscript notebooks containing headline texts, divisions between the units of narrative are made when one unwritten page is folded vertically in half. A new section begins on the following page. These divisions are reproduced in the published versions by indentation, and by line space.

war was received largely through newspapers, and her dependence upon this medium prompted an adaptation of the voice-montage to the headline structure. Her technique is to reproduce the juxtaposition, on the newspaper page, of momentous and insignificant events. Also, artistic detachment is brought to expressions of personal response to the Great War. Capitalized headlines provide objective voices, which are read as external comments upon the emotive paragraphs which follow.

Advertisements serves as an example of the newspaper montage, which sets references to violence alongside minor concerns:

How dare you hurt the other with canes. I hope he killed him. Read it. I believe Bulgaria. I have pledges. I have relief.

I AM NOT PATIENT

I am interested. In that table. I like washing gates with a mixture. We get it by bringing up melons. White melons have a delicious flavor.
(*Advertisements* G&P p.342)

Stein contrasts, without statement or explanation, the peaceful domestic occupation of washing gates with the violence of international combat. It might be the same unidentified speaker who states a desire for murder, and who then expresses pleasure in eating melons. Alternatively, the textual division could indicate the conflict of people who oppose each other. Unlocated speakers in the voice-montage would then become representative of the named nation, Bulgaria, which was fighting in the Great War. Extremes of emotion, of hatred and enjoyment, are given detachment by the capitalized headline which emphasizes the visual structure.

Secondly, local Mallorcan news is presented within the formation of headline texts. Unlike the single subject of the Great War, a variety of small incidents are described. This formation arranges them into short paragraphs, but the headlines do not influence the reading of the words. Details of a Spanish environment are isolated, and their sparse presentation gives a sense of stories briefly told:

SPANISH CHATTINGS

Do you keep books.

All weddings are back.

Pigeons.

Pigeons recognise persons. Do they. We saw them. They flew around.

(A Collection G&P p.25)

Unlocated voices become part of the 'chattings' which conjure a Spanish scene. People discuss books, and then comment upon weddings and pigeons flying. A quiet atmosphere prevails, in contrast to the subject of the Great War. Capitalized headlines are a means to create textual units of peaceful news, their aim is not to juxtapose horror and pleasure.

A consistent exploration of the visual impact of the voice-montage aligns the subjects of the Great War and the Mallorcan environment. These two broad areas represent the mixture of articles in a newspaper, in which international events are reported alongside parochial concerns. Headline texts dated 1915-16 show how Stein was examining the effect of a formation which can shock, and tell stories, when it is governed by the structural requirements of a newspaper design.

The Great War was the most urgent news item during Stein's year in Mallorca. Extensive coverage in the international English-language papers, and in the local Spanish papers, drew attention to various styles of war reports. By including aspects of the Great War in her headline texts, Stein was acknowledging the impact of this subject upon actual newspapers. Moreover, she was adapting the voice-montage to its visual structure, and to its literary implications. These are important compositions because they reveal that Stein, at a distance from the Great War, was confronting the problem of writing accurately, and creatively, of war experience.

To investigate the artistic effects Stein generated from this single, vast subject, it is useful to begin with a Mallorcan headline text entitled *Marry Nettie*.⁴¹ This work

⁴¹My interpretation that *Marry Nettie. Alright Make It A Series And Call It Marry Nettie* is a Mallorcan composition is based upon three main factors. First, it could have been composed in 1916, and bound with texts of 1917, due to lack of space in the BTS Volumes. It is text Number 4, at the beginning of BTS Volume 15. Therefore, it is dated 1917 in the 1929 *transition* bibliography, and in the HG chronology (HG 155).

clearly states the relationship between the language in newspapers and her own writing of the Great War:

SPANISH NEWSPAPER.

A spanish newspaper says that the king went to a place and addressed the artillery officer who was there and told him, artillery is very important in war.
(*Marry Nettie* PL p.44)

Stein was presenting a formation which imposes a sharpness of visual isolation upon an ambiguous language. For instance, the word 'war' is an emphatic end to a long sentence. This final word catches the reader's attention because there is white page space before the next headline. Yet, the subject matter of this sentence is vague. The spanish newspaper, the king, the place, the artillery officer are not named. Accumulating data leads to the statement that 'artillery is very important in war.' By exploiting the page space, Stein created a visual impact from the king's spoken words.

Newspapers interject the language of war into household situations. Stein captured the sense of news reports intruding a violent subject, through the written word, into a peaceful environment:

WHY ARE WE PLEASED.

We are pleased because we have an electrical fan.
May the gods of Moses and of Mars help the allies. They do they will.
(*Marry Nettie* PL p.46)

The formation of headline texts provides a structure for the emotive material. Pleasure in a domestic item is matched by confidence in the gods' help to the allies. Two different answers are given, in this segment, to the headline question: 'why are we pleased.' Priority is merged between the small and the large concerns because both cool

However, I see the works arranged at the start of BTS Volume 15 as an overflow of BTS Volume 14, which contains the Mallorcan writings. Secondly, it includes many references which also appear in works dated 1915-16. For example: 'It was astonishing to find a sugar holder with the stars and stripes of liberty in an antiquity shop in Spain. I did it.' (*I Have No Title To Be Successful* PL p.23); 'It was very interesting to find a sugar bowl with the United States seal on one side and the emblem of liberty on the other.' (*Marry Nettie* PL p.43). Thirdly, it corresponds with the structure of other Mallorcan headline texts.

air, and victory for the allies, bring equal pleasure.

In this juxtaposition of household affairs and Great War battles, Stein may have been imitating the style of the 'spanish newspaper', *La Almudaina*. It was usually only a single-page publication, at most it was two pages. In this small printed space, it carried reports of local Mallorcan events and international news about the Great War. These opposing subjects are noticeable due to their condensed presentation. Reference to 'the gods of Moses and of Mars' could refer to a section of *La Almudaina* which exemplifies this contrast. On the front page, under headlines implying an actual end to the war, is a full column quotation from the French fortune-teller, Mme. Thebes:

El conflicto europeo.

El final de la guerra.

La famosa pitonisa francesa Mme. Thebes predice el porvenir de la actual guerra en los términos siguientes:

< [...] La guerra terminara en Julio de 1915. Esta es mi prediccion, basada en la conjunción de Marte y Júpiter. [...] >

(21 May 1915. *La Almudaina* p.1)

Through the headline texts, Stein responded to her receipt of news about the Great War. She created a textual arrangement, similar to the one presented in the newspaper, which placed a private faith in predictions alongside factual data concerning the war. This sparse headline appears to offer evidence of an end to the fighting, but the report takes a more speculative approach. Stein did not use the montage technique as a declension of subject from war to minor issues. Instead, she raised the literary value of everyday matters to the status of factual reportage. Stein was investigating the different ways language can be interpreted when its context is dislocated by a declarative headline.

The Great War provoked deep feeling in Gertrude Stein. She used the newspaper structure to control the expression of her emotions. Detachment in the formation of headline texts is exemplified by *Universe or Hand-Reading*. An unlocated voice states the need to document the experience of war:

I have decided.

In favor of liberty and all the rest of it.

I wish to establish sentences.

(*Universe or Hand-Reading* PL p.268)

An anonymous speaker, who could be interpreted as Stein, states a determination to 'establish sentences' within a permanent literary work. This voice-montage extract urges relevance beyond the subject matter of authorial delight or despair. Headline texts have a considered tone in which emotion becomes powerful in plain statements. It is a style notable for its restrained avowals: 'I have decided./ In favor of liberty [...].'

In his 'study in the evolution of lyric and narrative form' of Great War poetry, John H. Johnston notes the 'liabilities of the personal response'.⁴² He cites poets who sought to express fragmented, impressionistic details within the coherent style of lyric verse:

Thoroughly saturated with the sights and sounds of war, their imaginations lacked the support of a living poetic tradition capable of assimilating new materials and dealing with the disorder and violence of warfare. Thus poetry was but a single step from action and reflected - sometimes too directly and too grossly - the physical extremities that inspired it.⁴³

In 1915-16, Stein was not 'saturated with the sights and sounds of war'. She had no direct involvement with casualties until her war relief work with the AFW in 1917 (See Appendix 2). A position of distance from the scene of combat enabled her to concentrate upon formations which govern the 'new materials' of her war experience.

In *How Could They Marry Her*, she had examined her own motives for seeking isolation in Mallorca, and those of women who would be close to the war by deciding to nurse in Serbia (See Chapter 2). Emotional response was not fully disguised in this earlier work. Torrents of questions exposed anxieties felt by the unlocated authorial voice. In the Mallorcan headline texts, she returned to the subject of nursing. This formation brought a sense of detachment to her decision, made in 1915, not to engage directly with the war:

⁴²John H. Johnston, *English Poetry of the First World War: A Study in the Evolution of Lyric and Narrative Form* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1964), p.50.

⁴³Johnston, *English Poetry of the First World War*, p.99.

**WE ARE NERVOUS BECAUSE WE DID NOT EXPECT
THAT THERE EVER WOULD BE THIS WAR.**

[...]

We have plenty of time to be nervous. We like dogs that is we say we like nurses. Many people nurse. They nurse fairly well. Many people are not nurses to-day.

(We Have Eaten Heartily and We Were Alarmed PL p.40)

Both the capitalized headline, and the following prose segment, state that a group of people are 'nervous'. Declarative sentences convey this sense of jumpiness by returning, four times, to the subject of nurses. Since their profession is associated with war casualties, they indicate a reason for nervousness felt by the unlocated speaker. Tension builds in the consonance of 'nurses' and 'nervous'. However, moderation in the statement 'They nurse fairly well' avoids an emotional response to the war context in which the women nurse. Using a visual structure akin to the newspaper headline, and short sentences similar to the style of terse news reports, Stein creates an external voice of objective commentary. A detached tone arises from the fact that, in Mallorca, the nurses with whom Stein had closest contact were not medical nurses, but nursery nurses:

DID THE ENGLISH PEOPLE TAKE HIS MUZZLE.

The English nurse who was born in Russia and is of that nation by reason of her birth and race and appearance was out in front of her house. She was there and she has been there near the children.

(We Have Eaten Heartily and We Were Alarmed PL p.41)

Displacement of war into a peaceful environment, shown in the overlap of medical nurses and nursery nurses, is central to the detached tone of the headline texts. Stein used the structure, and the prose style, of newspapers to give shape to her strong feeling. Thereby, she brought a literary purpose to her distance from the European conflict.

In Mallorca, Stein received accounts of the fighting through the mediation of newspapers. She incorporated their page design to reproduce the impact that the Great War had upon language. Headline texts draw attention to the subject matter. It is a style which isolates words to catch the reader's eye:

WILL THEY CRUSH GERMANY

They will crush Germany. There is no doubt about it.
(*A Collection* G&P p.26)

Capitalized headlines are visually effective. Characteristic of all the headline texts, this unit of language is given line space from the preceding section. Since it is the last item in the 'collection', the certainty of this two-sentence response is further isolated by the remaining page space. Absence of a question mark brings continuity to the question and the answer, which flow without a pause. Repeating the vocabulary counteracts the visual dislocation of line space, of upper to lower case and of headline to text. Abrupt change of typeface is set against unbroken momentum in the sentences. Certainty of victory is given emphasis by the sparse diction, and by the typographical design, of newspaper headlines.

Segmented text allows emphatic endings. An emotional release expressed by the voice concluding *A Collection* is heard, and seen, in the exclamation which ends another collection of headlined paragraphs:

WAIT UNTIL WEDNESDAY

[...] Hurrah for France.

(*In Memory (Polybe Silent)* HG 137 MS & BTS have 'UNTIL'. PL p.31 has 'TIL')

An unlocated speaker who decides in favour of 'liberty and all the rest of it', in *Universe or Hand-Reading*, gives voice to an insouciance which hides deep feeling. It is a determination to 'establish sentences' that controls emotional verbosity. This is demonstrated in the cry supporting France. It is given a prominent position as the final statement in this collection. Yet, it is placed in a section with a headline of neutralized emotion. The calm instruction to 'wait until Wednesday' balances the spontaneous yell of 'hurrah'. In the headline texts, Stein had found a structure which could give a visual impact to exuberant voices, and could also bring an innovative formation to the emotional response.

Of all the Mallorcan narratives corresponding to the formation of headline texts,

We Have Eaten Heartily and We Were Alarmed refers most frequently to the Great War. By reproducing a newspaper structure, it catches the interjection of war news into a peaceful, domestic situation. With reference to this work, I will consider in detail the conflict between physical combat, written war reports and household activities.

In *We Have Eaten Heartily and We Were Alarmed*, the context of war is implied by a play upon the word 'alarmed'. It conveys a sense of personal anxiety, and the warning sound of a siren. Hence, its title immediately juxtaposes fulfilment with fear. Stein exploits this contrast by setting the headline against the content of the segment which follows it:

OUR DIPLOMATIC CLASH WITH ENGLAND.

We are not favored with winter weather. We know why we dread summer. Summer is the time for birds and pigeons to fly.
(*We Have Eaten Heartily and We Were Alarmed* PL p.40)

A capitalized headline leads the reader to expect a political discussion on international issues. Violence, implicit in the word 'clash', anticipates the important subject of nations in diplomatic conflict. By contrast, the text is a commentary upon weather and pigeons. Still, this harsh headline influences the tone of the statements. People referred to in the title, those who 'were alarmed', could be the same speakers who are dissatisfied with both winter and summer weather. Change of direction in the subject matter does not end the impression of tension. The headline represents the external events of war, reported in newspapers. Its message infiltrates the conversation focusing on discontent with the unfavourable winter, and the 'dread' of summer.

The opposite technique is used to disconcert the reader when the headline indicates domestic surroundings, and the text which follows is concerned with war. As a dog chases goats, the reader is confronted with a wider context of unending warfare:

NOT AT ALL A GOAT.

Polybe likes to chase the goats. Nobody minds. Please say that you know the war will end and the morning will be rosy and the night blue. Do say that the war will end.
(*We Have Eaten Heartily and We Were Alarmed* PL p.41)

Polybe, the name of the dog, neatly brings together the two central themes: war reports in newspapers, and domestic affairs. Stein named her dog after Polybe Bouton Geborue Reinach. This was the *nom de plume* of the military critic Joseph Reinach who, during this period, wrote for the French newspaper *Le Figaro*.⁴⁴ When Stein uses the name Polybe, she is overlaying references to her life involving walking, feeding and watching the dog, and to newspaper reports of military activity which intrude upon this peaceful world. Stein may have given this particular name to her dog in response to her reading about war news, and Mallorcan news, in *La Almudaina*. Articles on the Great War were regularly taken from the international press, and were translated into Spanish. Mallorcan reporters covered the local events. This juxtaposition is seen in the pseudonym, Polybe, whose war reports were introduced into a Mallorcan environment:

El conflicto europeo.
Los aliados y la situación de los Balkanes.
De *Polybe*, en *Le Figaro*:
[...]
(19 October 1915. *La Almudaina* p.1)

Stein placed the name of her dog in the title of another Mallorcan headline text: *In Memory (Polybe Silent)*. It indicates the style of a newspaper obituary ('In Memory'), and it conveys the silence of death: 'Polly be silent', or 'Polybe [is] silent'. Polybe did not die at this time, he was given away in the winter of 1915-16. A personal sense of loss at the departure of this dog is given detachment by the structure of capitalized headings. This visual device is also used 'in memory' of dead soldiers listed in the newspapers. In the name Polybe, accounts of death in war reports, and in obituaries, give a military context to private, household concerns.

Stein's detached receipt of war news through newspapers is imitated in *We Have Eaten Heartily and We Were Alarmed*. In the opening segment, she reproduces the style of generalized reportage:

⁴⁴Simon, *The Biography of Alice B. Toklas*, p.98.

THE WAR.

In France there is very strong feeling about the war. In Germany there is united feeling about the war. In America there is feeling about the war. In Spain there is hope for the war. In England there is excitement for the war. In Italy there is earnestness in the war.

(We Have Eaten Heartily and We Were Alarmed PL p.39)

Visual sparseness in this capitalized headline is intended to catch the reader's eye. Its emphasis is weakened by the measured tone of the text which follows, and by the delineations of generalized sentiment.⁴⁵ Although the word 'war' is repeated, it does not build to a sense of outrage. This headline phrase is placed at the end of each sentence to give a sense of balanced argument, not of the irrational violence of war. The style is mock-informative. It exposes the type of newspaper reports which enforced the distance between the reality of the trench experience, and the printed accounts to the public. Stein reproduced the generalization of detached reportage to assess the style of styles in which she could catch impressions of the war from her position of distance from its action.⁴⁶ In this extract, her use of the voice-montage shows how closely she was paying attention to the hollow rhetoric created by war reporting.

Reading about the events of the Great War brings a delayed shock. Newspapers create a secondary reaction to their daily accounts of carnage. Response to the printed word means that the event is over by the time it is read. The act of reading, and therefore the reaction, can be postponed:

⁴⁵The Mallorcan writings developed techniques first explored in the Parisian winter 1914-15. This can be seen in the similarity of this extract and a section of *Pink Melon Joy*. One word, 'War', is placed as an indented heading on the left-hand MS page. It is followed by the generalized sentence, 'I wish I was in the time when all the blame was feelingly added to mercies', on the facing right-hand MS page (YCAL HG 106 G&P p.367). A change from the formation of indented headings to the formation of headline texts is Stein's use of capitalized sentences. Headline texts approximate the visual shock of newspaper headlines more closely than the lower case headings.

⁴⁶The response of Ireland, recorded later in this segment, conveys Stein's second-hand receipt of the war news. Originally, she had stated: 'In Ireland there is reading about the war.' (YCAL HG 126). In Stein's handwriting, the word 'for' is placed above the word 'about'. This alteration implies that she chose to emphasize that the act of 'reading for the war' can be a positive contribution.

**WE ARE NERVOUS BECAUSE WE DID NOT EXPECT
THAT THERE EVER WOULD BE THIS WAR.**

[...]

We are able to say that we can no longer be surprised because after a year well it isn't right to be surprised. [...] Do be careful to say that I will read. I will read to-morrow.

(We Have Eaten Heartily and We Were Alarmed PL p.40)

Stein later elaborated her sense of the dislocation between the time of an event, and the time of the reader's reaction to it:

Really what the newspaper does really want to do and what the reader of the newspaper wants the newspaper to do is to know every day what happened the day before and so get the feeling that it has happened on the same day the day the newspaper appeared the day the newspaper reader reads the newspaper and not on the day before.

(Narration pp.35-36)

Stein was using the Mallorcan headline texts to present this sense of delay. She reproduced the newspaper structure, and their current focus on the Great War, to draw attention to the secondary act of reading about war. An impact arising from delayed reading is strong, whether it is days, or decades, after the event. Stein created a formation of headline texts to convey the detached aspect of reading about the front-line experience of the troops.

Like a reporter's copy, the language which follows the shock of the headline belongs to an observer. A contrasting use of one word, 'fatigue', by Stein and by Wilfred Owen, represents her acknowledgement of a delayed response. These quotations show how Stein was expressing her own detachment from the war:

DO BE DEAD.

Soldiers fighting soldiers can walk all day without eating. This has been my experience. If anybody wants this let them assure them that it is tiresome. It must be fatiguing.

(We Have Eaten Heartily and We Were Alarmed PL p.40)

Men marched asleep. Many had lost their boots
But limped on, blood-shod. All went lame; all blind;
Drunk with fatigue [...].⁴⁷

Wilfred Owen places the word 'fatigue' within lines which accumulate descriptions of physical incapacity: asleep, lost, limped, lame, blind, drunk. Weariness in gathering intensity contrasts with the detached context which Stein gave to the same word. She records a distance from events of which she had no experience: 'It must be fatiguing.' Stein responds to the style of newspapers, which were her source of contact with the 'fighting soldiers', in the headline: 'DO BE DEAD.' In the text following this headline, unlocated speakers attempt to convince other observers of the soldiers' fatigue: '[...] let them assure them that it is tiresome.' Detachment is also conveyed in the word 'tiresome', which has the sense of a slight annoyance. She does not re-create the immediate action, expressed in Wilfred Owen's words: 'Men marched asleep.'

When Stein notes that soldiers 'walk all day without eating', the reader is reminded of the title which indicates the opposite situation: 'we have eaten heartily'. Speakers who say 'we were alarmed', in the title, can be interpreted as stating the intrusion of war into their pleasure in eating because this headline calls for the death of soldiers.

In 1915-16, a lack of involvement with the 'fighting soldiers' brought Stein freedom to consider the formations through which the voice-montage could capture her war experience. Headline texts represent Stein's acknowledgement that, for her, newspapers mediated the direct impact of war. By using their structure, and their major subject, she was able to examine the language which could present emotional responses arising from physical distance from the Great War.

In addition to news of the Great War, Stein incorporated local Mallorcan news in the formation of headline texts. Minor incidents are presented within the same structure, and within the same composition, as sections referring to war. In this, the headline texts reproduce the proximity of international and provincial items in newspapers. There is a change of approach when the voice-montage centres upon events in the Mallorcan environment. Headlines divide the text into segments, which Stein refers to as 'stories'.

⁴⁷Wilfred Owen, 'Dulce Et Decorum Est', Jon Silkin, ed., *First World War Poetry* (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1981), pp.182-83.

She made a distinction between the war report and the Mallorcan story. Brief textual units are suited to the telling of a short narrative story, and then passing on to another.

Avoiding the restrictions of a single novelistic plot, Stein used the structure of headline texts to convey a range of small occurrences on the island. She explored the effect of condensing a narrative story into the sparseness of a news report:

I AM NOT PATIENT

[...]

The hope there is is that we will hear the news. We are all elated. Did you see her reading the paper. I cannot help wanting to write a story.

(*Advertisements G&P* p.342)

Unlocated speakers, who share a wish to 'hear the news', move on to discuss a woman reading a newspaper. Two methods of learning news are placed in proximity, and it remains unclear whether the people seek information about international, or local, events. An urge to 'write a story' arises from the combination of aural, and visual, receipt of news.

Stein used the word 'story' as part of the headline, and as a description of the textual unit which follows it. She guided the interpretation of the voice-montage by placing the generic term in the prominent position of a capitalized, indented headline:

MY DEAR MISS CAREY: A STORY

There were little places to see Fernville, the town, the hospital, the lying in hospital, the sea-shore and the city.

(*A Collection G&P* p.23)

A STORY.

Accuracy is by and by to be slightly poisoned by inaccuracy. After all it is their duty to read *Ivanhoe*.

(*Universe or Hand-Reading PL* p.272)

Disparate stories, arranged in sectionalized text, differ from the narrative structure which guides conventional novels. Stein places a direct reference to *Ivanhoe* in the above quotation to highlight this visual contrast. However, an 'accuracy' in Sir Walter Scott's prose joins these two styles. He constructs novels from the minutiae of a particular

environment. Various 'little places' in a small French town, named Fernville, are listed to bring realistic details to the description of this place. A style of 'accuracy' characterizes these segmented units of voice-montage. It is used in another brief description of France. A different approach to the telling of stories occurs in this example because an unlocated speaker transcribes a story told by someone else:

IN MEMORY (POLYBE SILENT)

[...]

I must listen to Jeanne. Let me tell you a story. In Brittany on the coast nobody thinks of sailing or fishing. Farming is preferred. We all reason like this. If you wish to go to a city. You go to Rennes.

(In Memory (Polybe Silent) PL p.29)

Jeanne's words are labelled as a story within the textual unit, unlike the headline which introduces the story told to, or told by, Miss Carey. However, they share the same subjects: the small town, the city, the sea-shore. In the headline texts which present minor concerns, Stein draws attention to the sentences from which the paragraph units are constructed. Each story is short. She adapts a terse style of newspaper reportage to give the impression of someone telling stories aloud. Brief sentences punctuate Jeanne's story. They reproduce the pauses in speech, which do not always come at the end of a syntactic sentence. Declarative statements also emphasize the sparseness of a condensed story: 'If you wish to go to a city. You go to Rennes.' A narrative style which captures fragmented diction would not be so noticeable if Stein had made one grammatical sentence, by introducing a comma pause. Stein avoids prose conventions so she can imitate the jolts in the oral presentation of a story.

Story-tellers halt the progress of a plot in the same way that headlines disrupt the continuation of text:

MY DEAR MISS CAREY: A STORY

[...]

We separate it. We have it to-day. A great many people call. On one another. Not altogether that. The post-office. The post-office of my brother. Now. Not now. Yes he is there now. Since the war. Yes since the war.

(A Collection G&P p.23)

Information is given in sentence fragments. The teller of this story describes a place, 'The post-office', and then adds a personal detail in its repetition: 'The post-office of my

brother.' Headline texts resolved Stein's need to place the small stories of her Mallorcan environment in a structure which had a literary purpose. Her intention, expressed in *Universe or Hand-Reading*, was to 'establish sentences'. She wanted her work to be of greater value than the documentary interest of its subject matter.

In *Advertisements*, anticipation of a successful narrative style lies in the brevity of a story:

BATTLE

[...]

I am not pleased with this. I will get so that I can write a story.

(*Advertisements* G&P p.344)

The 'battle' directly affecting Stein in 1915-16 was not the Great War, it was her own struggle to create innovative formations of the voice-montage. Determination to 'write a story' results in the 'collection' of short paragraph units. Without elaborate description, she catches sparse details:

THEY CAME TOGETHER

I can tell a little story. I cannot describe the character nor the color in the street nor the kind of a stone. A great many people have silver purses.

(*A Collection* G&P p.26)

Two sentences construct a 'little story'. In the manuscript notebook, this unit is divided from the other sections by an unwritten page, folded vertically in half. Stein's composition is 'a collection' of discontinuous pages, which 'came together' as paragraph segments in the typescript. Control of the disparate subjects is exerted by the technique of telling a story in essential statements. An anonymous speaker claims not to embellish the 'little story' with pictorial description: 'I cannot describe [...] the color in the street'. Instead, the story-teller seizes a representative feature of the place, the 'silver purses', to condense a general scene into one detail. Small objects, the 'silver purses', project a characteristic of the inhabitants of the street. Two words suggest the refinement, and the care for fine accessories, of 'many people'.

Stein was imposing a discipline upon the voice-montage within which a single image creates a vivid impression. The result is a stark simplicity:

SPANISH CHATTINGS

[...]

I see old peppers that are dried.
(*A Collection G&P* pp.25-26)

Headline texts enable Stein to create one narrative unit, and then move on to a new story. She uses this structure to avoid the constraining momentum of novelistic plots, and causal incidents. These stories are static presentations. Nothing happens, except the composition of a scene from a few voices:

FLOWERS.

He has 74 flowers and 307 varieties of chrysanthemums. He also knows about carnations. You have to take more care of them. In some climates they bloom all the time. He told this in a shop where they sold embroidery.
(*In Memory (Polybe Silent)* PL p.30)

An unnamed man is presented via an account of specific numbers of flower varieties. He says that he grows many flowers, and he provides factual information about growing carnations. His dedication, and his knowledge, are conveyed through the reporting of his words. The headline which introduces this segment gives precedence to the flowers, which are the subject of a conversation. This speaker's name, his physical appearance and his biographical background are not important to the telling of the story. Instead, Stein seeks to capture the moment when a voice is heard in an embroidery shop.

Stories in the headline texts have a lightness, and a vitality, when they project small incidents. They represent the short items in a newspaper, which provide relief from the major news events of the day. These local stories are integral to the balance of wide, and narrow, focus in the headline texts. Stein uses a structure of capitalized headlines to draw attention to the international, and the domestic, spheres. Details of individual lives, typified by the man who grows '307 varieties of chrysanthemums', reveal Stein's appreciation of quiet existences in the context of war.

Headline texts which convey the single subject of the Great War contrast with the diversity of peaceful stories. Stein places the voice-montage within the discipline of newspaper headlines to structure a personal response to reading about war news, and listening to local Mallorcan news. In the headline texts, she presents a formation which has a literary purpose beyond the reporting of an autobiographical context.

In *Universe or Hand-Reading*, Stein noted a determination to 'establish sentences'. An unlocated speaker expressed her intention to incorporate aspects of her daily life within a range of structures. Headline texts transform ordinary data into complex literary works. Their impact arises from the visual shock of capitalized headlines, and from the halts in reading segmented text. Interpretation of the narrative sections is altered by the stark headlines which either introduce, or mislead, the reading of the paragraph unit. Stein sought to place the voice-montage within compositions which would challenge the reader to look at language in new ways. In a headline text, she used an authorial voice to declare that recognition of her innovative formations was inevitable:

IN MEMORY (POLYBE SILENT)

I don't understand you. I will be counted among the really great writers and after all you are one of the people who write every day. I write every day too but then I am that.

(*In Memory (Polybe Silent)* PL p.29)

This unlocated voice seems close to Stein's own. If such an alignment is made, it implies that she believed the Mallorcan formations would establish her literary position: 'I will be counted among the really great writers [...].' With reference to the headline texts, a comparison may be made with James Joyce's use of the same structure. Both he, and Stein, were responding independently to the stimulus of the newspaper style. Stein's headline texts, dated 1915-16, can be placed alongside Joyce's application of the same formation in *Ulysses*. Her arrangement of local Mallorcan news parallels Joyce's presentation of ordinary Dublin lives.

James Joyce had moved to Zurich nearly three months after Stein had arrived in Palma.⁴⁸ He began work on *Ulysses* shortly after his arrival in June 1915. The structure of newspaper headlines appears in the 'Aeolus' episode of *Ulysses*, when Leopold Bloom arranges an advertisement in the *Evening Telegraph* for Alexander Keyes. Headlines summarize the events recorded in the segments which follow. They

⁴⁸Joyce arrived in Zurich at the end of June 1915. He left Italy because it had joined the war in May 1915. Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce: New and Revised Edition* (New York, Oxford, Toronto: Oxford Univ. Press, 1982), p.389.

reproduce conversations in the newspaper office, in a structure which the speakers are in the process of arranging for print. Joyce uses the concision of headlines to provide the words of the first statement:

CLEVER, VERY

- Clever, Lenehan said. Very.
[...]

DEAR DIRTY DUBLIN

Dubliners.

- Two Dublin vestals, Stephen said, elderly and pious, have lived fifty and fifty-three years in Fumbally's lane.⁴⁹

In her Mallorcan narratives, Stein had explored this device of incorporating headline and text:

APT TO STAY.

Why are we apt to stay. We are apt to stay because we are not determined to have our character.

(We Have Eaten Heartily and We Were Alarmed PL p.39)

HE WAS VERY HAPPY.

He was very happy. I can say that. He can do as he pleases with Mary Rose.

(In Memory (Polybe Silent) PL p.30. PL places the headline to the left margin.)

Stein had also presented, as Joyce was to do, an impressionistic language within the structure of capitalized headlines:

⁴⁹James Joyce, *Ulysses* (New York: Random House, 1934), p.135 and p.143.

RHYMES AND REASONS

Mouth, south. Is the mouth south someway? Or the south a mouth? Must be some. South, pout, out, shout, drouth. Rhymes: two men dressed the same, looking the same, two by two.⁵⁰

BIRDS.

I counted the lights. They were harmless. Hands and hands or heads. Jelly fish. Belching. Degrees of movement. Entangling. Entangling boats. Hands have that steaming.

(*Universe or Hand-Reading* PL p.271)

It is clear that Stein and Joyce were experimenting with the visual structure of the newspaper page in similar ways. They shared an enthusiasm for picking up language around them, and then creating a new text from disparate parts. An independent attention to words in newspapers led their work in directions which have notable affinities.

However, the context differs into which each author placed the headlined units. James Joyce applied the structure of the newspaper page to a moment in Leopold Bloom's day when he entered a newspaper office. The literary style imitates the physical environment it describes. There is little doubt that Joyce was applying the typeset for the *Evening Telegraph* to reflect upon the men who were arranging its words. Among many verbal structures in *Ulysses*, capitalized headlines contribute to the shifting styles.

In contrast, Stein created different texts from a single formation. Six compositions are governed by the formation of headline texts,⁵¹ and the style occurs fleetingly in other Mallorcan narratives. Her approach concentrates an entire work to present one visual structure. In this respect, Stein placed the headline text beyond Joyce's absorption of the technique within the overarching time-sequence of a day. Released from the definition of external reference to passing hours, she had, as E. M. Forster noted, 'hoped to emancipate fiction from the tyranny of time and to express in it the life by values

⁵⁰Joyce, *Ulysses*, p.136.

⁵¹These are: *Advertisements; Universe or Hand-Reading; In Memory (Polybe Silent); A Collection; We Have Eaten Heartily and We Were Alarmed; and Marry Nettie.*

only.⁵²

Although many headline texts contain direct reference to newspapers, others adapt the formation out of context. When these compositions use the structure, but not the material, characteristic of real newspapers, Stein placed the word 'story' in the headline and in the paragraph which follows. Her creative use of the newspaper page, to bring new interpretations to the voice-montage, was part of her belief that she would eventually be 'counted among the really great writers'.

7

All Sunday records local Mallorcan news in the formation of stories. Its structure is an alternative presentation of voice-montage stories from the isolated segments in the headline texts. Organized by short paragraphs and single lines, *All Sunday* is an accumulation of small units of language. As the work progresses, a pattern emerges which divides the narrative into long sections. At the beginning of the composition, there is a range of structural devices. These are later standardized into numbered units. Changes of emphasis in the design demonstrate Stein's method of testing, within a single work, various ways of arranging, and labelling, units of narrative voice-montage.

There are three structural devices within *All Sunday*: capitalized headlines; numbered chapters; and stories. The first two techniques place words and numbers outside the flow of text. They create a visual impact, and they use page space to separate the narrative into titled sections. In a third approach, Stein makes divisions within the text by gathering miscellaneous stories, which have elements of a causal plot. Descriptions of different incidents define the beginning, and the ending, of these stories. Thus, whilst external indicators mark boundaries in long textual units, internal boundaries are established as one brief story gives way to the next.

Stein's use of various structural devices at the beginning of *All Sunday* raises the question of its date of composition. At present, it is accepted that *All Sunday* was composed towards the end of Stein's year in Mallorca. A date of 1916 in the HG

⁵²E. M. Forster, *Aspects of the Novel* (London: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd., 1961), p.42. First published in 1927, the Clark lecture in which Forster spoke of Stein was entitled: 'The Story'. I have altered the printed version, which has 'tryanny of time'.

chronology is based upon the Bound Typescript order.⁵³ Later in this chapter, I will present textual evidence which indicates that it was written between April 1915 and August 1915. My research dates *All Sunday* to the start of Stein's Mallorcan year, and this has important consequences for interpreting the voice-montage. It is possible to align incidents described within the work with historical events, and with documentary evidence. This method of dating a text is a direct result of the voice-montage because Stein incorporated aspects of the environment around her. In her previous styles, there was not such a close link between documented occurrences and the compositions into which they were transformed. The new date also shows that, soon after her arrival in Mallorca, Stein began experimenting with different formations of the voice-montage.

Before presenting the evidence which has led me to re-date *All Sunday* to the summer of 1915, I will discuss the three structural devices in the work. They show the aspects of voice-montage which Stein was examining shortly after arriving on Mallorca.

All Sunday opens with a capitalized headline section. At the beginning of this long text, there is a visual impact and a vocabulary similar to *Universe or Hand-Reading*, which corresponds to the formation of headline texts. Both the structure, and the subject matter, of these two works are interwoven:

HANDSOME SUNDAY.

Hands have been mentioned.
(*All Sunday* A&B p.90)

Hands which 'have been mentioned', in *All Sunday*, are also the hands which are read during a palm-reading. *Universe or Hand-Reading* uses the headline structure to arrange its subject matter, which is the need for predictions and supernatural guidance in times of war:⁵⁴

⁵³*All Sunday* is item Number 29 (of 31 texts) in BTS Volume 14. Therefore, it is dated 1916 in the 1929 *transition* bibliography, and in the HG chronology.

⁵⁴Stein knew the importance of superstition in times of war. During the Great War, she mentioned the French fortune-teller 'Mme. Thebes', in *Marry Nettie*. Also, *Universe or Hand-Reading* refers to the predictions of palm-reading. Whilst describing her life during the Second World War, Stein recorded her faith in prophecy: 'To-day, the

HERE.

[...]

I did look at their hands. They had the pleasure that I give them when I tell them that they have heard of it and they say that it has been told of them. It was told to them.

(*Universe or Hand-Reading* PL p.269)

This headline text provides an insight into the structural arrangement of *All Sunday*. It indicates that Stein was initially adopting a formation which had governed, or would govern, an entire text. *Universe or Hand-Reading* is written in Volume One of the two manuscript notebooks which contain *All Sunday* (YCAL HG 145). *Universe or Hand-Reading* may have been already completed in the notebook, or it may have been composed concurrently with the early pages of *All Sunday*. The formation of headline texts is used at the beginning of both works. A capitalized headline, 'HANDSOME SUNDAY', unifies the two titles because its vocabulary is aligned with 'Hand-Reading'.

After the early stages of *All Sunday*, Stein decided that a narrative organized by headlined units was not suited to her present purpose. She chose to structure the rest of her text differently. Furthermore, she attempted to differentiate its subject from the hands in *Universe or Hand-Reading*:

I wish I could describe hands.

I think your first idea was better. There is not enough continuation in hands. They're too different. It's too shocking.

(*All Sunday* A&B p.89)

In *All Sunday*, Stein decided to present the 'continuation' of longer narrative units. She used the voice-montage to express the 'shocking' visual quality of the headline text. Hands become a focal point for the differentiation between two formations: the external divisions of headline texts; and the accumulation of brief stories.

As *All Sunday* progressed, Stein abandoned the headline structure. It occurs only twice: 'HANDSOME SUNDAY [...] PEBICO' (A&B p.90). At the opening of a new

eleventh of September 1943, after all Saint Odile was right, she said, that Germany would conquer the world would be drowned in blood and tears, and fire would be thrown from the sky upon the earth beneath [...].' (*Wars I Have Seen* p.67). The YCAL Miscellaneous Box D contains typescripts of the 'Prophecy of Saint Odile', and of the 'Prédications de Saint Godefroy en 1853'.

composition, Stein might have repeated the formation used in a text which was completed in the same notebook. Alternatively, she might have begun two headline texts concurrently, and used *All Sunday* to move on to the assessment of other ways of structuring the narrative form.

Stein presented alternatives to the capitalized headlines. She was testing the effect of different labels upon the interpretation of sections of voice-montage. Some divisions are numbered chapters, others are given numbers in place of a title. Like the headlines, these devices for partitioning the text are set outside the body of the work. Titles provide a way of naming units of language, and numbers mark stages in the progress of the narrative.

Stein aligned *All Sunday* with the structure of a novel by labelling some sections as chapters. The heading 'CHAPTER III' (A&B p.92) is used for one textual division. Titles of sections are not rigid in their numerical order. For instance, there are three previous textual divisions before CHAPTER III. To be strictly accurate, this fourth division should be entitled: CHAPTER IV.

Reference to novelistic structures in the heading CHAPTER III seems to have been too exact for Stein's purpose. So, the following section is re-numbered without the prefix of a chapter: III (A&B p.94). The manuscript notebook has the word 'Chap' preceding sections XIII and XIV (A&B p.123 and p.125 HG 151). These two titles were not typed. This erasure shows that when Stein did not name her sections as chapters, she thought of them as such.

By organizing the voice-montage into chapters, Stein was alluding to the 'continuation' of novelistic prose. The first line of section XII refers to novelistic divisions: 'Seven more chapters and then we will begin something new.' (*All Sunday* A&B p.121). Stein may refer to her own composition. If this is the case, she omitted five sections from the final text because only two more 'chapters' were written after this announcement. Furthermore, Stein aligned *All Sunday* with a novel by commenting upon the composition of chapters beneath the title of a chapter. For example, the heading 'CHAPTER III' is followed by a refusal to create more chapter divisions: 'I will not add another chapter I will go on.' (*All Sunday* A&B p.92). It is documented that Stein was reading many books, sent from Mudie's Lending Library, during her

Mallorcan year.⁵⁵ Division of *All Sunday* into chapter sections indicates that she was adapting their structure to the voice-montage.

Beyond the point in *All Sunday* which is divided by a chapter heading, Stein used numbers to indicate a new section. She was flexible with these numerical divisions. For instance, there are two different sections numbered IV and V (p.97, p.98 and p.102, p.105). This may have been an erroneous duplication because the second numbered sections IV and V begin the new notebook Volume Two. Also, section VII is followed by the word association of seven-eight-celebrated-AT-Alice Toklas:

VII.

A t e eight.

Sign yourself celebrated.

(*All Sunday* A&B p.111)

Numbered titles are visually set apart from the voice-montage text. They create spatial divisions, and they also mark the progress of the narrative as the numbers increase. Thus, their purpose is twofold. Numbers divide and unite *All Sunday*.

Different labels affect the interpretation of the voice-montage which follows. The two capitalized headlines have an ambiguous relationship with the sections which they organize. They seem important indicators to the content of each segment, but their meaning is uncertain. Chapter divisions clearly mark a new direction for a novel. However, there is no discernable alteration of subject matter in CHAPTER III from the section which precedes it. Numbers are used most frequently as a structural device. Stein may have chosen this external method of marking pauses in her text because it created a visual impact, yet it was not too closely aligned with the causal progress of novelistic chapters.

⁵⁵Stein had books sent from Mudie's Lending Library whilst she was in Mallorca. A letter from Mike Stein, dated just before Stein's return to Paris, shows that he was paying the bill in her absence: 'I sent a cheque to Mudie's and the 200 to Jeanne Poule.' (YCAL 1 May 1916. Mike Stein correspondence). Reading books is a recurring theme in *All Sunday*, as Stein looked for ways to arrange her own narrative work: 'We exchange books with pleasure. [...] We will still read. [...] Every day is reading with eating.' (*All Sunday* A&B p.94, p.97 and p.98).

Within the overall arrangement of titled sections, the voice-montage is governed by the formation of stories. In *All Sunday*, an internal method of sub-dividing the narrative complements the headings. It is with this formation, more than with the numbers or chapters, that Stein experimented with the organization of a long narrative work. One brief story is followed by another. Elements of a plot define the boundaries of the beginning, and the ending, of each story unit. This technique does not interrupt the flow of the voice-montage to the same extent as the visual isolation of headings. Divisions arise from reading the stories, not from looking at the page design. The reader is given a sense of small divisions, and of progression as different tales are told.

Stein avoids a single plot by accumulating a range of stories in *All Sunday*. She guides the reader to pay attention to these structural units by repeating the word 'story':

The story of it is as follows.
[...]
She tells a story.
[...]
This is the story.
(*All Sunday* A&B p.96, p.100 and p.103)

Short tales provide points of focus for the miscellaneous voices in *All Sunday*. They are often directly introduced as stories. This method of labelling distinguishes stories as small units within a larger structure. Stein was exploring the possibility of textual division by changes of subject, in addition to the visual breaks of headlines, chapter headings and numbers. When there is no announcement within the text that a story will follow, Stein creates a narrative unit by describing causal events. She offers brief insights into individual lives. Three stories will serve to demonstrate the incorporation of *vignettes* within an extended narrative text.

In the first example, a story is clearly announced. It may be the story-teller's own voice which guides the reader, and the listener, to attend to the tale which will unfold:

I am very tired tonight.
This is the story.
Elvira Lamb was forty years old before she sold tickets. Then she sold lottery tickets. After that she was rich.
(*All Sunday* A&B p.109)

An anonymous story-teller begins this tale with an endearing admission of tiredness. Elvira Lamb's story can be interpreted as the half-asleep fantasy of easy wealth from winning a lottery. This is the case if the reader aligns the personal pronoun with the teller of the tale. Single-line statements introduce the voice of the speaker, and the start of the story. A new paragraph marks the beginning of an encapsulated plot. This story is identified within the voice-montage by a clear introduction, by the visual arrangement, and by declarative statements which create a causal progression.

In the second example, a story is not announced. The reader is left to delineate the short, coherent unit from other voice-montage statements. This is achieved by tracing the boundary between the beginning, and the ending, of one incident. Disconnected sentences are followed by a cumulative depiction of a single event:

I did help her.

A very warm room.

I understand Maddalena's feelings a little bit. [...] She says this is what happened. In getting off the tramway which is a street car she fell and was seen and the young man who is in a position here picked her up. He was very careful. (*All Sunday A&B* p.122 HG 151. MS & BTS have 'A very warm room.' A&B has 'I very warm room.')

This story is told with ease. It is not related in an exaggerated manner, and the incident is one of everyday occurrence. A plot develops slowly as Maddalena falls off the tramway, then various people come to her assistance. There is no melodrama, not even when the tramway authority arrives:

The inspector of the line came in to see and ask whose fault was it. This was the way he put it, whose fault was it. He was not harsh. He was not deceiving. He was a maker of chairs and he had a hat. He went away. (*All Sunday A&B* p.122)

A woman falling off a tram is the source of an extended narrative description. Each aspect of the accident is muted: the story is told by an unnamed narrator; the fall causes no injury; the authority figure makes chairs, and he is sympathetic. In the course of these events, an unidentified man helps Maddalena by providing disinfectant from a bottle which previously held mineral water. This development in the plot exemplifies the subdued telling of the story. Potential death, in the water-bottle which actually

contains disinfectant, is explained as resourcefulness by a helpful young man. There is no threat of poisoning by mistakenly drinking its new contents. Simple tales transmit the domestic concerns which are integral to Stein's Mallorcan writings. Their accumulation into a long narrative text gives the work, as a whole, a calm 'all Sunday' tone. Gradually, it records the uneventful day in which small incidents become worthy of telling as stories.

Taking walks provide the third example of a story in *All Sunday*. This activity is described frequently within the composition. It remains uncertain whether one walk is told from many different viewpoints, or whether several walks are recorded individually. Walks taken by the speakers are presented within contrasting structures of the voice-montage. Each walk is worthy of a new story, yet each is essentially the same tale:

Anything is a story.

I don't like to walk.

This evening we took a walk not a long walk, we followed the wall, we found the houses looking moorish, after that we had roses, just two and Albert asked us.

[...]

Sometimes I think that there is a long time in which nothing is happening. Then I say shall we walk. We always answer. Sometimes we are really talkative. (*All Sunday* A&B p.104 and p.98)

When there is no incident to provide an anecdote, Stein concentrates the story formation upon the speech which describes nothing in particular. Conversation becomes the event which 'is happening.' She finds a subject for the voice-montage in the stories people tell to pass the time:

We took a long walk. It was very hot and I perspired freely. My baby has suddenly become very sensitive to light. She explains it by saying that it is hot and so she cannot cover herself over so as to exclude the light from her eyes. We walked as far as the powder factory.

(*All Sunday* A&B p.111 HG 151. MS & BTS have a full stop after 'perspired freely'. A&B has not.)

This narrative style is factual, and it is physically graphic: 'It was very hot and I perspired freely.' Such details contribute to a realistic description. For instance, it is a reasonable explanation that heat makes it uncomfortable to protect the eyes. This fact is placed within an ordinary dialogue exchange. Reference to the explosives factory is

set in a narrative context in which its significance is merely the destination of a walk. It is a walk in which 'nothing is happening.' When there are no events to report, Stein focuses the voice-montage upon what is said. These walks become the occasion for conversation, and for the continuation of text:

This is the way we walk. We go first, we stop to speak to an Englishman. In speaking to him we are seated all afternoon. After that we go for a walk.
(*All Sunday* A&B p.106)

A discussion lasts 'all afternoon.' Spoken words delay the walkers, and they must be 'seated'. Postponement of the walk is re-created in the interruption of two sentences: 'we walk [...] we go for a walk.' There are references to walks throughout *All Sunday*. They are substantially the same walks, as 'all Sundays' are similar in a quiet community. A non-event becomes the purpose of the composition:

We walked in the park. I led the way. We found the road and went as far as the wall. We went around quite a way and came back the other side. This is what we did.
(*All Sunday* A&B p.116)

Stein uses two narrative structures, the paragraph and the single-sentence column, to present different ways of describing the same walk. Pauses, before a new line begins, re-create the unhurried pace of the activity described:

A history of our walk.
We started.
We went to the new house.
We were pleased.
We went on a little way.
We turned around.
(*All Sunday* A&B p.123)

An easygoing charm in *All Sunday* arises from anonymous accounts of the 'history of our walk.' Emphasis upon walks is made throughout the narrative because it was Stein's recreation in Mallorca, and it became part of her subject matter. In the story formation, these walks provide a means to structure the voice-montage within the composition. Each walk marks the progress of *All Sunday* in a similar way to the increasing numbers

in the titles. Stein was creating new formations to give shape to descriptions of a day in which 'nothing is happening'.

Establishing an accurate date for the composition of *All Sunday* is a relevant exercise because it influences interpretations of the formations at the start of the work. Bound Typescript Volume 14 places *All Sunday* with texts dated 1916. Acceptance of this date leads to the opinion that *All Sunday* is a summarizing work, composed during the second half of Stein's year in Mallorca. Various structuring devices at the opening of the text are then seen as a review of formations already written in 1915, or those being written in 1916. For instance, the two capitalized headlines would reproduce the style of headline texts which were governed entirely by this formation.

By dating references within the voice-montage, I have concluded that Stein began *All Sunday* soon after she arrived in Mallorca in April 1915. My investigation shows that the work was completed in July or August 1915.⁵⁶ An interpretation follows that the various formations, at the beginning of the text, were the initial assessment of ideas which would be expanded in later Mallorcan writings. Dating a text from internal references is an important feature of the voice-montage. Factual documentation arises from a style which seizes incidents in a particular environment, and immediately transforms them into text. My research leads me to believe that Stein recorded transitory voices, and passing events, without a long delay. This opinion enables me to propose a new date for the composition of *All Sunday*. Consequently, I can demonstrate that it is an early, explorative text from which various formations, like the headline texts and the paragraph stories, were later selected to structure complete works.

Evidence for dating opening sections of *All Sunday* to April and May 1915 is mainly derived from tracing references in *Mallorcan Stories*. This short, Mallorcan

⁵⁶Michaela Giesenkirchen has suggested that *All Sunday* was composed during the autumn of 1915: 'It was possibly written in the fall of 1915, as it refers to the bullfights in Valencia, Van Vechten's alimony trial, and the change of the seasons from summer to winter.' (Giesenkirchen, 'The Multilingual Dimension in Gertrude Stein's Life and Work 1874-1919', p.47). My research indicates that *All Sunday* was completed in 'the fall of 1915', but that it was begun in the early summer of 1915.

composition is written in the same manuscript notebook as *All Sunday*. On the inside cover of the manuscript notebook Volume One of *All Sunday*, is a collection of eight sentences. They are jottings of phrases to be included within the voice-montage of *All Sunday*:

Romenonos no
Maurer see
Mallorcan stories
Sun never sets
Napoleon III cathedral
Mc Kinley's eagle
Pope's prayers for peace
Pins & needles ship
(YCAL HG 151/ HG 146)

He wanted to see McKinley's ring he wanted to be able to say that it was an eagle.
It was an eagle, it was a church.

Once Napoleon was down here. He went in at the door.
(*All Sunday* A&B p.91)

These eight notes are memoranda. They are expanded in the first part of *All Sunday*, which provides more words for the elliptical references. A montage technique is maintained because this extended presentation gives no explanation of the connection between each note.

Stein liked this miscellaneous list. She copied the eight lines into the manuscript notebook containing both the first draft of these sentences, and *All Sunday*. Each of the eight lines is re-arranged, and Stein entitled this second draft: *Mallorcan Stories* (G&P p.96). This title is repeated as the final line in the new text. Therefore, it has greater emphasis than its original position in the middle of the first draft notes.

It appears that the eight-line second draft was written into the manuscript before *All Sunday*, which begins at the opposite end of the notebook. A vertically folded page divides *Mallorcan Stories* from *All Sunday*. The latter had been written back through the notebook. These two texts meet at the point in *All Sunday* of the beginning of the first section V, with the reference: 'Mallorcans please.' (*All Sunday* A&B p.98). This folded page indicates that *All Sunday* was placed around the shorter text, already completed in the notebook.

The second draft of *Mallorcan Stories* fits onto a single manuscript page. Soon

after her arrival in Mallorca, Stein mentioned these two texts in letters to Carl Van Vechten:

I did a little thing about the islands one page and I am doing a longish peaceful one.

(4 May 1915. *Letters of G.S. and C.V.V.* p.44)

It's very pleasant and I am working fairly well, on a longish thing.

(26 May 1915. *Letters of G.S. and C.V.V.* p.45)

It is my opinion that the 'longish peaceful one' is *All Sunday*, and that the 'little thing about the islands one page' is *Mallorcan Stories*. Their inclusion in the same manuscript notebook further indicates that Stein refers to these two texts. Documentary evidence dates their composition to April and May 1915. The date in April is established by the letter of 4 May 1915, in which Stein notes that she has completed *Mallorcan Stories* ('I did'), and that she has begun *All Sunday* ('I am doing'). She might have worked fast to compose a 'longish thing' during four days in May. It is more likely that she started it in April. Thus, by dating references in the memoranda, it is possible to trace evidence which dates the beginning of *All Sunday* early in Stein's residence on Mallorca.

The first two lines of the memoranda, entitled *Mallorcan Stories* in the second draft, reveal how Stein was incorporating aspects of her Spanish environment immediately into the voice-montage. They show that she was reacting to events in Palma which took place in the weeks following her arrival on 8 April 1915. These lines are elliptical and balanced:

Romenonos no
Maurer see
(YCAL HG 151/ HG 146)

'Romenonos' is an aural transcription of the name of a senior Spanish official: 'el ex-presidente del Consejo de Ministros señor Conde de Romanones' (28 November 1915. *La Almudaina* p.1). Señor Conde de Romanones arrived in Mallorca on 15 April 1915,

and he left for Ibiza on 26 April 1915.⁵⁷ His visit caused excitement in Mallorca because it signified a recognition of the Catalan island by the Spanish authorities:

El Viaje de Romanones.

El Conde de Romanones es desde ayer nuestro huésped. Su viaje á Mallorca ha hecho que la atención de España venga sobre la isla, tal es de grande y asombroso el predominio que tiene actualmente el ex presidente del Consejo en la política española.

(16 April 1915. *La Almudaina* p.1)

A relevant detail of this visit was that the Conde de Romanones was given a banquet at the hotel in Palma in which Stein was staying.⁵⁸ In a letter to Harry Phelan Gibb, postmarked 11 April 1915, she gave her address as the Hotel Victoria. Also, a letter from Pablo Picasso, dated 17 April 1915, was sent to Stein at this hotel (See Appendix 3). On 18 April 1915, there was a large reception held at the Hotel Victoria by Mallorcan dignitaries:

Romanones en Mallorca.

[...]

En el espresado *Hotel Victoria* se celebró el banquete con que la Diputación Provincial tenía acordado obsequiar al señor Conde.

(18 April 1915. *La Almudaina* p.1)

Stein was composing 'Mallorcan stories' in a context of the banquet, the motor car procession, and the large crowds, described later in this newspaper report. Excitement generated from the visit, and from the Spanish official's proximity to Stein at the Hotel Victoria, provide explanations why the name 'Romanones' is included in her memoranda. It substantiates the date of April 1915 for the composition of *Mallorcan Stories*, and also for the first part of *All Sunday*.

Moreover, Stein was responding directly to the Spanish language surrounding this particular visit. After a reception at the Grand Hôtel in Palma, where Stein moved after

⁵⁷Two headlines indicate the dates of Señor Conde de Romanones' visit: 'El viaje de Romanones á Mallorca' (15 April 1915. *La Almudaina* p.1). 'Romanones en Ibiza' (26 April 1915. *La Almudaina* p.2).

⁵⁸Before Stein and Toklas rented the house at Calle Dos de Mayo, 45, Terreno, they had stayed in two hotels in Palma. First, they stayed at the Hotel Victoria, then they moved to the Grand Hôtel (See Appendix 2).

staying at the Hotel Victoria, the Conde de Romanones spoke to the Mallorcan crowds:

Acabada la recepción, el Conde de Romanones salió al balcón central del primer piso del «Grand Hotel» acompañado de los primates del partido, siendo aplaudido por unos centenares de personas, que hallaban esta cianada en la plaza de Weyler.

[...]

Ayer por la mañana en muchas fachadas de esta ciudad, especialmente en las de las calles porque había de pasar el conde de Romanones, aparecieron muchos letreros de ¡Maura, si! y algunos de ¡Romanones, no!
(16 April 1915. *La Almudaina* p.2)

When Stein jotted 'Romenonos', she transcribed a Spanish name phonetically. This report in *La Almudaina* gives an insight into the name, 'Maurer', which balances the line 'Romenonos no'. Perhaps influenced by the name of her friend in Paris, Alfie Maurer, she spelled another Spanish name phonetically. In the context of the visit to Palma by the Conde de Romanones, I interpret the name as a reference to the Spanish politician Antonio Maura.⁵⁹ He, like the Conde de Romanones, was a past member of the Spanish government: '[...] el expresidente del Consejo de Ministros señor Maura [...].'
(19 April 1915. *La Almudaina* p.1). Stein's words in *Mallorcan Stories*, 'Maurer see', are also an aural play on the Spanish word 'si'. These two lines were directly inspired by the Conde de Romanones' visit to Mallorca during April 1915.

Similarly, the line in *Mallorcan Stories*, 'Pope's prayers for peace', can be dated by references in the Mallorcan newspaper. On 8 May 1915, *La Almudaina* transcribed a letter from the Pope under the headline: 'Una Carta del Papa' (p.1). His prayers, in the context of a local Spanish newspaper, juxtaposed the printed word with the aural immediacy of a Vatican presentation. Quotation of his prayers, in a public letter, might have struck Stein as a necessary means to sustain the faith of a wide audience in times of war. This reference offers further evidence to date *Mallorcan Stories*, and thus the early sections of *All Sunday* with which it was composed, to the first months of Stein's visit to Mallorca in 1915.

Other references in *All Sunday* substantiate my dating of the beginning of the text

⁵⁹Se asegura que la Comisión Maurista de esta isla que pasará á Madrid para asistir al discurso de su Jefe don Antonio Maura estará formada por los señores siguientes [...] una Comisión de la Juventud Maurista de Palma [...]. (16 April 1915. *La Almudaina* p.2).

to April and May 1915. Stein and Toklas had arrived in Palma on 8 April 1915, a month prior to the letters to Carl Van Vechten which note the composition of 'a longish thing'. Two references to May at the opening of the text, one direct and one based on the date of arrival in April, further indicate that Stein referred to *All Sunday*. Both the correspondence, and the words Stein used within the voice-montage, date the first part of *All Sunday* to April and May 1915:

I believe in the twenty-second of May.

[...]

We have been here a month and a half and have only had two weeks of good weather.

(*All Sunday* A&B p.89 and p.103)

Both letters to Carl Van Vechten, dated 4 May 1915 and 26 May 1915, are addressed from Stein's temporary residence at the Grand Hôtel in Palma. In the early sections of the narrative work, there are comments upon hotel living:

Suddenly we find that the letters are stopped. This means that the hotel waiter is not honest.

[...]

We have decided to change the management of this hotel. Four nations⁶⁰ have offered to buy it. They expect an answer in two days in that case in three weeks he will undertake it, he will begin by cleaning, after that they will arrange the cooking, then there will be dismissing and I hope they will stay. Do stay.

(*All Sunday* A&B p.96 and pp.104-105)

Furthermore, the two letters to Carl Van Vechten which refer to *All Sunday* and *Mallorcan Stories* also contain references to alimony. This word is used in the early part of *All Sunday*. Stein was responding to news of his jail sentence for non-payment of alimony, after his divorce from Anna Snyder Van Vechten:

As your alimony must have been so very little alimony they ought only to keep you in a little while.

(4 May 1915. *Letters of G.S. and C.V.V.* p.44)

⁶⁰Stein and Toklas stayed at the Grand Hotel Quatro Naciones, Rambla in Barcelona when they left Palma at the end of April 1916 (letter from Mike Stein, dated 1 May 1916). They had stayed there in 1913 (letter from Henry McBride, dated 7 August 1913, 'Glad the Quatros Naciones was not so bad.').

I don't like jail even when it's alimony.
(26 May 1915. *Letters of G.S. and C.V.V.* p.45)

The dates of these letters provide a context for the sentence, early in the narrative: 'I love alimony. By this I mean screaming.' (*All Sunday* A&B p.102. HG 151 MS has 'alimony. By'. A&B & BTS have 'alimony by').

Another internal reference which dates the early part of the composition to May 1915 is the line: 'My brother went to America.' (*All Sunday* A&B p.105). Leo Stein had left Genoa to sail for America on 26 April 1915 (See Appendix 3). Since he does not seem to have written directly to Gertrude Stein, the news of his departure probably filtered through Mike Stein. A letter would have reached her at some stage during May. By tracing words in *Mallorcan Stories*, and in *All Sunday*, the documentary evidence points towards a date for the beginning of these works in April and May 1915.

Progress in the composition of *All Sunday* throughout June is marked by references to Stein's domestic situation, and to the Great War. As a context of war emerges for these Sunday lives, the dating of the central sections is as relevant as tracing its beginning to Stein's arrival on Mallorca.

Whilst the opening sections refer to hotel life, the later sections refer to a move into a house. Stein and Toklas had moved to Calle Dos de Mayo, 45 by 27 June 1915:

We have a house now that I am delighted.

[...]

We will like our new house.

[...]

We don't have to sign the inventory.

(*All Sunday* A&B p.123, p.124 and p.124)

Although a feature of the voice-montage is the miscellany of unlocated speakers, this insistence upon a new home seems influenced by Stein's own circumstances. She consistently responded to her immediate surroundings, and her pleasure in creating a home with Alice Toklas infiltrates *All Sunday*. It is my opinion that the personal pronoun, at this point in the text, can be aligned with Stein's move to Calle Dos de Mayo, 45. With this biographical interpretation, central sections of the work are dated

to the end of June 1915.

Furthermore, two words relating to the Great War, 'asphyxiating gases', can be traced to reports in *La Almudaina* during June 1915. Like the word 'alimony', these words are unusual enough to be documented by an external source. A tone of anxious questioning emphasizes the impact of these 'asphyxiating gases' upon the narrator:

Do you remember it was the fifth of September we heard of asphyxiating gases. Do you remember that we could not tell Emmeline. Do you remember that on the same day we heard that permission had been withheld. Do you remember that we couldn't know how many h's there were in withheld. It all comes back to me now, the war and everything.

(*All Sunday A&B* pp.96-97 HG 151. MS & BTS have 'back to me now'. A&B has 'back to me how')

A prompt for Stein to mention 'asphyxiating gases' could have arisen from reports in *La Almudaina* during June 1915:

El Conflicto europeo.

Los gases asfixiantes.

Si el modo de lanzarlos es prueba de poco ingenio, la elección del cloro como asfixiante revela un buen conocimiento de todos los gases disponibles.

(9 June 1915. *La Almudaina* p.1)

El Conflicto europeo.

Los gases asfixiantes, - Relato de un testigo francés.

Un suboficial que se encontraba en Bélgica el día en que los alemanes utilizaron por vez primera los gases asfixiantes ha hecho un emocionante relato de esta sorpresa, que causó indecible impresión entre las tropas.

(16 June 1915. *La Almudaina* p.1)

Repeated accounts of 'Los gases asfixiantes' could have led Stein to translate the Spanish words into English. Moreover, if the interrogative speaker is aligned with Stein, the passage can be read as her personal reaction to the Great War. On 'the fifth of September', Stein was staying at Lockeridge, and the name 'Emmeline' is similar to that of Evelyn Whitehead. Evelyn Whitehead's concern for her eldest son, North Whitehead, who had enlisted, allows the interpretation of this passage as a protective silence about this new deadly weapon. Reports in *La Almudaina*, during June 1915, caused Stein to remember her visit to England at the outbreak of war: 'It all comes back to me now, the

war and everything.' She combined the words presented to her directly, via the newspaper reports, with memories of the previous summer. Two words, traced to an external source dated June 1915, give insights into Stein's vocabulary in the central part of *All Sunday*.

Final sections of *All Sunday* have references to events at the end of June 1915, and early July 1915. For instance, Clarence Toklas, Alice Toklas' only brother, was married to Claire Burns on 26 June 1915.⁶¹ News of this wedding could indicate a biographical context for certain lines in *All Sunday*. His name provides Stein with an opportunity for verbal play. She also includes a reference to Seattle, where the Toklas family lived between periods of residence in San Francisco:

Clarence.
Clearance.
Puget Sound.
Seattle.
(*All Sunday* A&B p.121)

These lines, relating to Clarence Toklas' marriage, occur towards the end of the text. This biographical reference appears in section XII, and it enforces my opinion that *All Sunday* was completed in July or August 1915.

Establishing a final date is important because it places the end of *All Sunday* in the context of a temporary halt in Stein's work. A letter to Henry McBride states that, during July and August 1915, the war was affecting her concentration:

I have not been working this last month have been kind of low in my mind about this damned war all xcept the Valencia week.
(14 August 1915. YCAL McBride correspondence. By the date of this letter, the 'last month' would be the last weeks of July, and the first weeks of August. The 'Valencia week' refers to the week of bullfights at the end of July.)

⁶¹In the fall of 1915, Alice Toklas wrote to her friend Harriet Levy: "Of course you know of Clarence's marriage - I wonder if Sylvia has met Mrs. C.F.T.. Fancy the kid married. They are house keeping in a wee flat on Divisadero Street." I thank Professor Linda Simon for this information, and for the date of the wedding.

A general disruption to Stein's work provides one explanation for the abrupt end of *All Sunday*. She reversed the second notebook volume, writing on the right-hand page in both directions. She finished her text when all the pages were filled. Stein seems to have felt that the end of the second notebook was a good break, and she chose not to begin a third volume. The final words, 'all there is always enough. Anyway you won't have any trouble.' (*All Sunday* A&B p.126), were placed on the inside cover of the second notebook volume. This was also the title page. By tracing references within the composition to external sources, it is possible to date the end of *All Sunday* to July or August 1915. Furthermore, this date indicates that it was finished in a context of a wider interruption to Stein's writing process.

Re-dating *All Sunday*, from 1916 to the summer of 1915, alters the interpretation of the voice-montage. In terms of structure, it rebuts the opinion that Stein was summarizing styles which she had already explored. A variety of formations at the beginning of the text can now be seen as her early attempt to organize a narrative voice-montage composition. Soon after Stein arrived in Mallorca, she tested the formation which would be used to govern the headline texts. Also, she divided a long narrative work by the external device of numbered sections, and internally by the movement of one story to the next.

There is another relevant aspect of this new date. It affects the interpretation of Stein's language which relates to the Great War. Reading an autobiographical voice places the responses to war, recorded within the work, in a context of Stein's increasing disquiet during the summer of 1915. Her unease about the Great War culminated in the temporary interruption of her writing, and in the completion of *All Sunday*. Gradual disenchantment can be read in the progress of her long narrative text. Knowing the date of different stages of composition enables a deeper understanding of the ways in which she transformed her reactions to the Great War into the voice-montage.

Textual references indicate that the early sections of *All Sunday* were written soon after Stein's arrival in Mallorca. These sections document her initial impressions of the island. In April and May 1915, she found that life was pleasant, and that she had the leisure to begin a long work. A change from Zeppelin raids in Paris, to the quietness

of the small Palma community, made each day seem like a calm Sunday:⁶²

What is Sunday.
Every day will be Sunday.
Every day is Sunday.
Today is Sunday.
(*All Sunday* A&B p.89)

One day represents all days, and Stein writes of a life caught in a Sunday: 'I wish to describe one day.' (*All Sunday* A&B p.94). A context of daily domestic concerns, interspersed with references to the Great War, uses an overarching structure to frame the story of quiet lives.

Early sections of the text focus on the impact of war upon language. Stein's pleasure in words is conveyed by her record of the neologisms, and of the anomalies in a new vocabulary:

Large words, lots of words, have been made by war. [...] All men are behind what is commonly called duck ribbon.
[...]
Chocolate is a color and a pretty word. So are fire-arms.
(*All Sunday* A&B p.90 and p.94)

The tone becomes increasingly disturbed by the reality of war, and less delighted by its nomenclature. As the narrative progresses, the speaker's enjoyment of these unusual and sensuous words is replaced by a realization that war does not simply consist of a 'pretty' vocabulary. For instance, the first paragraph of the composition expresses a new feeling of goodwill: 'I leave off hating.' (*All Sunday* A&B p.89). There is verbal play with hate/hat in the second paragraph: 'We were so careful of the hat.' (*All Sunday* A&B p.89). Hate is lexical at first, but this emotion is learned later in the text:

⁶²George Sand referred to the 'all Sunday' quality of life in Mallorca, but she suggested that it was an illusion: 'Travellers habitually enlarge on the good fortune of the southern races, whose faces and picturesque costumes seem to reflect one long Sunday, and whose witlessness and lack of foresight they interpret as ideal rustic tranquillity.' *Winter in Majorca*, Robert Graves, ed., (Chicago: Academy Press Ltd., 1978), p.19. (See Chapter 5 for the connection between George Sand and Stein's work).

Lessons of the war.

What this war teaches us. This war teaches us to be certain of our hates.

(*All Sunday* A&B p.113)

Pleasure in new words progresses to an emphasis upon death, which these words signify. As the narrator comes to terms with individual death, the word 'shot' is set at the end of two sentences to suggest a realization of the harsh fact:

I will say this, if he doesn't start when you strike a match on a cement pavement under his nose he won't be shot.

He will not be shot.

(*All Sunday* A&B p.113)

Short, declarative sentences relating to war are interspersed within the miscellany of the voice-montage. An impression is created of an author who constantly responds to the infiltration of war into a peaceful environment:

The war will not be over. (A&B p.104)

After the war is over. (A&B p.105)

I cannot help thinking of war. (A&B p.110)

This is the war. (A&B p.120)

(*All Sunday*)

Sparse statements result from a new appreciation of the reality of fighting: 'Dear me. I was not finding it painful. This is war.' (*All Sunday* A&B p.117). Disquiet is registered throughout the central sections of the work. It is given a context when one understands that, during May and June 1915, Stein was presenting her gradual awareness of the impact of the Great War upon life in Mallorca. By July and August 1915, Stein was completing a text which had come increasingly to use the language of discord.

All Sunday is an account of a slow, but full, realization of the effect of war upon the type of people who take a leisurely walk every day. One reason for careful dating of this text is the insight it provides into the use of war language within the voice-montage. Words like 'asphyxiating gases' create a different impact from the visual isolation of sentences in the headline texts. Stein gradually builds the security of a

domestic routine, placed within an extended narrative work. She then fractures this ideal image with the increasing disturbance of mental equilibrium. *All Sunday* documents the infiltration of warfare into the psyche of a distant observer. When Stein wrote to Carl Van Vechten about a 'peaceful' composition, it was an accurate statement for the early sections of *All Sunday*. It was increasingly inappropriate as the text began to absorb the impact of the Great War upon a Mallorcan environment.

A variety in the initial formations allows an adjustment to the changing subject matter. Capitalized headlines, chapter headings, numbered textual units, short stories, declarative sentences all demonstrate that Stein was presenting different methods to structure the experience of war.

8

It is the range of formations in the Mallorcan narratives which highlights the achievement of the voice-montage. An impression of Stein's imaginative energy arises from this study of the different structures in the Mallorcan narratives. Having realized the potential of the voice-montage to seize the nuances of her surroundings, Stein looked to the prose formations in which her language could be encased.

Some formations have a spark of creative opposition to each other. The dialogue and the monologue formations test contrasting aspects of the voice-montage. Diffusion of unlocated voices among many speakers is matched by the concentration of different interlocutors into a single, controlling voice. An internal pattern, in the formation of a repeating title phrase, complements an external structure in the headline texts. Chapter headings differ from the movement of one story to the next. Various structures promote, and repress, a lyrical quality in the voice-montage. Rhythmic dialogue exchanges, which eddy around a few lines of interactive speech, contrast with the visual shock of capitalized headlines. Stein was responding to the literature available to her in Mallorca: novels, histories, and especially newspapers. Language, both overheard and read, is transformed into these narrative formations.

Stein placed details of her daily life into complex voice-montage constructions. Thereby, she introduced strategies of detachment to an autobiographical subject matter. The Mallorcan narratives contain descriptions of buying hats and shoes in Palma, of

taking walks in the Mallorcan countryside, of sitting beside a fire in a rented house in Terreno. Alongside an experiment with formations, Stein sought to present an accurate portrait of ordinary lives. Using the minutiae of an uneventful existence, she was anticipating her later thoughts upon the 'English narrative tradition':

If you live your daily life every minute of the whole day there must really be very little excitement in the narrative with which you while the time away that is natural enough if you think about it and a great deal of the written narrative in English literature has to do with this thing, they want narrative they need narrative because as they live their daily life every minute of the day narrative has so much to say it has to say that that daily life is being lived every second of that day.
(*Narration* p.5)

Stein was experiencing an 'island life' in Mallorca, and this aligns her subject with her later perception of nineteenth century English prose. An imaginative approach to the voice-montage structures shows her 'excitement in the narrative'. Her work focused upon the description, and the display, of 'daily life every minute of the whole day'. Using shifting formations, variable rhythms, and changing visual patterns, Stein introduced a mobility into her prose. Realism in the voice-montage, capturing her 'daily life' in Mallorca, created a secure base from which she could experiment with its presentation.

The Great War was a central feature of Stein's 'daily life' during 1915-16. War affects each of the narratives, either indirectly or directly. It provides one interpretation of the power-relationships exposed by a monologue voice, and it is the underlying reason for the repeated call to be 'easily careful'. More clearly, the vocabulary of war is given visual isolation in the headline texts, and it provides sharp contrasts to the peaceful, 'all Sunday' stories. War concentrated Stein's urge to translate the impact of her surroundings into voice-montage formations:

This is the way I am going to write.
The war.
(*All Sunday* A&B p.107)

An anonymous speaker expresses determination, and it could be heard as Stein's voice. A pause is left between these two lines. By placing the subject upon a new line, a dislocation is created between the writing and the war. These two sentences do not

necessarily flow together: 'This is the way I am going to write [about] the war.' Stein's Mallorcan narratives are focused upon writing, they are not governed by the subject of the Great War. War is integral to these compositions, but the formations are the truly innovative achievement of works which test the limits of the narrative form.

CHAPTER 5

MALLORCAN LETTER TEXTS AND PORTRAITS.

Two formations, letter texts and portraits, represent opposing approaches to the voice-montage. An effect of visual fragmentation arises from compositions governed by the conventional layout of letters. By contrast, descriptions of an individual are arranged into undivided prose essays. In these formations, Stein was exploring different aspects of characterization. Letter texts isolate a range of names, but they offer no information about the signatories. One man is the subject of several portraits, and interrogative voices seek details of his personality.

Miscellaneous names are displayed as fleeting signatories in the letter texts. Stein places a large cast into two forms: the narrative and the play. There is no plot unify the narrative text, *Letters and Parcels and Wool*. A motley collection of correspondents write random letters. Stein was subverting the causal events, and the consistent characters, of the traditional epistolary novel. Many signatories become actors in the play, *For The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters*. Both of these compositions flout, and rely upon, various conventions: the accepted use of page space in letters; the progress of epistolary novels; and the format of theatre scripts.

Transient names in the letter texts are replaced by an extensive presentation of one individual: William Cook. He is the central character in three prose portraits: *What Does Cook Want To Do*; *Captain William Edwards*; and *I Must Try To Write The History Of Belmonte*. Stein sought to catch a single, enigmatic personality in the direct style of the voice-montage. She presented a reticent man through his enjoyment of the Spanish environment, and these works project images of Mallorca, and of bullfights.

In this chapter, I will discuss the method of characterization in the formations of letter texts and portraits with reference to these five compositions.

One of the distinguishing features of the voice-montage is that Stein created a substantial body of texts which emphasize the actual names of her acquaintances. My research in the Stein Collection, and in the Mallorcan archives, enables me to identify many of the key people whose names appear within Stein's letter texts and portraits. One aspect of this critical approach is a deeper understanding of the strategies of

detachment which Stein brought to factual data. Although the names are often unchanged, they are placed in formations which challenge an easy alignment between a fictional character, and an actual individual. Interesting questions arise concerning the artistic appropriation of a person's name when it is transformed into the signatory of a letter, or a theatrical role.

Letter texts and portraits complement each other in their similar history within the corpus of Stein's writing. She had consistently used letters to concentrate climactic moments in the plots of her early narrative works, dated 1903-11. In the word portraits of 1908-12, she had used a repeating style to release nuances of the personalities of her acquaintances. An important aspect of the Mallorcan letter texts and portraits is Stein's adaptation of the voice-montage to ideas which she had previously explored in different styles. Stein's change of direction in the narrative form is shown by her refusal to use letters as part of a causal plot. A development in the portraits is her use of straightforward statements to mask biographical details of an individual whom she knew.

Before studying these two formations in depth, I will place the letter texts in the context of Stein's earlier use of letters. Her imaginative departure from an absorption of letters within the structure of a plot is demonstrated by a chronological review.

1

Stein used the visual structure of letter texts to isolate real and fictional names. Her pleasure in the multiple references of names as unusual words, as wordplay, as belonging to actual people, is presented in short exercises of conventional letter format. She compiled light, and humorous, compositions by creating a montage of miscellaneous letters. Before analyzing the Mallorcan letter texts, which display fictional letters without a novelistic context, I will locate this innovation in terms of her previous work. By making a chronological study of her early writings, a consistent pattern emerges in Stein's use of letters within the narrative form. Letters had been used as devices to concentrate moments of emotional tension within the plot development. Stein's advance in 1915-16, was the repetition of a standard layout of letters in which to encase ambiguous messages.

Stein's earliest composition arose from real letters. Leon Katz has shown that

Stein's first narrative work, *Q.E.D.* (1903), was a reformulation of her correspondence with May Bookstaver. Geographical distance between the two women, during their relationship, forced them to communicate their emotion through letters. This provided Stein with an accessible fund of epistolary material:

She pulled out all of May's letters and copies of her own, changed the names of the three women involved, turned her brother Leo into a 'cousin' and wrote out the whole story literally as it happened.¹

Authentic letters offered Stein the basis for an autobiographical composition, and a private expression of her personal fears. A draft letter, perhaps one to be sent to May Bookstaver, shows this release of language and emotion:

What a lot of nonsense I can talk as soon as I cease to be intimidated by your actual presence. But what can a [man] one do. There must be some talking done, else what would become of the sacred rites of conversation and as when we are together I can't and you won't I must have at you with a pen.
(YCAL *Q.E.D.* Notes to Drafts. 'one' is written over 'man'.)

Writing a letter liberates suppressed expressions of violence: '[...] have at you with a pen.' A pen becomes a weapon to inflict pain because it enables a direct statement of feeling. Honesty is allowed in the written word, when truth cannot be spoken in a reasoned dialogue exchange. This letter represents both the evasion of physical confrontation, and the necessity of communication.

Whether they are drafts of letters sent, or notes never intended to reach a correspondent, these emotional letters are important documents. Extant notes show that Stein incorporated original letters directly into her early narrative work. Letters to May Bookstaver were one source of her first composition. As Stein came to define herself as an author, she used their private emotional release in the public context of a narrative plot:

¹Leon Katz, Introduction to Gertrude Stein, *Fernhurst, Q.E.D., and Other Early Writings* (London: Peter Owen Ltd., 1972), p.xxiii.

DRAFT LETTER

However I may be able to come over to New York for a few months about the first of March [...] You will never learn that things do happen and that you are not strong enough to stave them off. You do exasperate me with your willful blindness. You never realise things as they are but always as you would make them if you were strong enough which you are not.

(YCAL *Q.E.D.* Notes to Drafts)²

DRAFT LETTER TRANSFERRED INTO TEXT

Adele read the letter impatiently. 'Hasn't she yet learned that things do happen and she isn't big enough to stave them off' she exclaimed. 'Can't she see things as they are and not as she would make them if she were strong enough as she plainly isn't.'

(*Q.E.D.* p.133)

In the triangular love relationship, which is the plot of this story, Adele is the character representing Stein. Detachment from the draft letter is created by the transformation of the written word, in the actual correspondence, to direct speech in the text. Adele voices words from the original letter, which were part of a continuing private exchange, to bring the public text to a close. Adele may be understood to triumph at the end of *Q.E.D.* because she is given the final spoken words. Her exclamation seems to end the correspondence, and consequently the relationship, between herself and Helen Thomas. It remains uncertain whether their letters will continue to be sent beyond the inconclusive end of the text. With this interpretation, letters will draw Adele back into the epistolary communication, which cannot resolve her spoken, rhetorical question. By repeating words from an actual letter, in the context of a character's speech, Stein brought an immediacy of emotional response to the final moments of the narrative plot.

There is a complex interplay between reference to a real correspondence, and the setting of its language in a fictional account. In the extract quoted above, Adele has read a letter which is not transcribed for the reader:

²This draft letter is one of several which are catalogued at YCAL in a file marked: '*Q.E.D.* Notes to Drafts'. If its content is interpreted as an actual letter to May Bookstaver, it can be dated to February 1903. At the end of February 1903, Stein left London. She sailed to New York, and this departure date means that she arrived there 'about the first of March'. It was during this period that Stein was composing *Q.E.D.*.

Adele read the letter impatiently.
(*Q.E.D.* p.133)

A fictional character has access to a document which is summarized in one sentence, and in the past tense. Adele's spoken reaction, which follows her reading, takes precedence over the content of this letter. Sympathy is generated for the woman who responds to the written word because her perspective is closer to the reader than that of a distant correspondent. Letters are presented in varying degrees of immediacy: an actual correspondence is transferred into a character's speech; words from a letter are filtered through the anonymous narrator; and the central character holds a letter which is unavailable to any other reader. In *Q.E.D.*, Stein chose to place letters within the progress of a story, and not to arrange their contents in the style of a conventional epistolary novel. She exhibited a skill in the presenting, and in the disguising, of real letters which construct her autobiographical work. It was not until the Mallorcan letter texts, to be considered later in this chapter, that Stein dispensed with the framework of a plot, and displayed a collection of fictional letters as complete units.

Stein saw a literary parallel between her own circumstances, which were the source of *Q.E.D.*, and Henry James' novel, *The Wings of the Dove*. It was similarities in the characters' situation, and in the use of letters at crucial moments in the narrative progress, which she believed aligned these two works. Stein referred to *The Wings of the Dove* by incorporating one name, Kate Croy, directly within her text.³ Her draft notes to *Q.E.D.* indicate that it was the letters, sent between Kate Croy in England and

³Stein misquoted in her final manuscript draft: 'Like Kate Croy she would tell me "I shall sacrifice nothing and nobody" [...].' This is repeated in the posthumous publication (*Q.E.D.* p.121). In the *Q.E.D.* Notes to Drafts, she had copied the phrase exactly from Henry James: 'I shall sacrifice nobody and nothing' *The Wings of the Dove* (Westminster, London: Archibald Constable and Co., 1902), Book Second p.62. Stein was in England when James' book was published in America, in August 1902, so I refer to the English First Edition to which she had access. The American First Edition also has 'nobody and nothing' (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902), p.82. Stein's quotation follows a draft letter mentioning that she was waiting for Leo Stein to arrive in Italy, and that 'Mabel and I had a delightful day at Pisa [...].' This may refer to the summer of 1900, when Gertrude and Leo Stein spent the summer in Italy and France with Mabel Weeks. Stein would then have saved the draft letter until 1902, when she thought of composing it into *Q.E.D.*. Alternatively, she may have quoted James in 1900 from the serialized novel in *The Chap-book* (January-August 1897), or in the *New Review* (February-July 1897).

Merton Densher in America, in which she found a fictional situation similar to her own with May Bookstaver.⁴ Stein copied extensive sections from *The Wings of the Dove* in the notes for *Q.E.D.*. She also made a brief reference: 'Last three paragraphs of Book II as to posting the letters.' (YCAL *Q.E.D.* Notes to Drafts). The 'last three' pages of Book Second, to which she refers, contain a dialogue between Merton Densher and Kate Croy. They speculate whether Mrs. Lowder will realize the depth of their love, by discovering their letters:

'But there'll be my letters.'
The girl faced his letters. 'Very, very many?'
'Very, very, very many - more than ever; and you know what that is! And then,' Densher added, 'there'll be yours.'
'Oh, I shan't leave mine on the hall-table. I shall post them myself.'⁵

Merton Densher finds a literary purpose in the public letters he sends from America, for his newspaper. However, the section which Stein noted is concerned with the private letters he intends to send Kate Croy, at Lancaster Gate. Stein recognized that Henry James' novel gave expression to her own situation. She feared that Mabel Haynes would discover the relationship between herself and May Bookstaver, by reading their private correspondence. Henry James' plot provided Stein with a precedent to incorporate her real letters within a narrative work. Letters in *Q.E.D.* are used consistently as devices

⁴The YCAL '*Q.E.D.* Notes to Drafts' show that Stein also aligned her own situation with Henry James' novel, *Roderick Hudson*. She found a similarity between her letters to May Bookstaver, and Roderick Hudson's letters from Europe to Mary Garland in America. In her notes to *Q.E.D.*, Stein copied extracts from *Roderick Hudson* which reveal a parallel in her mind between herself and Roderick Hudson; both artists leaving America for Europe, separated from the women they love. She also found connections in the triangular relationship between Roderick Hudson and Rowland Mallett, both of whom love Mary Garland. Stein's transcriptions from James' novel indicate the source of the title of her first novella: *Q.E.D.*. Mary Garland refuses to challenge Rowland Mallett: "'I believed nothing. I simply trusted you, as you asked me.'/" "Quod erat demonstrandum!" cried Rowland. "I think you know Latin." *Roderick Hudson* (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1876), p.428. Stein may have referred to this quotation in *The Atlantic Monthly*, December 1875, p.644. My research in the Stein Collection led me to this conclusion independently from Ulla Dydo. She had already noted the link. She will publish her discovery of this fact, which pre-dates my own, in her forthcoming book, *The Language That Rises: The Voice of Gertrude Stein 1923-1932*.

⁵Henry James, *The Wings of the Dove* (Westminster, London: Archibald Constable and Co., 1902), Book Second, p.82.

to concentrate, at crucial moments, an irreconcilable emotional situation.

Stein used a fictional letter as a more direct element of a plot in her next novella, *Fernhurst* (1904-1905). Her story, based upon an actual love affair between two professors at Bryn Mawr College (See Appendix 2), is structured by the momentum of causal incidents. Progressive action culminates in Nancy Redfern's discovery of her husband's infidelity, when she reads his letter to Janet Bruce:

She read it to the end - she had her evidence.
(*Fernhurst* p.45)

This letter is integral to the structure of a text which develops by confrontation, and by melodramatic exposure. One letter forces the husband, and the wife, to confront each other's guilt, and to acknowledge their own dishonesty. A climactic scene occurs, with Nancy Redfern holding the incriminating sheet of paper. They are effectively divorced in the moment of reading, and the discovery of reading, a letter. Philip Redfern's illicit love-note shows that Stein continued to use letters as an essential part of the plot development. It is a document which exposes a relationship in a single, visual coup.

Stein's consistent use of letters, at crucial moments within a narrative structure, is seen in *Three Lives* (1905-1906). As she had in *Q.E.D.*, Stein employed the same style in the epistolary communication, in the verbal exchanges and in the authorial voice. A letter is the device to end a relationship, as it was in *Fernhurst*. In 'Melanctha', modulating rhythms are maintained between the letter and the text. For instance, Jeff Campbell writes of his feelings for Melanctha Herbert in an epistolary style close to his speech with her:

'You never can be equal to me and that way I certainly never can bear any more to have it. And so now Melanctha, I always be your friend, if you need me, and now we never see each other any more to talk to.'

And then Jeff Campbell thought and thought, and he could never make any way for him now, to see it different, and so at last he sent this letter to Melanctha.
(*Three Lives* p.126)

Jeff Campbell's epistolary style replaces the immediacy of his voice with a document which emphasizes his distance from Melanctha. His evasion of direct speech, in the act of sending this letter, results in their separation. The plot seems to have reached a

conclusion when Jeff Campbell decides to end his relationship with Melanctha. Yet, they talk to each other again, and the letter does not resolve their emotional impasse. By incorporating the characteristics of one voice within a letter, Stein highlights her repeating style in two ways. She presents Jeff Campbell's rhythmic speech, and she uses the character to convey his own voice when he composes a letter. A fictional character, Jeff Campbell, becomes the author of his own speech patterns.

A letter, which attempts to capture the immediacy of speech, is also vital to the structure of 'The Good Anna', the first story in *Three Lives*. Again, the letter is used to communicate the end of a relationship. Words previously spoken by the dead servant, Anna, are transcribed by her friend:

Mrs. Drehten sent word of her death to Miss Mathilda.

'Dear Miss Mathilda,' wrote Mrs. Drehten, 'Miss Annie died in the hospital yesterday after a hard operation. She was talking about you and Doctor and Miss Mary Wadsmith all the time. She said she hoped you would take Peter and the little Rags to keep when you came back to America to live.'

(*Three Lives* p.56)

Five voices are condensed into this brief letter. Stein exploits the letter as a device to juxtapose a simple epistolary style, and a complex textual moment. This letter creates an overlaying of speakers who are either absent, or present, at this point in the story: the past speech of the absent Anna; the presence of Mrs. Drehten who writes, and who does not speak; the presence of the narrator who places the letter within the text; the presence of Miss Mathilda who reads the letter, and who does not speak; the presence of Gertrude Stein who is characterized within the work by her similarity to Miss Mathilda. Harriet Scott Chessman suggests that Mrs. Drehten's letter to Miss Mathilda, informing her of Anna's death, undermines the dominance of a single authorial voice:

The fact that this alternative account assumes the shape of a letter recalls the dimension of narration in 'The Good Anna' that allows for a sense of intimacy and a sharing of narrative authority, for a personal letter often implies an equality and intimacy between the writer and the receiver subversive of the writer's privilege and distance. Stein's allusion, through this small, awkward letter, to the epistolary narrative tradition suggests her insight into the revolutionary potential of such a form, especially with regard to female authority and voice.⁶

⁶Chessman, *The Public Is Invited To Dance*, p.34.

Mrs. Drehten's letter has a position of prominence because it concludes the story of 'The Good Anna'. It provides a sense of resolution in a similar way that Nancy Redfern's discovery of her husband's letter signals the end of their marriage, and the end of *Fernhurst*. Ten years later, in the Mallorcan letter texts, Stein would fully explore the 'revolutionary potential', which Harriet Scott Chessman sees in this 'small, awkward letter'. In 1915-16, Stein presented multitudes of correspondents in 'a sharing of narrative authority.' When she isolated complete letters on the page, Stein displayed a haphazard correspondence as both the structure, and the content, of the work.

A letter condenses an emotional moment in the progress of *The Making of Americans* (1906-11). Stein's consistent use of letters to conclude loving relationships is revealed in this novel. A daughter, named Edith, writes to her father that he should stop intruding in her life:

[...] she wrote this letter and her father got the letter and he was a paralytic always after, it was a shock to him getting such a letter, he kept saying over and over again that his daughter was trying to kill him and now she had done it and at the time he got the letter he was sitting by the fire and he threw the letter in the fire [...].

(*The Making of Americans* p.489)

In discussing the relationship between Edith and her father, Lisa Ruddick has proposed that Stein used this letter to provoke the crisis of a 'patricidal moment'.⁷ She argues that Edith's letter is a means to concentrate the unresolved filial struggle, described at the opening of the novel. Furthermore, Lisa Ruddick believes that Stein created a fictional correspondence to communicate her freedom from her own father:

Stein, through the fictional daughter's paralyzing letter, is sending a message in fantasy to her own father. Although she in some sense 'commenced' her sexual existence with him, she can now invest herself erotically wherever she likes, even if that means violating his rules by doing a 'low' thing, falling in love with a woman.⁸

Whilst I do not entirely agree with Lisa Ruddick's Freudian interpretation of hidden

⁷Ruddick, *Reading Gertrude Stein*, p.110.

⁸Ruddick, *Reading Gertrude Stein*, p.116.

messages to Daniel Stein, I share her opinion that letters were a powerful force in Gertrude Stein's work. It is important to view this 'paralyzing letter' in the context of previous letters in which Stein tells of death, and of freedom. Harriet Scott Chessman and Lisa Ruddick believe that letters in Stein's early compositions are expressions of personal liberation, both in fictional and in autobiographical terms. They argue that Stein communicates her literary freedom, and her sexual independence, through her use of letters in the early narrative texts. By tracing Stein's changing styles, it becomes clear that letters are consistently invested with emotional significance, and with dramatic consequence. A notable development in the Mallorcan letter texts is the use of the voice-montage to distance the miscellaneous correspondence from Stein's emotional response.

Stein emphasized the shape of letters when she constructed the Mallorcan letter texts. Each letter is isolated; none is given a narrative context. It is a formation which creates new demands upon the reader. Stein promotes the visual patterns which arise from single letters, and from the placement of one letter next to another. Moreover, the reader is left to guess the unexplained relationships between correspondents. These are collections of enigmatic, elliptical letters. Fictional letters are both the design, and the content, of the text. A major change of direction occurred in Stein's use of fictional letters within her work, and this might have been affected by particular circumstances in her Mallorcan year. Having established the purpose of single letters within Stein's previous compositions, I will now show that real letters, especially those from Mildred Aldrich, had a strong influence upon Stein during 1915-16.

Whilst she was in Mallorca, Stein's relationship with her friend, Mildred Aldrich, was deepened through the writing of letters. Mildred Aldrich was a frequent correspondent with Stein and Toklas, and she continued to send letters to them in Mallorca.⁹ Mildred Aldrich's private letters shared news of mutual friends, and they described her life during the Great War, near the battle-front at Huiry, France. In her book, *A Hilltop on the Marne* (1915), she captured the immediacy of the Battle of the

⁹By the YCAL curator's count, there are 487 extant letters from Mildred Aldrich to Gertrude Stein and Alice Toklas, dated 1909-28. For the period under discussion, the letters are counted as follows: (1909-14) 113 pieces; (1914) 37 pieces; (1915) 122 pieces; (1916) 29 pieces; (1917-18) 52 pieces.

Marne in a collection of public letters to an unnamed recipient. It achieved critical, and commercial, success when it was published. This book was issued midway through Stein's year in Mallorca. Correspondence with her friend, and reading her book, were elements which encouraged Stein to compose the Mallorcan letter texts.

Stein enjoyed letters. She kept most letters written to her; both the catalogued, and the uncatalogued, letter files in the Stein Collection are extensive.¹⁰ Mildred Aldrich knew the pleasure of reading a random selection of letters. Whilst Stein was in Mallorca, Mildred Aldrich promised to save her collection of letters of praise for *A Hilltop on the Marne* so they could both savour the variety of correspondents:

I am saving my cart load of letters for you to read when you come back.
(5 December 1915. YCAL Aldrich correspondence)

I am saving my letters for Gertrude. She will get heaps of fun out of them.
(25 December 1915. YCAL Aldrich correspondence)

During her Mallorcan year, Stein was not receiving this type of affirmative mail for her own publications. Nevertheless, the pleasure she derived from miscellaneous letters is evident in her friend's statements. Mildred Aldrich anticipates the moment when they will share 'heaps of fun' in reading strangers' letters. An insight into the motley collection of fictional correspondents, in the Mallorcan letter texts, is provided by this enjoyment of a 'cart load of letters'.

A contrast between Mildred Aldrich's real letters, and those published in *A Hilltop on the Marne*, may have been a contributory factor in Stein's investigation of epistolary style in 1915-16. Mildred Aldrich watched the artillery-smoke of the Battle of the

¹⁰It seems that Stein kept most letters she received in Mallorca. However, it remains uncertain how many might have been discarded. The Aldrich, Cook, Van Vechten, Picasso correspondences continued throughout the Great War, and these letters are preserved at YCAL. When there is a break in a regular correspondence, the letter which renews contact shows that none were written in the interim. For example, there are no letters in YCAL from Mabel Foote Weeks between 4 May 1914 and 8 February 1916. The latter begins: 'It was so good to get again one of your delightful postcards. It makes me hope that I may get a letter some day after all these years of silence.' (YCAL Weeks correspondence). Letters received in Mallorca were of importance to Stein, and they were saved despite inconvenience in transporting them back to Paris in 1916. A hint of the value of the Mallorcan letters is found in *Lifting Belly*: 'We mean it and do we care./ We keep all the letters.' (BTV p.77).

Marne, which was fought on fields below her home, 'La Creste', and she gave food to English soldiers. Proximity to the battle placed her in an invigorating situation, which she recorded in a reportage style.¹¹ When Stein and Toklas were staying at Lockeridge, in August and September 1914, they received letters about the battle from Mildred Aldrich. It was the essence of these letters which she would later re-write in *A Hilltop on the Marne*. The influence of letters which Mildred Aldrich sent to Lockeridge, in 1914, was powerful enough for Stein to recollect their impact twenty-two years later:

We were awfully pleased with your letter, it did make it all just as it is, and everybody around here has read it, it was like Mildred's letter about the Battle of the Marne, those who could read English read it in English and translated it to those who could not, everybody said how natural how charming how witty how real, in short it was quite like Mildred's letter about the Battle of the Marne. (August 1936. Curator's date based upon Bilignin address. Stein to William Cook. YCAL Cook correspondence)

This letter captures the vividness of Mildred Aldrich's accounts of the Battle of the Marne in both her private correspondence, and in her published text. It was the contrast between a personal and a public correspondence which prompted Stein to consider the art of writing letters, and writing a text compiled from letters. In Mallorca, Stein was exploring the rawness of a spontaneous account, one which is 'natural [...] real', and the revisions which polish the original words to re-create a lost immediacy. She was assessing the impact of letters which, like newspapers, are delayed communications.

A handwritten letter by Mildred Aldrich to Stein, probably the one referred to in the letter quoted above, exemplifies this delay. Introduction of informative detail, and of contemplative analysis, alters the reading slightly:

¹¹Mildred Aldrich's direct style arose from her work as a drama critic for the *Boston Transcript*, before she had come to France. This reportage style is also seen in Ellen La Motte, *The Backwash of War* (See Chapter 2). Involvement with the harsh realities of war provided a violent subject for essays which La Motte recorded in a sparse, documentary language.

HANDWRITTEN LETTER

It was sad seeing the men go, but the women were so wonderful: Day after day whole families went by my gate toward Couilly, and women and children came silently back alone. There was none of the 'show off' I remembered so well in my childhood when Northern regiments started south - no drama, no flags, no marching in the streets. Men - rich and poor together - gentleman & peasants - were simply packed into the trains. There was a little sob, broken cry from the women and children on the platform, as the train started off 'Vive l'Armée' and a shout from the men hanging out the windows & waving their hats and caps of 'Vive la France' - that was all.

(8 August 1914. YCAL Aldrich correspondence)

PUBLISHED VERSION

Day after day I have watched the men and their families pass silently, and an hour later have seen the women come back leading the children. One day I went to Couilly to see if it was yet possible for me to get to Paris. I happened to be in the station when a train was going out. Nothing goes over the line yet but men joining their regiments. They were packed in like sardines. There were no uniforms - just a crowd of men - men in blouses, men in patched jackets, well dressed men - no distinction of class; and on the platform the women and children they were leaving. There was no laughter, none of the gayety with which one has so often reproached this race - but neither were there any tears. As the crowded train began to move, bare heads were thrust out of windows, hats were waved, and a great shout of 'Vive la France' was answered by piping children's voices, and the choked voices of women - 'Vive l'Armée'; and when the train was out of sight the women took the children by the hand, and quietly climbed the hill.¹²

Stein had read both the private letter, and the published letter, at the time she was composing her Mallorcan letter texts. By comparing the handwritten letter with the published version, one can appreciate the ways in which Stein was constructing a formation of letter texts partly in response to *A Hilltop on the Marne*.

After extracts had been printed in the July, August and September 1915 editions of *The Atlantic Monthly*, the book was published in September 1915.¹³ On 6

¹²Mildred Aldrich, *A Hilltop on the Marne: Being Letters Written June 3 - September 8, 1914* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1915), pp.59-60. Letter dated 10 August 1914.

¹³These dates enforce my opinion that *A Hilltop on the Marne* was a contributory factor in Stein's creation of the Mallorcan letter texts. *Letters and Parcels and Wool* has a vocabulary which indicates its composition during the winter 1915-16: 'We are thinking of sending you something for Christmas. [...] Sincerely yours and best wishes for the new year. [...] It is really excusable on Christmas eve but not again.' (*Letters and Parcels and Wool* AFAM p.165, p.167 and p.168). These references would date the

November 1915, Mildred Aldrich sent a copy of *A Hilltop on the Marne* to Stein in Mallorca.¹⁴ From Mallorca, Stein had written letters of praise for *A Hilltop on the Marne*. Stein's enjoyment is deduced from Mildred Aldrich's pleased response:

So nice of you to like the 'stuff'. I am sending the August number thinking perhaps it will not be easy for you to get so far away.
(19 August 1915. YCAL Aldrich correspondence)

So glad you really liked the book. It may amuse you to know that it had its third printing Oct 28 - twelve days after it appeared.
(5 December 1915. YCAL Aldrich correspondence)

Stein knew the importance of a receptive readership. Her letters of endorsement were an appreciation of her friend's success. They were also a recognition that Mildred Aldrich, who wrote many private letters, had found a format most suited to her public expression. In a later portrait, entitled *Mildred's Thoughts* (1922), Stein referred to Mildred Aldrich's enthusiasm for writing letters:

I can continue to write.
I can continue to write to her.
I can continue to write to him.
I can continue to write, and I can not be defeated.
[...]

Mildred says that water, wells and washing are secondary only to letters. She writes letters. And so do we.¹⁵

Stein's letters of praise for *A Hilltop on the Marne* were an acknowledgement of the importance of letters in times of war. Mildred thought, and Stein thought with her, that if one can continue to write letters, one 'can not be defeated.' The recipient of the correspondence is not a primary concern for the writer. This 1922 portrait repeats the

letter text to the time of Stein's receipt of *A Hilltop on the Marne*. Mildred Aldrich had sent Stein the magazine extracts, in addition to the book version.

¹⁴[...] the book was sent to you Nov 6 [...]. (20 November 1915. YCAL Aldrich correspondence).

¹⁵Gertrude Stein, *Mildred's Thoughts* 1922 (*American Caravan*, 1927), p.655 and p.658.

undirected activity, 'continue to write', to stress that it is writing which is more necessary than the direct address: 'to her [...] to him.' Stein's post-war opinion, that for Mildred Aldrich letters were more essential to life than water, reflects upon her own letter texts of 1915-16. In this formation, a new approach to the voice-montage, Stein was responding in a positive way to the literary purpose which Mildred Aldrich found in writing letters.¹⁶

During her Mallorcan year, Stein was aware of the difference between writing letters as a means to avoid psychological defeat during war, and her creation of epistolary texts in a position of security. Bernard Bergonzi discusses the compositions of soldiers who used the letter, as an artistic device, to convey their war experience. He concludes that short texts, written amid the fighting, were an inevitable consequence of restrictions of time, and of writing materials:

For those actively involved in the struggle, the immediate literary response to war had been necessarily confined to such compact forms as the private letter or diary entry, and, above all, to brief lyric poems. But many of the poets who survived returned to their experiences in longer, retrospective prose works written ten or more years after the Armistice.¹⁷

For practical reasons, Mildred Aldrich described her experience of the Battle of the Marne in 'compact' letters. She informed friends that she was safe and, under the pressure of a war situation, she condensed her impressions into a brief communication. To capture the 'immediate literary response', she maintained the format of a collection of letters in the published version. In Mallorca, Stein was already in a position of distance from the war. Such detachment gave her time to assess the potential of letters to concentrate the details of her peaceful surroundings.

Stein had two literary precedents for a new design of the voice-montage: her own past incorporation of letters into narrative plots; and her friend's current attention to the

¹⁶My opinion on this point contrasts with Harriet Scott Chessman's interpretation of *Mildred Aldrich Saturday* (1924): 'Stein literally erases the reality and gritty detail central to the war and to Aldrich's journalistic account. In an even more fundamental sense, Stein refuses the plottedness central to Aldrich's storytelling. She suggests a link between narrative plot and the national plots - the making of 'history' - leading to war.' (*The Public Is Invited To Dance*, p.116).

¹⁷Bernard Bergonzi, *Heroes' Twilight: A Study of the Literature of the Great War* (London: Constable and Co., 1965), p.146.

epistolary structure. These stimuli are contributory factors in Stein's creation of a visually distinctive formation - the letter texts.

2

Stein crowds the letter texts with an array of signatories. These compositions gain a lightness, and a humour, from the visual isolation of so many names.

Letters are a device to structure two forms in the Mallorcan writings: the narrative and the play. In the narrative *Letters and Parcels and Wool*, Stein presents a montage of miscellaneous, fictional letters. She undermines the progression of the conventional epistolary novel by employing its structure, and by denying its coherence. In the play *For The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters*, Stein speculates whether multitudes of names could indicate actors on a stage. Communication through the medium of letters is complicated by their application to dramatic performance. A play generates tension between characters who hold actual letters, and voices which project their written messages.

Letter texts were a formation in which Stein could mingle real and fictional names. By contrast to the extensive portraits of William Cook, she used his name as a transitory signature. Also, she encouraged the identification of actual Mallorcan inhabitants by incorporating their names directly into the narrative and the play.

A subversive energy is released from these letter texts by flaunting the artifice of the epistolary genre. Whilst entertaining the reader, and the audience, with a comic irrelevance of communications, Stein was making a serious investigation into the adaptation of the voice-montage to a structure with a cultural inheritance.

The orderly page design of *Letters and Parcels and Wool* is, at first glance, reassuring. A sense of practicality is also introduced in the list of homely objects in the title. This impression of methodical efficiency is re-enforced in the textual structure, which depends upon the conventional format of letters. On this point, it is important to note that the posthumous publication does not reproduce the visual organization in the manuscript, and in the bound typescript. One example serves for many:

Dear Sir. I wish you would learn swimming.
Henry Somerset.
(*Letters and Parcels and Wool* AFAM p.173)

Dear Sir.
I wish you would learn swimming.
Henry Somerset.
(YCAL HG 127 and Bound Typescript Volume 14)

Stein's arrangement of words in the manuscript, and Alice Toklas' reflection of this page design in the bound typescript, are essential to the formation of letter texts. A conventional indentation of these letters belies their unexpected contents. It is the recognizable structure which defines this skeleton letter as a correspondence, and which isolates the single sentence as its communicative purpose. *Letters and Parcels and Wool* challenges the genre of epistolary novels, and it depends upon the reader's acknowledgement of a standard format.

Henry Somerset's single-line statement is syntactically correct. Its communicative value is difficult to grasp because the reader is given no information about the relationship between the correspondents. Henry Somerset addresses a man formally: 'Dear Sir.' However, the need to 'learn swimming' is a piece of advice unconnected to any other letter in the collection. Stein's letter text does not invite the reader to share an intimate world. Each signatory maintains an inside world of private reference. The reader remains outside, unable to establish comprehensible links between the letters, or between the correspondents. The brevity of Henry Somerset's communication, in a context of miscellaneous letters, does not encourage the imaginative reconstruction of a story taking place beyond the text.

Lack of communication, within a work composed of communicative structures, subverts the assumption that letters should have an informative function. Stein wrote her signature even on drafts of her letters. She felt pleasure in seeing her name on the page, and she conveyed her awareness that an indented name transforms a paragraph into a letter. These letters catch her enjoyment of mixing inconsequence with formal arrangement:

Dear Sir.

It is strange all the time. The women are not strange all the time. Words fail me. Do be careful to hear it. Say I was told to go. Keep away Sunday.

Herbert Gilbert.

(*Letters and Parcels and Wool* AFAM p.172)

Isolation of readers, who cannot participate in the text by extracting a plot, is matched by the isolation of correspondents who address their letters to an anonymous 'Sir'. They may be directing their words to a person whose name is unknown to them. Alternatively, they might address a known figure of authority whose superior position requires the formal replacement of their name. Each 'Sir' could be the same person throughout the text. Also, there might be many individuals whose identities are shielded by the anonymity of their title. A contrast between the intimacy of 'Dear', and the detachment of 'Sir', highlights a convention of letter-writing which is easily overlooked. Repetition of this oxymoron, in each formal address, exposes an unthinking acceptance of formulaic traditions. Stein plays with the familiarity of endearment in a context of formal communications:

Dear. Do not let that young man come again.

(*Letters and Parcels and Wool* AFAM p.166)

Indicating male authority, the title 'Sir' is undermined in an intimate exchange in the Mallorcan play *Bonne Annee. A Play*. This script seems to be dated close to the composition of *Letters and Parcels and Wool* by its similar references to Christmas and a new year:

I give you this.

Yes.

You give me this.

Yes.

Yes sir.

Why do I say yes sir. Because it pleases you.

(*Bonne Annee. A Play* G&P p.302)

A sensual delicacy, in voices exchanging gifts and words, leads to a hint of sexual teasing in the repetition: 'Yes sir [...] yes sir.' Stein creates an ambiguous dialogue in

which she can use a male address in a love poem to Alice Toklas.¹⁸

Moreover, the use of the title 'sir' in *Bonne Annee. A Play* highlights the aspect of censorship in *Letters and Parcels and Wool*. One sentence in parentheses, '(Little one least of all in among the legs of its guardian tall.)', is censored from *Bonne Annee. A Play* (YCAL HG 134).¹⁹ Each 'Sir', to whom letters are addressed, remains a shadowy figure throughout *Letters and Parcels and Wool*. Similarly, the erasure of sexual stridency in the new year affirmation of love shows that Stein chose anonymity for the one who is addressed as 'sir' in *Bonne Annee. A Play*. A biographical interpretation identifies the 'little one' as Toklas, and the 'guardian' as Stein. The line is removed to avoid such definition, which detracts from the lightness of a voice-montage exchange.

Lines which follow the excision emphasize the disruption of textual coherence when sections are removed without explanation:

This must not be put in a book.
Why not.
Because it mustn't.
Yes sir.
(*Bonne Annee. A Play* G&P pp.302-303)

Like the censorship of real letters, the missing text leaves surrounding sentences without a context.²⁰ In the published version, 'This must not be put in a book' refers to the line which it follows: 'Take me to Sevres I do not despair.' In the manuscript, this statement is noted in Alice Toklas' handwriting. Yet, it is not the phrase which 'must not be put in a book.' It is the excised line, not visible in the published version, which is the

¹⁸See also, *Mexico. A Play*: 'If you want to be respectable address me as sir./ I am very fond of yes sir.' (G&P p.317); *For The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters*: 'Dear Sir. Why have you special places for your handkerchiefs.' (G&P p.233).

¹⁹This sentence is lined through in the manuscript (YCAL HG 134). It is typed, but erased, in BTS Volume 14. However, the words are still faintly visible.

²⁰In her Mallorcan writings, Stein recorded her concern with the censorship required during the Great War. Mildred Aldrich informed Stein that her letters were censored: 'I return your envelopes that you may see that the Censor reads all your letters - mustn't he have a nice time?' (25 December 1915. YCAL Aldrich correspondence). Awareness of an anonymous reader is realized in *All Sunday*: 'We were astonished not to receive a letter from Emily. When it came we found that it had been censored. Nothing had been cut and there was not much time lost. Some things are very disturbing./ Lessons of the war.' (A&B p.113. HG 151 MS has 'cut out'. BTS & A&B have not).

source of the speaker's words referring to censorship. The elliptical letters in *Letters and Parcels and Wool* give the impression of a rigorous censorship. Considering their composition during the Great War, an important aspect of the letter texts is Stein's application of the role of censor to her voice-montage correspondence. She enables the reader to appreciate the impact upon language of an external authority which has removed all referential connections, and which has left innocuous statements isolated in a textual void.

Letters and Parcels and Wool is a long text compiled from short letters. Stein imposed a new discipline upon the voice-montage by confining it within a formation of compact letters. To draft this text, she had chosen a large 'Amengual y Muntaner' notebook.²¹ Although the notebook allowed plenty of space, she worked within the discipline and did not fill each page with a long letter. In some instances, one short communication is spread over an entire page.²² Isolated letters are brief, and each is disconnected from the others. Whilst they mimic the structure, their content differs from the genre of epistolary novels. This formation condenses disparate lives into single letters, gathering them in a motley collection. It is as if one glimpsed the contents of a postman's bag. A cross-section of letters heaped in a mail sack have no relation between them except that they use the same conventions, and they happen to be in the same container. In the Mallorcan letter texts, Stein provides the entertainment of peeping at strangers' letters.

Single letters are the only chance the reader has to learn about characters in the text. There is a sense of ordinary lives caught in *vignettes*:

²¹Stein bought many large, hard-bound notebooks which are stamped 'Amengual y Muntaner'. (See Appendix 1 for the texts written in these notebooks). This was the name of a bookshop in Palma. An advertisement for new publications, under the headline 'Obras Nuevas', was placed for 'Amengual y Muntaner la librería' (14 April 1915. *La Almudaina* p.2).

²²For example, the following letter covers one page in the manuscript notebook: 'Dear Sir./ Will you have a dish. You can let us know and we will do our best to satisfy you./ Henry & Herman.' (*Letters and Parcels and Wool* YCAL HG 127 AFAM p.165).

Dear Chris.

You have forgotten to take the furniture polish. It is needed as the servant is to do the polishing and she has not the recipe for it and so she can not make it. You will attend to it. You are very obliging. Alright. It will look like satin. It ought to. There are many days probably almost a week that she can give to polishing. Do not forget to buy ribbon.

Always yours

Margaret Dawson.

(*Letters and Parcels and Wool* AFAM p.166 YCAL HG 127. MS & BTS have paragraph indent after 'Chris.')

Minor, domestic incidents are recorded by other correspondents in *Letters and Parcels and Wool*: displeasure with olive wood for burning; sending embroidery as a Christmas present; and forgetting a calling card. These subjects are arranged within the same design as Margaret Dawson's letter concerning furniture polish. Stein's contact with Mallorcan inhabitants offered an array of new names, and new relationships, which she incorporated into the voice-montage. However, the intimacy of ordinary concerns is given anonymity because there are many different letters, and characters do not re-appear. Named signatories imply friendships, especially in their communications about household details. Yet, their letters are set in a structure which indicates detachment. Disconnected letters do not allow the consolidation of a plot, or of characterization.

Within the framework of a collection of letters, space is created between those letters in which speakers communicate. Characters converse, as well as write, in *Letters and Parcels and Wool* when their lines are placed outside the indentation signifying correspondence. Unlocated voices between the letters are free to make brief observations about the work itself, and they point out the artifice of the letter text:

I like these letters.

[...]

Yes sir I write in English.

[...]

A letter to-day.

(*Letters and Parcels and Wool* AFAM p.164, p.168 and p.172)

These statements are squeezed between a signature, which ends one letter, and a new, unnamed addressee, which opens a different letter: 'Dear Sir. [...] Dear dear friend. [...] 'Dear friends.' (AFAM p.164, p.168 and p.172). Detached commentators give the sense of anonymous figures, within the text, reading the collection of letters.

Space between the letters allows unlocated voices to create dialogue exchanges. They engage with each other directly, unlike the named correspondents, whose distance requires the delay of postal communication:

[...] Always very sincerely yours
Herbert Baker.

I understand that you are eager to see me.

Yes I am.

Would you like to come Saturday.

I would.

Would you prefer another day.

I don't think so.

Dear Mrs. Gilbert.

[...]

(Letters and Parcels and Wool AFAM p.171)

Situated between the signatory, 'Herbert Baker', and the addressee, 'Mrs. Gilbert', these wafting voices respond to each other. It is the solid, signed letters which receive no reply. In another space between two letters, an anonymous speaker urges: 'You do like my interruptions.' An affirmative voice replies: 'Of course I like your interruptions.' *(Letters and Parcels and Wool AFAM p.173)*. This interlocutor expresses enjoyment of the speech which breaks free from the structuring design. Such 'interruptions' are spoken unexpectedly. Dialogue exchanges break the silence which is implied by the signed letters.

Since only one side of the communication can be read, each letter has the quality of a monologue. Using a style of staccato sentences, correspondents attempt to prompt a reply. The 'interruptions' in some letters are the pauses of a hesitant writer, one who is aware that there will be no immediate response:

Dear John. We were not pleased with the wood. The wood on top was olive wood. We are not severe. We say we wish it heavy. We wish it to be heavy. We are not going to ask you. Thanks so much. You have been very kind. We are pleased to hear about you. Answer me again.

Sincerely yours
Henry.

(Letters and Parcels and Wool AFAM p.165)

Stein was exploring the paradox of a formation which indicates communication, but which can express a lack of connection between named correspondents. Easy exchanges

outside the letter framework contrast with the tension of Henry's punctuated communication, encapsulated in his plea to John: 'Answer me again.' Voices which escape from the epistolary structure may have led Stein to consider their application to a dramatic script. In the narrative form, they act as a subversive montage of anonymous voices. Their purpose is to define the limits of the letter structure, and to expose the hesitant communications of the named letter-writers.

Letter texts were a formation in which Stein could promote multiple nuances released from names. A range of signatories participate in the fictionalizing fun of her adaptation of the voice-montage to the genre of epistolary novels.

There are intimations of messages hidden within various names in *Letters and Parcels and Wool*. An ambiguity emerges in the distinction between names belonging to Stein's acquaintances, and her use of evidently fictional names. Several comic names are on the edge of wordplay and caricature: 'Dear Lee [...] Bertha Cistern [...] Gladys Gold' (*Letters and Parcels and Wool* AFAM p.169, p.169 and p.168). In some letters, Stein appears to be sending covert communications to Alice Toklas. One signature hints at Stein creating a pseudonym to end a letter which praises a woman's knitting. It encodes words of thanks for the constancy of a private relationship:

I sign myself
Constantly your advisor
Constance G. Birthday.
(*Letters and Parcels and Wool* AFAM p.163)

The initial 'G' suggests 'Gertrude' because the 'B' in Toklas' middle name (Babette) suggests 'Birthday'. Names and their meanings are a source of playfulness. They lighten the formulaic conventions of signing polite letters: 'Constantly [...] Constance.' Another signature, 'Wellfed' (*Letters and Parcels and Wool* AFAM p.172), also implies that Stein was recording a disguised expression of gratitude to Toklas, for providing her with good food.²³

²³My interpretation that this signature, relating to food, is Stein's humorous self-naming is based upon a similar name in *Lifting Belly*. Her body size is translated into mock-Polish. It is a tribute to Toklas' cooking, an appreciation of her household chore of polishing, and a reference to her ancestral homeland: 'Levelheaded fattuski./ I do not

Biographical data, gleaned from the letters at YCAL, shows that Stein was converting, translating and shifting names familiar to her on Mallorca. Residents of the island had their names slightly altered: Mrs. Gilbert has her surname translated into French, 'Henrietta Guilbert'; her son, Mark Gilbert, becomes 'Herbert Gilbert'; and Mrs. Penfold becomes 'Mrs. Penfield' (*Letters and Parcels and Wool AFAM* p.166, p.172 and p.166).²⁴ (See Appendix 3 for actual letters which refer to these Mallorcan residents). Stein played aural, and visual, games to give different nationalities to these newly-encountered expatriates.

Stein family names are incorporated, without alteration, into this letter text: 'Mike [...] Daniel [...] Bertha' (*Letters and Parcels and Wool AFAM* p.171, p.170 and p.169). Named members of Stein's family are placed in a context of anonymous familial relationships. A family network is conveyed through various letters:

To my sister. [...] Dear Miss Herbert. You will come with your mother. Yes. We will hope that your brother is younger. [...] What is a niece. A niece is fatter and fatter.

(*Letters and Parcels and Wool AFAM* p.167, p.165 and p.163)

In addition to an external structure of letter units, an internal structure arises from blood-relationships, which appear intermittently within the correspondence. Stein juxtaposed the anonymity of a crowd of letter-writers with the closeness of family ties. The Great War brought her a new appreciation of family letters. Her extended absence from Paris required letters to establish that family members were safe. At the outbreak of war, Mike, Sarah and Allan Stein were staying at the Grand Hotel D'Agay, between Cannes and Saint Raphaël. They would remain there until 1917.²⁵ Leo Stein had moved to the Villa di Doccia, Settignano, Firenze by 29 April 1914. He left for America a year

wish to be Polish.' (*Lifting Belly BTV* p.86).

²⁴This name may refer to Frederick Courtland Penfield (1855-1922). He was the American Ambassador to Germany in 1914. In Appendix 4, I have listed all the names which Stein used in the voice-montage compositions dated 1914-16. Consequently, it is possible to see how often the same names were used, and the variations upon single names.

²⁵The last extant letter in YCAL from Mike Stein to Gertrude Stein, before his return to Paris, was sent from the Hotel Terminus, Bordeaux. It was dated 23 June 1917.

later, about 26 April 1915.²⁶ Communication by letter re-established the family bond, and the effort was largely made by Mike Stein. It can be deduced, from one of Mike Stein's letters, that Gertrude and Leo had written to each other after war broke out. Larger concerns of the Great War had temporarily overcome their personal differences:

Just had a line from Leo, saying you had not heard from me. I have written several times to you & have heard from you.
(29 August 1914. Mike Stein from Agay re-directed from Knightsbridge Hotel to Lockeridge. YCAL Stein correspondence.)

In *Letters and Parcels and Wool*, Stein emphasized the value of letters to maintain family units during the Great War by incorporating names of her family within its structure. It is a characteristic of the letter texts that she detached a personal history from the voice-montage formation. These are only a few names amid a miscellany, and they fit within a pre-arranged framework. Stein was governed by the voice-montage experiment, and naming people close to her serves to create an ambiguous blend of real and fictional signatories.

The relevance of this factual data is not merely to show that Stein adapted the names she knew, since this is not unusual among authors. It indicates that, in Mallorca, she was sufficiently excited by names to structure entire compositions to promote these multilayered words. Letter texts were a result of her intention to display the freshness, and the vitality, of names. I share Ulla Dydo's opinion that a critic can gain insights into the texts by learning the context within which Stein worked. Biographical research enables a critic to discover the innovative use Stein made of ordinary details:

She creates in her word constructions a reality that can be recognized though it is not a mimetic reality. The Stein papers show a part of the context - the source of the vocabulary - out of which she created her texts. Without an understanding of this context, which is never invented, the ways in which Stein abstracted or decontextuated when she wrote are difficult to understand.²⁷

This critical stance aligns Stein's method of composition with that of James Joyce. Richard Ellmann analyses the biographical interpretations of *Ulysses* in the same manner

²⁶Fuller, ed., *Journey Into the Self*, p.58 and p.62.

²⁷Dydo, 'To Have The Winning Language', pp.65-66.

that Ulla Dydo approaches the documents in the Stein Collection:

Even with a *roman à clef*, which *Ulysses* largely is, no key quite fits. Art lavishes on one man another's hair, or voice, or bearing with a shocking disrespect for individual identity. [...] He was never a creator *ex nihilo*; he recomposed what he remembered, and he remembered most of what he had seen or had heard other people remember.²⁸

In the Mallorcan letter texts, Stein achieved a measure of detachment by transforming real names, and actual letters, into artistic shapes. Contrasts between the factual data, and the final draft, reward the critic with an understanding of the ways Stein 'discontextuated', and 'recomposed', aspects of her environment. For instance, a letter from Emily Dawson is not transcribed into the letter text. Her correspondence about wool is a source for a fictional letter. Stein absorbed this stimulus into her composition by her reaction to the original letter, and by entitling her work in response to its subject:

ORIGINAL LETTER

Its wonderful to think of you attached to the slow growth of a black stocking and I'll match the sample as nearly as I can and send of a lb. of black when I get back to London in 10 or 15 days; - only when dyed it won't be as soft as this fleecy natural whisp.

(18 May 1915. Hotel Victoria, Newquay, Cornwall. YCAL Dawson correspondence)²⁹

LETTER TRANSFERRED INTO TEXT

I have no hard thoughts about wool. Wool is black. [...] It gives me great pleasure to thank you for the stockings you have so kindly knitted for me. [...] It is easy to decide about wool. The thing we asked for originally was natural wool. This is stiff.

(*Letters and Parcels and Wool* AFAM pp.163-64)

²⁸Ellmann, *James Joyce*, pp.364-65.

²⁹This is the last letter from Emily Dawson extant in YCAL until a letter dated 29 July 1916. In this letter, she greets Stein and Toklas back to Paris, and she inquires: '[...] why did she [Toklas] never answer my queries about wool?' (YCAL Dawson correspondence).

Emily Dawson's letter gives one indication of a factual basis for the letter text.³⁰ Stein used the voice-montage to record words which chanced her way, and here a phrase from a letter caught her attention. This example suggests that, as she had done in *Q.E.D.*, Stein was using actual letters as a direct influence upon her composition. More circumstantial evidence is absorbed into the Mallorcan writings than into her previous compositions. Names are not changed beyond recognition; the 'Dawson' surname in *Letters and Parcels and Wool* sends a researcher to the Dawson correspondence in the Stein Collection. Letters held at YCAL offer documentary sources from which emerge an appreciation of Stein's transformation of data available on the island into a formation of letter texts. A new approach in the Mallorcan letter texts is marked by the lack of a causal plot in which to place the correspondence. A letter about wool is isolated from the other communications, and it does not advance a narrative progress. The separation of nouns in the title introduces the autonomy of each textual unit.

In 1915-16, Stein had the imaginative confidence to allow letters to be seen as distinctive structures, to display multilayered names, and to convey inconclusive messages.

3

Dialogue exchanges, implicit in the letter texts, led Stein to apply this formation to a dramatic script: *For The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters*.³¹ Characters in this play are given the names of people whom Stein met regularly in Mallorca. Since they were in physical proximity, she was not using their letters in the way she had transformed Emily Dawson's correspondence about black wool. As signatories of letters become actors in a play, real people are integrated into a performance where they could be impersonated. Stein was exploring the ambiguities between private letters, public

³⁰Emily Dawson's surname is used for the signatory of a different letter: 'Margaret Dawson' (*Letters and Parcels and Wool* AFAM p.166).

³¹Stein originally entitled this play: 'In The Country Entirely'. The manuscript notebook has 'In' written underneath 'For' (YCAL HG 121). BTS Volume 14, and the 1929 *transition* bibliography, have 'In'. The table of contents for *Geography and Plays* has 'For' (p.10). It also has 'For' in the title above the text (p.227). I refer to the *Geography and Plays* title.

letter texts and theatre scripts by presenting actual names as fictional characters, and as actors' roles.

The first 'chapter' of the play, *For The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters*, ends with a letter. It is signed with the name of an individual who was known to Stein - William Cook. Contrasting with the extensive portraits of William Cook, to be considered later, his name appears as a fleeting signatory:

Dear Herbert.

Come again.

William.

William Cook.

Chapter 2.

(*For The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters* G&P pp.227-28)

Repetition of the name, to include the surname, clarifies the identity of this signatory. More information is given for readers of the letter other than Herbert, who is familiar with his correspondent. A division in the play entitled 'Chapter 2' introduces various complications to the reading of this script. It leads to the interpretation that William Cook is a character in a narrative text, that the letter is a structural device for an epistolary novel, and that the 'play' of the title is a verb rather than a noun. At the beginning of her composition, Stein was placing the formation within both the narrative and the play form. As the work progressed, she aligned this letter text more closely with the play form by abandoning divisions by chapter headings.

Letters sent by the real William Cook provide an insight into the Mallorcan context of many names in *For The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters*. By the YCAL curator's count, there are 364 dated letters sent from William Cook and Jeanne [Moallic] Cook³² to Stein and Toklas. The first letter is dated 2 August 1913, and the last is dated 22 August 1946. There are many undated letters. These four friends had corresponded from the time they had met on Stein's first visit to Mallorca, in July 1913, to Stein's return, in April 1915. It was partly due to William Cook's letters from Palma to Stein in Paris, about flowering almond trees and dining on *lobster à la Americaine*, that encouraged a reunion in Palma in 1915 (See Appendix 3). William Cook returned to Paris in December 1915. His subsequent correspondence from Paris, to Stein in

³²In 1915-16, William Cook and Jeanne Moallic lived together as if they were married. Their relationship is more fully discussed in Section 4, and in Appendix 2.

Palma, shows how deeply she had absorbed the names from her Mallorcan environment. From this documentary evidence, it becomes clear that Stein had transformed actual names into actors' roles in *For The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters*.

A name for one character within the script, Mary Rose Palmer, is based on the name of William Cook's dog: Mary Rose. He had bought this dog in Palma in 1912.³³ Stein added a surname which indicates this place of purchase: 'I cannot understand Mary Rose Palmer.' (*For The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters* G&P p.231). This female role can be identified with a source in Mallorca by a study of William Cook's letters:

Mary Rose presented us with four pups yesterday.
(ND YCAL Cook correspondence)

Marie-Rose has taken on a sort of Palma esque pro-Allies sadness [...] I call her out to get a perfectly good bone.
(8 November 1917. YCAL Cook correspondence)

Added to this double female name, Mary and Rose, is a surname: Palmer. This surname is a combination of aural play on Palma, and the actual name of J. Palmer, the 'Direct. Propriétaire' of the Grand Hotel in Palma. Stein and William Cook were familiar with this hotel,³⁴ so the juxtaposition of a dog's first name and a man's surname might have arisen from a private joke between friends. In one female name, Stein could play with three references within her Spanish environment: to a dog which belonged to her friend; to a town in which she was living; and to a man who owned the hotel where she had stayed upon her arrival in Mallorca. Stein used this name for a member of the cast who is spoken of by another actor. 'Mary Rose Palmer' could be interpreted as a role for an actress upon the stage, one who would be visible but silent. Alternatively, she could be an absent figure, one who would be presented to the audience only through the voice of another cast member. Since she confuses the speaker, 'I cannot understand Mary

³³'How did Marie Rose come to her end? I suppose it was old age! She must have been about that age, as I remember it must have been in 1912 that we picked her up in Palma.' (11 February 1924. YCAL Cook correspondence). William Cook used the spelling 'Mary Rose' and 'Marie-Rose' to refer to the same dog.

³⁴William Cook had used the Grand Hotel notepaper for a letter to Stein, dated 1913. He reminisced in a letter dated 14 May 1919: 'It seemed almost like the dining room of the Grand Hotel.' (YCAL Cook correspondence).

Rose Palmer', it is possible for two women to play the roles of sisters, or twins. In this case, two actresses would separate the roles of Mary Palmer and Rose Palmer.

Stein's pleasure in using real names within a theatrical context is evident in another role in *For The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters*. A male character, Anthony Rosello, can be identified by reading William Cook's actual correspondence. A man named Rossello was the 'propietario' of Stein's Mallorcan home at Calle Dos de Mayo, 45. William Cook and Stein appear to have delighted in this character:

I see that the prop. Rossello is rapidly going to the dogs, diamond rings and moth ball perfume can mean nothing short of the beginning of the end [...] Poor prop, he helped us pass an afternoon or two in his fashion [...].
(22 March 1916. YCAL Cook correspondence)

In the script, this name is placed as the signatory of a letter:

I like their names.

Anthony Rosello.

(*For The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters* G&P p.227)

Although this name is indented, as if it marks the signatory of a letter preceding the name, the page design could also indicate the character who speaks the line following the name. A performer could assume the role of an actual property-owner. This is a different interpretation of the letter text play from reading the name as a signatory to a letter in a letter text narrative. In the script, where he is named 'Anthony Rosello', the real owner is given a stage characterization. Two figures, the real and the fictional, are separated by the alteration of 'letters'. In a performance of *For The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters*, it is unlikely that the audience would know of the man whom Stein was transforming into a theatrical character. Also, they would not hear the omission of the letter 's' which differentiates the real name in William Cook's actual correspondence, and the dramatic role in Stein's script.

This name is given a different sound as 'Rosello/Rossello' becomes 'Rossilo' in another letter within the play:

Dear sir. You mean dear Mr. Rossilo do you know my older brother.

Scene 3.

(For The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters G&P p.235)

Intonation of these Spanish names requires an aural clarity in a theatrical performance of this 'play in letters'. On the page, the script locates two cast members by the visual difference in the spelling of their names: Rosello and Rossilo. In a spoken presentation, the actors need to enunciate carefully in order not to merge two people into one name. Stein is playing with the duplication of names because there are two men called Mr. Rossilo: the one who is named, and his older brother.

William Cook's correspondence, at YCAL, provides insights into the formation of a letter text play. It indicates sources for several characters' names, and thereby it emphasizes the strategies of detachment which Stein brought to the actors' roles. Mary Rose Palmer, Anthony Rosello and Mr. Rossilo are presented to the audience in a voice-montage play which creates new figures from names Stein encountered in the Mallorcan 'country'.

Another attractive name for Stein to include within her letter text play was that of James Lindo Webb.³⁵ As British Vice-Consul to Mallorca, from 9 October 1915 to 3 October 1916, he was a well-known figure in the small English-speaking community. His letters exhibit an enjoyment of language, which was probably part of his charm for Stein:

³⁵The word 'lindo' means 'handsome' in Spanish. Both the word and the name became encoded in the vocabulary of a later love poem, from Stein to Alice Toklas: 'Yesterday I was Lindoed and you you were so gracious. And to-day. To-day I was still lindoed and you were even more gracious.' (*A Sonatina Followed By Another* 1921 BTV pp.7-8). Uncertainty of knowing a person only through their name inspired a repeated reference to James Lindo Webb in a text written ten years after Stein had met him in Mallorca: 'This can be a part of a Lindo. Lindo who. Who is Lindo. And who is Lindo. Not you. And not you. And not you. And also and very nearly also and also and not you. Who is Lindo. Very well who is Lindo.' (*A Novel of Thank You* 1925-26 ANOTY p.31).

The just-past summer has left us all in the condition of some limp tropic vegetable, or more in that of an otherwise temperate vegetable that has rashly ventured into the tropics & become a stemless squid.

[...] My heart's homage to Miss Toklas, as my soul's to you.

Ever

James Lindo-Webb

(September 1916. After Stein's return to Paris. YCAL Webb correspondence)

Like the William Cook correspondence, a real letter from James Lindo Webb gives valuable indications about the ways Stein was absorbing Mallorcan characters into her play. During 1915-16, when she was meeting James Lindo Webb, and was not receiving letters from him, Stein used his name for a recipient of fictional letters. If his actual correspondence reflects his manner of speech, one can assume that Stein recognized a theatrical quality in his personality. By creating a letter text, she was able to display her pleasure in this unusual name by isolating it in a one-line address. Moreover, she placed it, without alteration, in a script which could be performed. In this aspect of her play, she was challenging the divisions between reality and theatre. Many interpretations of this name arise from the knowledge of a biographical background to the stage character called Mr. Lindo Webb. A director has a range of options in the ways this figure can be represented: as a diplomatic role; as an actor impersonating a historical figure; and as a performer giving voice to a rhythmic name. Stein was testing the boundaries of verisimilitude in a theatre production by placing names of people whom she knew in a context where they will be acted by strangers.

James Lindo Webb was incorporated into the cast of *For The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters* at a time when, like other Mallorcan characters, Stein had no cause to write him letters. Therefore, she wrote mock letters to draw selected names into the script. She required his presence as an acting role within her play, which captured the daily Mallorcan life:

Dear Mr. Lindo Webb.

I understand why you are not better liked. A great many people expect you to teach them English.

[...]

Dear Mr. Lindo Webb.

Come again will you.

(*For The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters* G&P p.230 and p.235)

For the character Mr. Lindo Webb to be named, and therefore to be present in the play, he must be absent from the person corresponding with him. A director could interpret this page design by making Mr. Lindo Webb a figure who is not seen by the audience, as he is not seen by his correspondent. If he does not appear on the stage, he will be given presence through a voice which reads these letters aloud. Alternatively, the invitation to 'come again' can be spoken as a stage direction, calling for the re-appearance of an actor playing the role of Mr. Lindo Webb. Since the work is subtitled 'A Play', there could be a character impersonating the diplomat, James Lindo Webb. At the least, an actor will present a real name to the audience. Stein's letter text play challenges the boundaries between fictional representation and factual documentation.

It is noteworthy that these ambiguities of characterization are founded upon biographical accuracy. James Lindo Webb was a teacher of English in Palma at the beginning of Stein's visit in 1915, and before his diplomatic appointment later that year. Factual detail offers a source for the actor's words, 'A great many people expect you to teach them English':

MR. JAMES LINDO WEBB

está preparado á dar lecciones de INGLÉS particulares, ó en clase sea en casa del alumno ó en la suya.

Informe <Casa Anunciadora, c. Palacio.>

(17 May 1915. *La Almudaina* p.1)

MR. JAMES LINDO-WEBB

Professor of English

Lece ones particulares y en classe.

Plazuela del Rosario, 3 2º, Izquierda, Palma.

(14 July 1915. *La Almudaina* p.2)

Stein enjoyed the juxtaposition of romanticism in his Spanish name, 'Lindo', and the duck-like English word, 'Webb'. Verbal play is unintentionally caught in the erroneous spelling in the Mallorcan newspaper: 'Englich'. Also, Stein responded to her acquaintance's contrasting roles as English teacher, and as British Vice-Consul. By leaving his name unaltered within her play, she was adding the actor's role to his actual roles. Acting the part of Mr. Lindo Webb brings detachment to a name which is closely associated with Stein's Mallorcan context.

A similar dilemma, whether actors should assume the characteristics of identifiable

people, is introduced when famous names appear in the script. There are letters to, and consequently roles for, men whose names would be recognized by the audience: 'Dear Whitehead [...] Dear Mr. Wilson. [...] Dear Woodrow. This is a name.' (*For The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters* G&P p.228, p.234 and p.236). These figures, with international status, are placed alongside unknown names. Stein exposed the multilayering references of peoples' names, which are also words with defined meanings:

Dear Mrs. Steele.

I like to ask you questions. Do you believe that it is necessary to worship individuality. We do.

Mrs. Henry Watterson.

(*For The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters* G&P p.227)

These names are altered by letters: Steele/steel; Watterson/water. An implication of liquid in 'Watterson' contrasts with the metallic 'Steele'. Two female characters could be played as representatives of the sea, and the Mallorcan towns 'in the country', according to the first title of this play. In her study of *For The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters*, Claudia Mense notes that the page indentation of Mrs. Henry Watterson's name corresponds with the alignment of conventional theatre scripts.³⁶ A signature becomes a direction for one member of the cast to speak, and the written word is lifted from the page. The implications of this assessment are important for the re-arrangement of voices throughout the play. Claudia Mense's suggestion requires that Mrs. Henry Watterson is not the communicant of the letter preceding her name, but the speaker of the words following it. A formation of letter texts enables a variation between the distribution of lines to correspondents, and the assignment of speech to actors.

These unknown women compare their own anonymity with their 'worship' of famous individuals. Mrs. Steele and Mrs. Watterson are given names only through their relationship with each other, as correspondents of one letter. Their 'individuality' is not 'worshipped' because the plural 'We do' undermines a personal belief, and Mrs. Henry Watterson is known by her husband's name. This letter exemplifies the isolation of the individual amid the comic miscellany of the letter texts: the two unknown women; the famous men whose names are recognized by many people, but who are known

³⁶Claudia Maria Mense, 'Approaching an Early Play by Gertrude Stein: *For The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters*', unpublished Diplomarbeit Im Studiengang Drama, Theater, Medien, Justus-Liebig-Universität, Gießen, 1990, pp.17-18.

intimately by only a few; the actor's impersonation, which mimics a real individual; and the lack of verbal communication, which necessitates the delay of a letter.

In Mallorca, Stein met individuals with names unrecognized beyond a small group of people. She had moved away from Paris, where the name of an artist was an indication of their worth, and the worth of objects they created. For these artists, a signature on their work was a guarantee of authenticity, and a gesture of a personal style. In effect, this use of names encouraged a 'worship' of individuals. Stein created a formation which validated the inclusion of actual, unknown names. If the reader assumes the role of director, and allocates speech to a cast, then it becomes clear that Stein was using this letter text play to challenge the convention which separates characters' names from the lines which they speak. She exploited the design of a collection of letters to bring actors' voices to the names of people whom she met in Mallorca, to the names of famous individuals and to the names which are enjoyed as unfamiliar words.

For The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters is a challenging play to perform. I will now consider the range of options available to a director in transferring the formation of letter texts onto the stage. Pieces of paper can be read by actors, so letters become a physical part of the play. Alternatively, the choreography of performers can reproduce the page design upon the stage floor. When signatories read aloud their own letters, they can be seen by the audience. The addressees may be absent, or they may be seen as silent figures set apart from the letter-writers. If a director chooses to interpret the indented names as character ascriptions, not as the signatories of letters, then the assignment of speech will be altered. In this case, the performance will be detached from a direct representation of letters because the role of signatories will lose precedence. This letter text script can be produced to exploit the shifting moods of the play. Isolation and distance, which require letters for communication, bring a sadness to this mis-matched group of correspondents. However, the script is enlivened by farcical tales, and it is crowded with funny characters.

Stein's inclusion of many actual names of people she met in Mallorca shows that she was seizing a theatrical potential in the eccentricities of this new cast. A real letter from Mrs. Lettie Lindo Webb gives a hint of the social miscellany in 1915-16. It has

a tone similar to a role-call of character actors:

Did you know the Penfolds? two elderly English folk who have lived here for a good many years. They are flying from the charms of this most elegant isle - that brings our English colony down to 8 all told. Mrs Gilbert & her son, Mr & Mrs Griffith - who came something over a year ago - are very nice - but not young - Miss Helsham, a young governess here as mad as the mad Hatter. Mr Geddes - a nice Englishman who pretends to farm & the Webbs. [...] So hurry up & come & tell us of all the big things you have seen & cheer us all up with your wonderful vitality.

(24 August [1921]. YCAL Lindo Webb correspondence)

Characters in Mrs. Lindo Webb's actual letter can be enacted in the same ways that the signatories of Stein's script can be brought to life. Two elderly English expatriates, a mad governess, an idealistic Englishman, a married couple in the English diplomatic service are an assortment of real people who could have written the fictional letters in Stein's play. She was responding to a community living in Palma by creating character types which do not exaggerate real life.

Predominantly, the tone of Stein's play is one of lighthearted humour. An enjoyment of small incidents is recorded by a conversation placed within a letter:

Dear Mrs. Lindo Webb How can you break your teeth.

By falling down in the street.

You mean now when the pavement is so dark.

Naturally.

It would not have happened otherwise.

(*For The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters* G&P p.236)³⁷

Dialogue exchange, in the formation of a letter text, introduces a burlesque dramatic situation. At this point in *For The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters*, the voice-montage is used to re-create a past incident, or to speculate upon a hypothetical event. Comedy is generated from the voices, through the different ways an actor can express the question: 'How can you [...].' It could be given an exaggerated tone of pantomime incredulity, asking: 'How can you possibly [...].' A contemplative voice could express a mock-serious hypothesis on a trivial matter, asking: 'How can you, in theory, [...].'

³⁷See also the narrative letter text: 'Dear dear friend./ I received the package and I have tried to fix my tooth myself.' (*Letters and Parcels and Wool* YCAL HG 127. AFAM p.168. MS has paragraph indent after 'friend.').

These ambivalent interpretations arise from a script which does not confirm that the teeth were actually broken. Words on the page can preserve this ambiguity. However, decisions must be made about the assignment of speech, and its intonation, when a director organizes the letter text script for a stage production.

For The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters is intended to be performed as a 'play in letters'. The full potential for these letters to play is realized only when a reader faces the challenge of presenting them to an audience. A dramatic incident, such as Mrs. Lindo Webb falling over and breaking her teeth, allows either a funny or a sad enactment on the stage. Also, a director can decide whether there is a dialogue exchange with Mrs. Lindo Webb, or whether she speaks a monologue. Whilst these options are varied, they are clearly defined because voices communicate information about an event which can be re-created in a performance.

When letters consist of just a name and a formal address, recording no dramatic situation, the arrangement of the words on the page must be rendered in stage space:

Dear Mr. Cook.

Come again.

Sincerely yours

Daisy Clement.

(For The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters G&P p.231)

Two words represent the communicative purpose of Daisy Clement's letter: 'Come again.' Thus, the relevance of this exchange lies in its page design, which emphasizes the letter text formation. To present a letter in a choreographed stage space has many possibilities. Daisy Clement might command a male actor to return to the stage, from which he has been temporarily absent. She might offer a vague invitation to a man who has never been seen by the audience. Four actors could speak one line each. A woman playing Daisy Clement could read a letter in her hand. A female could address a silent male with a spoken endearment. An arrangement of speakers could be choreographed to represent the indented lines. What Stein achieves by encouraging such speculation is a theatrical reading of her letter text, which brings life to her voice-montage.

The formation of letter texts marked a new direction in Stein's presentation of characters. In the forms of the narrative and the play, she was displaying an array of

names to test the conventions governing the creation of fictional individuals. An artifice in this formation does not allow the reader, or the audience, to become absorbed in a single world, filled with a consistent group of people. These collections of letters encourage glimpses into the lives of miscellaneous correspondents, none of whom contribute to the development of a plot. Short messages in these letters create a constant awareness of the visual patterns on the page. Stein used the letter text formation to display transitory names, and to hint at fleeting relationships between characters.

An epistolary style gave Stein a structure to combine people into groups, and especially into pairs. Division of friends' names into pairs is a feature of her previous presentation of characters. One note at YCAL shows Stein's early distribution of names into groups of two:

In this book there will be discussion of pairs of people and their relation, short sketches of innumerable ones, Alice Pablo, Pablo Fernande, Leo and I, Sally an I, Harriet & Alice, Annette & Larrie, Matisse & Mrs, Manguin & Matisse, Mike & Sally, Miriam & Joe everybody I know Brenner & Nina, Leo and Nina, Leo & Jeanne, Jeanne Boif & me, Marie & Helene, everybody I can think of ever, narrative after narrative of pairs of people, that will be the long book.
(YCAL MOA NB Box 2 Folder 21-40 #23)

Stein was constantly exploring new ways of capturing the essence of the individual. An important development in the Mallorcan letter texts, differing from her earlier presentation of characters, is that she displayed the real names in her work. In this aspect of the new formation, she sought to convey the vigour of this private note. *The Making of Americans*, *A Long Gay Book* and the word portraits did not incorporate the real names in the final draft. Characters are often identified in private memoranda in the manuscripts. On a single sheet of paper, Stein catalogued the identities of names in *A Long Gay Book*. Her list creates columns of paired names. One such name, 'Annie Fletcher Anne Helbing' (YCAL MOA NB Box 2 folder 1-20 #14), refers to a character in *A Long Gay Book*. Stein's change of style, in the formation of letter texts, is emphasized when one considers how she had earlier disguised the real name, and did not assess the structural implications of the word, 'Dear':

Dear Anne Helbing, she was being that one, she was remembering everything, she was remembering that thing. She had been that one and that thing was something she was not wanting to be using, it was something she was not needing, it was something she was not remembering, it was something, she had been that one she was one, she was Anne Helbing.

(*A Long Gay Book* GMP p.45)

One name, Anne Helbing, begins and ends the paragraph in a similar arrangement as the letter text. A narrative structure of continuous prose ensures that the interpretation of the word 'Dear' is as an endearment, not as the addressee of a letter. By contrast, the pairing of names in the formation of letter texts indicates relationships between sparsely displayed names, without narrative elaboration. In 1915-16, Stein was savouring the sound of real names. She felt that the voice-montage could promote, rather than conceal, the names of individuals who had inspired her Mallorcan letter texts.

Continuity in a defined group of characters, who sign letters in conventional epistolary works, is undermined by the fleeting signatories of the letter texts. A new perception of the people who write these fictional letters emerges as the reader, and the audience, accept that it is not possible to learn of their personalities, or their histories. Jonathan Culler states the complexity of the signatory name in terms which assist the interpretation of *Letters and Parcels and Wool*, and *For The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters*:

In theory signatures lie outside³⁸ the work, to frame it, present it, authorize it, but it seems that truly to frame, to mark, or to sign a work the signature must lie within, at its very heart. A problematical relation between inside and outside is played out in the inscription of proper names and their attempt to frame from the inside.³⁹

³⁸Stein had used the same terms, the 'inside' and the 'outside', in a work dated after the Mallorcan letter texts. She used this delineation to refer to her later awareness of 'audience writing' in the composition of letters: 'Adult letter writing is directed to some one even if the same thing is said as is said to any one any other one to whom you are then that is at that time writing but nevertheless it is directed to some one and the audience is not a diffused one but it is a distant one and how does that effect letter writing, well you know something about this thing and it really is the only time in writing when the outside and the inside flow together without interrupting, not generally with much concentrating, but still at any rate with not much interrupting.' (*Narration* Lecture 4 p.55).

³⁹Jonathan Culler, *On Deconstruction. Theory and Criticism After Structuralism* (London, Melbourne and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983), p.192.

Stein devised the distinctive visual formation of letter texts to structure the composition from the 'outside'. Within this visual arrangement, individual characters sign single letters from 'inside' the text. In many instances, one name combines three references: to the author, to the fictional character, and to the real person. The layout of the letter texts establishes many 'frames', in Jonathan Culler's terms. Short letters present different letter-writers within the text, and overall it is Stein who creates their correspondence. William Cook's name appears as one signature framed in the formation of letter texts, and this name focuses Stein's contrasting method of characterization in the Mallorcan portraits.

4

In three Mallorcan portraits, Stein sought to convey the enigmatic character of William Cook. She presented an extensive analysis of her friend, who was an artist. In subtle ways, she also preserved his reticent nature. These compositions evade biographical certainty. Yet, they are governed by a formation which gives a detailed evaluation, and which depends upon the direct statements of the voice-montage. Stein structured the portraits as continuous prose essays, in contrast to the fragmented arrangement of the letter texts. In addition, a different approach to characterization distinguishes the portraits from the letter texts. Unlocated voices hover about the individual, question him, and they express a constant quest for information.

During 1915-16, Stein placed one name within two formations. In the Mallorcan letter texts, the name is presented as an indented signature of a correspondent called William Cook. In the Mallorcan portraits, this name re-appears in narrative works which concentrate upon the subject, rather than upon the creative use of page space. Two formations, of letter texts and portraits, work in opposing ways to indicate that William Cook cannot be explained simply by a factual description. To evaluate the portraits, I will discuss Stein's use of the voice-montage to catch the elusive quality of one man in three texts: *What Does Cook Want To Do*; *Captain William Edwards*; and *I Must Try To Write The History Of Belmonte*. Stein's achievement in these works is the composition of three different portraits arising from a single, deep friendship. William Cook, of all the island's residents, most charmed and intrigued Gertrude Stein.

In each portrait, she presents images of life in a Mallorcan environment within which to frame her subject: his walks on the island; his sailing of small boats; and his attendance at bullfights. Stein captured William Cook's reserved character by placing him within the Mallorcan countryside, undertaking the out-door activities which he loved. Portraits of one man mingle with landscapes of the island.

Three Mallorcan portraits present William Cook as a mysterious character. In an interrogative voice-montage style, Stein plays the role of detective searching for clues about his personality. Direct answers are not forthcoming, and the impression given is that of an independent man⁴⁰:

William Cook often disappeared and one knew nothing of him and then when for one reason or another you needed him there he was.
(*The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* p.199)

William Edwards Cook was born in Independence, Iowa in 1881. He died in Geneva in 1959. Stein was attracted by the elusive quality of his life, not by the facts.⁴¹ His first extant letter to Stein is dated by internal references to 1913, during Stein's first visit to Mallorca. In this introductory communication, William Cook stated that he did not 'salute' her on the boat to Palma, although he recognized her, 'as I am travelling

⁴⁰The manuscripts at YCAL support my interpretation of the withdrawn character of William Cook, as he is presented in the Mallorcan portraits. He entered Stein's life intermittently, but always with a purpose to assist her. For example, he was the witness to Stein's contract for *Useful Knowledge* with Payson and Clarke Ltd., in 1927 (YCAL Miscellaneous Box E). Stein's long friendship with William Cook has been overlooked in favour of more vocal, or more famous, alliances such as those with Pablo Picasso, Ernest Hemingway and Carl Van Vechten. Although quiet, this respectful relationship between Gertrude Stein and William Cook lasted without the fissure of argument for over thirty three years, certainly from 1913 until 1946.

⁴¹Even the facts of his life are uncertain. The *Bénézit* catalogue of artists states that William Cook was born in Independance, Iowa in 1881 (p.615). I thank Julie Bubbers of the Witt Library, at the Courtauld Institute of Art, for this information. The name of this town is spelled 'Independence' in the *Times Atlas of the World* (London: Times Books, 1980), p.90. The catalogue for the William Cook Exhibition in Palma de Mallorca, held during March 1992, states that he was born in Des Moines, Iowa in 1879 (p.93). I thank Señor Cristóbal Serra for giving me his copy of this catalogue. (See Appendix 2 for further details about William Cook and Jeanne [Moallic] Cook).

'incognito' as it were' (ND YCAL Cook correspondence).⁴² In this intriguing letter, William Cook offered no explanation for his disguise, and his silence. There are indications that he was involved with events in Russia during the Revolution, and this could provide an explanation for him travelling 'incognito'.⁴³

Another source for Stein's interest in William Cook, and a reason for his elusiveness, was his unconventional relationship with Jeanne Moallic. William Cook and Jeanne Moallic were married on 2 March 1922. Therefore, in the small community in Palma during 1915-16, they were living a similar unorthodox 'marriage' as Stein and Toklas. This situation has not been noted before in Stein criticism.⁴⁴ However, it must be considered a factor in Stein's Mallorcan portraits, which use elliptical voice-montage statements to give hints about a reticent individual. A letter sent to Stein, during the summer of 1913, shows that William Cook was unabashed by his unmarried status: '[Jeanne] makes a good housekeeper and an ideal mistress.' (Summer 1913, dated by internal references. YCAL Cook correspondence). Nevertheless, he does hint of ostracism from some members of the English and American community in Palma. William Cook's faith in this union, which did not conform to social rules, was probably one of his attractions for Stein. In her Mallorcan portraits, she made efforts to fathom William Cook, and yet she used the voice-montage to protect his secrets.

⁴²It is unclear when Gertrude Stein first met William Cook. They may have known each other in Paris as early as 1907 (Toklas, *What Is Remembered*, p.28). A calling card from Mrs. William H. Post, dated 4 November 1913, mentions that she had been to 27 rue de Fleurus with a man named Mr. Cook in 1912: '[...] I enjoyed a delightful half hour with you at your studio a year ago when Mr. Cook was kind enough to take me.' (YCAL Miscellaneous Letters file Pa-Pz).

⁴³Chófer y camillero, el pintor Cook había participado en una misión misteriosa en la Rusia de los primeros días de la revolución. Ajeno ya a la política o a la diplomacia secreta, quería olvidar su pasado de hombre de acción para entregarse a la aventura de la pintura moderna.' (Cristóbal Serra, 'Stein en Mallorca', *Diario* 16/VII 24 November 1990).

⁴⁴In their analyses of Stein's Mallorcan year, James Mellow writes of William Cook's 'Breton wife' (*Charmed Circle*, p.219), and Elizabeth Sprigge writes of 'a French wife' (*Gertrude Stein. Her Life and Work*, p.109). Alice Toklas was delicate, but accurate, in her description: 'Jeanne, his Bretonne friend' (*What Is Remembered*, p.87). For many years, Stein had believed that her relationship with Toklas could be called a 'marriage'. She wrote a private note in the first draft of *The Making of Americans*: 'Married living [...] Sally Mikey, A. & me. Alfred & Julia' (YCAL Volume 65). She plays with the ambiguous marital status of the two couples in the Mallorcan narrative *Look At Us*: 'All of us are married./ All of us.' (PL p.267).

Stein's decision to compose portraits of William Cook, who was not a widely recognized artist, is noteworthy if one considers that she chose not to portray a famous Mallorcan inhabitant: George Sand. Before studying the three portraits of William Cook, I will consider why Stein did not use the Mallorcan portraits to present a writer with whom she had previously identified. George Sand was integral to Mallorcan history, and to Stein's own literary past. Nevertheless, in 1915-16, Stein chose to write portraits of a living, elusive friend, not a deceased figure of literary history. As part of a consistent approach, material for the voice-montage portraits arose from human contact, and from conversations. Stein's decision reveals that she turned away from a biographical representation of a famous author to present the reticent character of a little-known painter.

George Sand influenced Stein's earliest compositions. Leon Katz records that Stein read George Sand's memoirs, in the library of the British Museum, in the winter of 1902-1903.⁴⁵ During these months, Stein was composing her first novella, *Q.E.D.*. George Sand's autobiography, *Histoire de Ma Vie*, was held in Stein's library at the time of her death. An early reading led to a later purchase.⁴⁶ George Sand was used as a character type within Stein's categorization of the 'bottom nature' of individuals. Her name appears in early notebooks for *The Making of Americans*:

George Sand undoubtedly ^is of^ George Elliot's, Alice's family, thats easy, Mrs Eddy & St Theresa not so easy a question to decide. St Katherine certainly dep. ind. George Sand undoubtedly [...].
(YCAL MOA NB-D)

General scheme of resisting kind makes very sexual their response being slow they are mostly not in love when they have the object, the attacking are Musset & George Sand, me & May etc.
(YCAL MOA NB-E)

⁴⁵Katz, *Fernhurst, Q.E.D., and Other Early Writings*, p.x.

⁴⁶George Sand, *Histoire de Ma Vie* (Paris: 1856) is catalogued at YCAL as held in Stein's library in 1946. Also catalogued is George Sand, *The Devil's Pool*, trans. Jane Minot Sedgwick & Ellery Sedgwick (London: J.M. Dent, 1895). There is no indication when the books were purchased, nor how often they were read.

George Sand and Nina have powerful genuinely resisting personalities and they have with the creative adaptability that Sally has.

(YCAL MOA NB-G)

Stein's identification with George Sand is presented in terms of her own relationships. In the first note, it is evident that she valued George Sand as an author. Sand is placed in relation to George Eliot, whose writing had influenced Stein's *Radcliffe Themes* of 1894-95. The second note shows that Stein found similarities in their sexual natures, in relation to 'me & May'. She located a power and a creativity in George Sand, which is documented in the third note. Here, she compared Sand with Nina, the future wife of Leo Stein, and with Sally, the wife of Mike Stein. These alignments demonstrate that Stein had found a female precursor for her early compositions. At this time, Stein recognized certain shared characteristics: the two authors had the same initials, and initials were important to Gertrude Stein; the same interest in concealing their real names from their work; and the same ambivalent sexuality in their self-identification with masculine qualities.

An alignment between George Sand's writing, and Gertrude Stein's early texts, is indicated in another note for *The Making of Americans*. She had made a list of names in one of her preliminary notebooks: 'Me Jane Sandys/ Pauline Manders/ Pauline Sandys/ Jane Sands/ nom de plume.' (YCAL MOA NB). One of these pseudonyms, Jane Sands, has affinities with George Sand's name. It is also found on the inside cover of the manuscript notebook of 'The Good Anna'. Stein arranged the title page as follows: 'The ^A^ life and death of [a] the good Anna/ by/ Jane Sands.' (YCAL HG 1 *Three Lives* Original MS Box 1. 'a' lined through).

Jane Sands was a relevant name for Stein, and it re-appeared in notes for a later work. A manuscript list, which identifies characters in *A Long Gay Book*, has an entry: 'Jane ^Sands^ - Sally' (YCAL MOA NB Box 2 folder 1-20 #14). Stein may have conferred this name upon her sister-in-law, Sarah Stein, who was familiarly known as Sally. Stein placed her own name beside a different name: Olive. Therefore, she absorbed the influence without limiting herself to direct identification with George Sand. In the final draft, there is an indication that Stein no longer needed to rely upon her sister-in-law, or upon the French author: 'Some one was finished with Jane Sands. Several were finished with Jane Sands.' (*A Long Gay Book*, GMP p.30).

During her first visit to Mallorca, in July 1913, Stein had made an excursion to

George Sand's house.⁴⁷ To commemorate this event, she had glued two small leaves on a postcard to Harry Phelan Gibb:

A little leaf, two little leaves from the garden of George Sand & Chopin and when we get to Granada I'll send a letter telling all our adventures.
(28 or 29 July 1913. Day is unclear on postmark. YCAL Gibb correspondence)

Stein's previous stay on the island, in July 1913, lasted only a few days. So, the time spent in travelling to George Sand's residence implies that the French author still interested Stein. Sand continued to be an influence upon Stein in the years after the inclusion of her name in categories of personality types for *The Making of Americans*, and as a pseudonym for the short story 'The Good Anna'.

Stein's exploration of William Cook's character, in the Mallorcan portraits, is consistent with her effort to capture ordinary lives in voice-montage formations. She chose to convey the reserve of a man she met regularly, rather than to re-write a biographical account of a well-known author. There are no direct references in the 1915-16 texts to George Sand, and no inferences of the names connected with Sand's Mallorcan winter of 1838-39: Frederick Chopin, Maurice, Solange (See Appendix 4). George Sand had figured in Stein's early compositions. However, in the Mallorcan texts Stein sought autonomy for her innovative formations. In her early notes, Stein had fixed George Sand within her method of categorization: 'George Sand undoubtedly'. In the portraits of William Cook, she presented an individual who refused to be defined so securely.

In the title, 'What Does Cook Want To Do', Stein introduces the questions which give a visual structure, and an insistent tone, to the portrait. Before the text begins, an identifiable name is framed within an unanswered enquiry. Throughout the portrait, the voice-montage presents an individual who cannot be easily pinned to the page by recounting his activities. Presentation of characters, by describing their actions, is

⁴⁷Stein does not state which house she visited. George Sand had travelled to Mallorca with Frederick Chopin and her children, Maurice and Solange. From 15 November 1838 to 18 December 1838 they lived at 'Son Vent', Establiments. From 18 December 1838 to 13 May 1839, they stayed in a Carthusian cell of the Chapterhouse at Valldemosa (George Sand, *Winter in Majorca*, p.43, p.94 and p.165).

implicit in the causal plots of conventional narrative texts. Stein explores the means by which she can give an impression of an individual's pursuits without the momentum of a story. William Cook is presented in various ways within this portrait. He is placed in a Spanish context; there are references to bullfights, and to the Mallorcan landscape. Also, mention of his parents provides a sense of his ancestry. Such certainties are undermined by ambiguous phrases, and the portrait becomes a quest for information about the character, Cook.⁴⁸ Stein uses the voice-montage to create a work which constantly interrogates an individual. Since Cook does not respond to the questions, this is a portrait of a man who is absent from a composition with his name in the title.

References to a bullfight may link the composition with an actual bullfight attended by William Cook, Stein and Toklas during the summer of 1915.⁴⁹ The speech of these three Americans is re-created when an anonymous figure talks in American diction about Cook buying tickets. As the text draws to an end, the unlocated speaker notes a definite purchase: 'He has gotten tickets for all of us four.' (*What Does Cook Want To Do* PL p.32). This certainty, emphasized by the word 'gotten', is a resolution to the uncertain first sentence: 'Will he go alone or does he want two tickets or three tickets or four.' (*What Does Cook Want To Do* PL p.31). By stating each option, the ambivalence of this purchase is given rhythmic expression. It emerges that what Cook 'did' was to buy four tickets, but the voice-montage focuses on the uncertainty of what he 'wants to do' with them. A small event, buying tickets, has a larger significance in this portrait of Cook. He is able to create different bonds between his unnamed companions because he can choose who will accompany him to the bullfight. However, as the organizer of various social groups, Cook's authority has been undermined. In the opening line, an authorial voice has expressed Cook's hesitation about the purchase of

⁴⁸I will use the name 'William Cook' with reference to the individual whom Stein knew. The name 'Cook' will refer to the subject within the portrait under discussion.

⁴⁹Reference to the *matador*, Juan Belmonte, within the portrait (p.32) indicates that the tickets are for a bullfight. Four people require tickets, and this number suggests that it was the Mallorcan bullfight which William Cook recalled in a letter to Stein: 'We are going to Inca Sunday for the first bull-fight. [...] We will think of you. You remember for Jeanne's first bull fight we all went to Inca - Wish we might all be going this time.' (25 February 1941. YCAL Cook correspondence). Jeanne Moallic does not seem to have attended the Valencia bullfights. If the Valencia *feria* was the event described in the portrait, the number would have been reduced to three: Stein, Toklas and William Cook.

tickets.

Questioning Cook's activities, and thereby examining his personality, is a consistent feature of *What Does Cook Want To Do*. A style of direct questions is a new direction in Stein's word portraits. It is a technique prompted by her adaptation of the voice-montage to the presentation of William Cook. Stein inquires whether a man's character can be assessed by knowing his preferences:

Does he want to spend his time here. Does he want an occupation. Has he pleasure in walking. Would he like to raise birds. Does he like a light house. Has he reason to be natural. Is he fond of water. Does he incline to make friends. Does he know how often he has an appetite. Is he eager to be called. Does he mean to go away.

(*What Does Cook Want To Do* PL p.31)

This questioning is carefully crafted. An unlocated speaker makes specific inquiries in a forthright manner. Yet, the voice-montage preserves a sense of ambiguity. It may be interpreted as the strident, frustrated voice of someone who is denied a dialogue exchange. Alternatively, it may be heard as the hesitant voice of a person who quietly interviews a friend. There might be one insistent speaker. There could be many people, who each make only one casual enquiry. A persistent tone is enforced when the same question is expressed in different ways. For example, Cook's 'pleasure in walking' is echoed later in the portrait: 'He is very patient between hills. [...] Was it surprising that climbing is an evening occupation.' (*What Does Cook Want To Do* PL p.31). Images of night, whiteness and water emerge as the light house/lighthouse leads to the leaking boat, to the pale moonlight and then to 'Pearls are very sweet.' (*What Does Cook Want To Do* PL p.31). These interrogative voices have a strategy to extract answers from the subject of the portrait. As one enquiry leads into another, many questions build relentlessly despite their pleasing vocabulary.

However, the inquisitive speaker receives no reply. Cook, as the person addressed in the portrait, may be certain of what he 'wants to do', and he might have an answer to each new question. His silence makes the questioner uncertain, and this provokes reformulations of the enquiry into his character. Stein uses the voice-montage to accumulate images of the landscape which the man inhabits, as if he is defined by its water, birds and hills. A search for human knowledge, expressed in the questioning structure, is placed within a physical environment: 'Has he *reason* to be *natural*.'

(Emphasis added). Interrogative statements gain a lyricism by reference to the Mallorcan landscape. Vocabulary drawn from features in the countryside softens the question of the title, and it quietly introduces the only statement of Cook's opinion: 'He likes wool that is to say he likes being in an almond country.' (*What Does Cook Want To Do* PL p.31). A sense of the reticent man emerges through the questions because his non-response allows the country, which he loves, to emerge in his place.

In addition to the obvious lack of reply at the end of each interrogative statement, the authorial voice subtly presents an unspeaking character. Cook deflects the speaker's need for information within the syntax of sentences, as well as in the structuring device of questions. Complexity within the sentences remains focused upon the voice: 'When you mention that you desire to be prepared he does not say that he is vigorous.' (*What Does Cook Want To Do* PL p.31). This statement is ambiguous, although it is not framed within a question. Despite a strong vocabulary (desire, prepared, vigorous), the syntax introduces an uncertain interpretation. An anonymous voice does not say: 'You, Cook, mention [...].' It hypothesizes that anyone might say these words, at some time, and the casual verb 'mention' is less definite than a question. A speaker could be repeating a previous exchange for the benefit of a different interlocutor. Such an interpretation would bring three characters into the portrait: the speaker; the person whom the speaker addresses; and the man about whom the speaker talks. This would create a passive narrator, a person who was prepared and a person who was unprepared. If 'he does not say that he is vigorous', he may be silent. 'I am vigorous' would then be one of the things he does not say. If his words are not 'that he is vigorous', he may say: 'I am not vigorous'. Stein uses the voice-montage to convey the withdrawn nature of her friend, William Cook, through an indeterminate portrait of her character, Cook.

Furthermore, a sense of an elusive man emerges from one statement which Cook does make: 'He said he liked what he heard. He heard that you couldn't tell much about anything.' (*What Does Cook Want To Do* PL p.31). A diffident tone, in not being able to 'tell much about anything', is increased with the distance from actual speech. Cook has said, outside the narrative: 'I liked what I heard', or 'I like what I hear'. His words are reported by an anonymous speaker: 'he liked what he heard'. Therefore, Cook does not speak the words which gave him pleasure. They are repeated by the authorial voice: 'He heard that [...].' In the signed letter texts, the voice-montage has a complexity in the visual structure. Nevertheless, statements within the letters are straightforward. Their

communicative directness contrasts with the intricate construction of voices in this portrait. Stein was investigating the potential of the voice-montage to render a single character in the structure of questioning voices, and in the grammatical structure of each sentence.

Indeterminacy in Cook's speech is also presented in a biographical account of his parents. A description of his parents' activities emphasizes their quiet natures:

His father believed in stitches. His mother in labor union. They did not discuss this. They said that plenty had been said.
(*What Does Cook Want To Do* PL p.31)

Silence between Cook's parents is matched by the narrator's elliptical sentences. None of these speakers 'discuss' the implication that knowing what is 'believed' will provide insights into a character. These statements give a background to the silence of their child, Cook. His parents only say: 'plenty had been said.' Like Cook's speech noted above, their words are reported by another voice. Their beliefs are stated paratactically, and they invite differing interpretations. Cook's father may like embroidery, the 'stitches', for his own pleasure. He may want his wife to limit herself to household needlework, rather than to interest herself in 'labor union'. Since the verb 'believe' is not repeated in the mother's sentence, the reader is uncertain whether it is intended to be carried over from the preceding statement. If the portrait is read aloud, the punctuation of the full stop could have the effect of a comma pause. Therefore, a recitation of the text would join two fragmented statements into one grammatical unit. Cook's mother may have 'believed' in the union, she may have been 'in' the union, or she may have believed in it because her husband was 'in labor union'. Two sentences create an ambiguous allocation of male and female roles. It is left for the reader to determine whether the father and the mother confer the activities of sewing and political solidarity on the other, or upon themselves.

What Does Cook Want To Do is a portrait of a portrait-painter. William Cook had painted portraits of English duchesses,⁵⁰ and he had exhibited two portraits at the 1911

⁵⁰A real American was William Cook, who had painted the portraits of the English duchesses and later of the Roman world, including a number of cardinals, but had given this up and had betaken himself to etching.' (Toklas, *What Is Remembered*, p.28).

Salon des Artistes Français: *Nu* and *Portrait de Femme*.⁵¹ Two letters show his lighthearted approach to his portrait painting:

Am sorry there is no real news of Palma, but I start my trips into town again tomorrow to work on the portrait of the landlord and so will probably have some news of the town.

(16 August [1913. Dated by internal references.] YCAL Cook correspondence)

Am painting a large yellow ochre portrait of the landlord in my best American fashion, at which he seems to be quite pleased. [...] Have started a small St. Sebastien for the Curé, all peppered full of arrows like a pin cushion, blood all over the place, beats a bull fight [...].

(ND [Summer 1913. Dated by internal references.] YCAL Cook correspondence)

In her Mallorcan compositions, Stein did not comment directly upon William Cook's painting. She noted his occupation when she created a theatrical character with his name: '(William.) [...] He is a painter by profession.' (*Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* G&P p.264). Later, she would use his 'profession' to characterize William Cook in two film scripts.⁵² From William Cook's letters at YCAL, it seems that he painted for his own pleasure, rather than for a 'profession'. Stein used the questions in her voice-montage portrait to wonder about William Cook's attitude to his own art: 'Does he want an occupation.' (*What Does Cook Want To Do* PL p.31). William Cook had independent wealth, and the speaker might be asking whether he wants paid employment, other than painting, with a stress on 'occupation'. Alternatively, an unlocated voice may stress the word 'want' to enquire whether he is completely satisfied with his painting and he wants

⁵¹I thank Julie Bubbers of the Witt Library, at the Courtauld Institute of Art, for this information. It is documented in *Bénézit* (p.615).

⁵²For the two screenplays, Stein drew upon her experience, in Mallorca, of the time when William Cook had returned to Paris, in December 1915. In a typescript entitled 'Jeanne la Bretonne', which alludes to the Bretonne Jeanne Moallic, she set the scene: 'A young American William Harden [a painter particularly] a fashionable ^young^ portrait painter was living in Paris.' ('Jeanne la Bretonne - scenario de Gertrude Stein et Germaine de Perdiguer.' YCAL Miscellaneous Box E. The words 'a painter particularly' are lined through. Another version is placed in YCAL Miscellaneous Letters, MSS and Memorabilia). *A Movie* (1920) also bases the action upon William Cook's life in 1915-16. The leading role is given to an American painter named William who drives a taxi in Paris, and who has a 'Bretonne peasant femme de menage' (Haas, *A Primer for the Gradual Understanding of Gertrude Stein*, p.69).

no other occupation.

Señor Cristóbal Serra, who knew William Cook, makes an astute analysis of Stein's lack of reference to William Cook's art within her Mallorcan portraits. He believes that, by 1915-16, William Cook 'had not painted anything to interest Gertrude Stein'. William Cook was 'an intelligent friend, capable of painting', but he did not offer her an 'image of painting.'⁵³ Stein was interested in the questions he raised in committing his portrait to her voice-montage, rather than in his stature as an artist.

In the portrait formation, Stein was able to bring various strategies of detachment to her subject, William Cook, through the character, Cook. A skill in *What Does Cook Want To Do* lies in the presentation of a range of questions which receive no reply, yet which conjure an impression of a quiet man within a landscape which he loves.

5

A series of questions structure the voice-montage in the second portrait of William Cook which I will consider, *Captain William Edwards*. An interrogative voice is used to multiply the subjects of this portrait. It remains uncertain whether William Edwards Cook, his full name, is presented through a parallel portrait of a character called Captain William Edwards. With this alignment of voices, William Cook's actual speech patterns would be portrayed directly, under the pseudonym Captain William Edwards.⁵⁴

⁵³I thank Señor Cristóbal Serra, presently living in Palma, for his interpretation of the friendship between William Cook and Gertrude Stein. He gave me a great deal of information during a conversation, in Palma, on 5 May 1992. I would also like to thank Señor Serra for generously giving me a copy of the catalogue for the William Cook Exhibition, held at the Centre Cultural de la Misericòrdia in Palma during March 1992. Señor Serra informed me that William Cook did not need to gain an income from sales of his paintings. The pictures were ranged about his house, and twenty five canvases were dispersed after his death. In later life, William Cook painted landscapes in bold colours. Señor Serra noted that William Cook's style was 'influenced by Cézanne, but he was not imitating Cézanne'.

⁵⁴It is possible that a 1913 text, entitled *Mrs. Edwards*, is a portrait of Jeanne Moallic (P&P p.97. The name is spelled 'Edwardes' in this version). At this time, she was living as Mrs. Edwards Cook. *Mrs. Edwards* might be based upon Stein's meeting with Jeanne Moallic and William Cook, on Mallorca, during July 1913. Another 1913 text, *In The Grass (On Spain)*, could include a portrait of William Cook. The title and first lines are drafted on a page torn from Baedeker's *Spain and Portugal*. On the same

William Cook may be the model upon whom a portrait, which is not his own, is based. This interpretation would emphasize that Stein was portraying a fictional character named Captain William Edwards. Amid these characters, the narrator's voice is heard clearly. Relentless questions draw attention to the person who speaks to William Cook and Captain William Edwards. Listening to the insistent authorial voice, one can interpret the work as a portrait of a third character - that of the unnamed questioner.

Consisting of only a name, the title infers that this portrait will describe a man named Captain William Edwards. Overlaying interpretations of the single name are presented through questions which receive no reply. Stein uses the unlocated voice-montage to address one person, or many individuals:

Are you going today.

Did she say that she preferred her own country.

Did you mean that you were not satisfied with my behavior.

Do you prefer songs.

Do you really like that candy.

(*Captain William Edwards* PL p.273)

A lack of response to these inquiries is emphasized by the single-line arrangement. These questions are more harsh versions of those which are asked in the opening paragraph of *What Does Cook Want To Do*. For instance, 'Does he mean to go away' becomes 'Are you going today.' Also, 'Does he know how often he has an appetite' becomes 'Do you really like that candy.' The terms in which a person is addressed have become direct: the food is named, and the date of departure is demanded. Nevertheless, the character Captain William Edwards, like Cook, refuses to be easily formulated in a questionnaire.

Captain William Edwards refers to the difficulty of finding sources of light. A search for means to illuminate a room represents a desire for enlightenment about the named character. On the inside front cover of the manuscript notebook are erased titles, or memoranda:

page, there is a note in Stein's handwriting: 'Ask Cook, train to Ronda 14.20 arrives 17 something how much xtra and what days.' (YCAL *Tender Buttons: Miscellaneous Autograph Notes*). William Cook's first name appears in one sentence of this Spanish composition: 'Nest bite is way back in the clam of dear gold weights with necessary williams williams wild williams with lamb laden twitches and new-casts and love boosts and most nextily.' (*In The Grass (On Spain)* G&P p.78).

Electricity Mounting
Captain William Edwards
Candles and water.

(A dreamer)

(*Captain William Edwards* YCAL HG 135. Each of the titles, except 'Captain William Edwards', is lined through.)

At the beginning of this portrait, there is no electricity and no candle light: 'When the candle goes out you light it.' (*Captain William Edwards* PL p.272). An authorial voice uses the sudden extinction of the candle to convey a moment in which people must act to re-light a room: 'This is the scene.' (*Captain William Edwards* PL p.272). This speaker states a fact, it does not question whether the candle is lit. The visual contrast of darkness and light contributes to the sense of a clear definition of the situation in which Captain William Edwards is portrayed.

A speaker who conjures a scene by mentioning candles and a fire leads to a monologue, which gives an anecdote about purchasing fire-wood. This tale is intended to give an insight into the actions of Captain William Edwards. Such certainty is undermined because it is unclear whether the sentence arrangement imitates William Cook's diction, the speech patterns of the fictional character Captain William Edwards, or the verbal mannerisms of the narrator:

You use a great deal of wood to keep up the fire. Wood is plentiful. You have some difficulty in getting. You have to make arrangements. You make arrangements through a woman. She does not get you the wood you want. You can get plenty more. You send it away. You have no trouble in getting what you want. You ask them to supply it. They say they will.
(*Captain William Edwards* PL p.272)

Physical details, in the candles and the fire-wood, create a homely context. An unlocated voice presents a description of domestic activities: candles go out; boxes of matches are found in a drawer; a fire must be kept alight; and wood must be ordered at the right price. There is a logical progression in this anecdote. Nevertheless, the jolt of each short sentence does not allow a straightforward interpretation of the voice-montage. At this point in the portrait, Stein could have been imitating the actual speech patterns of William Cook. An interpretation that she was transcribing William Cook's abrupt way of talking is founded upon a description of his character given by Señor Cristóbal Serra. Señor Serra used the Spanish word 'crispado' to encapsulate his sense

of a nervous, highly-strung personality. He gave the opinion that William Cook did not have a peaceful mind, he was impulsive and would seize a thing he wanted. Thus, a vigorous tone in these short sentences could represent Stein's use of the voice-montage to capture the tense personality of William Cook. When an anonymous figure tells a story, Stein combines the halting diction of a fictional character, the staccato style of an intrusive narrator and her friend's terse manner of speech.

The anecdote about fire-wood, in *Captain William Edwards*, can be interpreted as part of a dialogue exchange. One person could be telling an interlocutor what they have done, thereby describing the other person's past action in a present conversation. Alternatively, this anecdote could be told without the presence of the person who orders wood. In this case, the pronoun 'you' would refer to a hypothetical situation, in which a speaker advises what 'one' might do in these circumstances. Captain William Edwards may be the narrator of the tale, or he may be the man who orders the fire-wood. Imitation of the halts in actual speech, including the unfinished sentence 'You have some difficulty in getting', brings a sense of realism to the narration. Like the questioning in *What Does Cook Want To Do*, the portrait depends upon the fundamental uncertainty whether the voice-montage projects the voice of the subject, or of the narrator.

Indeterminacy in the voice-montage portrait of Captain William Edwards can be contrasted with the presentation of another fire-lighting episode in a later work. Stein's portrait of Mrs. Reynolds, written during 1940-42, uses a style of gradual accumulation of information. In the character of Mrs. Reynolds, she mingled a portrait of a fictional woman with a self-portrait of her own activities during the Second World War:

Shall you said she to herself shall you light your fire and she knew she meant a great many things when she said anything and she always said something so of course she meant a great many things and so she did light a fire and Mr. Reynolds came in and then it was later in the evening and she had told him everything that everybody had said and that she had said, and Mr. Reynolds said that he had said all that too and everybody else had said all that to him and now they would go to bed and she said yes they would go to bed and they did they put out the lights after they went to bed.

(*Mrs. Reynolds* MR p.172)

One long sentence incorporates a series of household activities: the lighting of a fire; the return of a husband; the report of what different people have said; and the ending of a day with the extinguishing of a light. It has a narrative progression, similar to the

anecdote in *Captain William Edwards* about ordering fire-wood. However, the slow merging of one incident into the next, in the 1940-42 work, contrasts with the rigid brevity of statements in the 1916 portrait. Mrs. Reynolds does not relate the speech of people she met: 'she had told him everything that everybody had said'. In the Mallorcan portrait, the narrator gives a transcription of the other person's words: 'You say don't bother me I will come down on Friday.' (*Captain William Edwards* PL p.272). Stein described the act of lighting a fire in two styles, in differing circumstances, during two World Wars. She gradually built a knowledge of Mrs. Reynolds' character through small events, which are the same from day to day. Earlier, she had presented the jerky telling of a story in which there is no unravelling of the personality of Captain William Edwards. Repetition of direct address in *Captain William Edwards* creates an ambiguous subject of the anecdote. Such ambiguity is avoided in the portrait of Mrs. Reynolds because the action is clearly located in the figures of Mr. and Mrs. Reynolds.

In *Captain William Edwards*, an insistent tone draws attention to the voice which is presenting the portrait. Strident statements create a dual portrait; the person who is the silent subject, and the vocal narrator. Stein does not provide a direct description of a man named Captain William Edwards. Language patterns become noticeable because the reader is not encouraged to imagine a character beyond the verbal construction. However, this authorial voice need not be directly aligned with Gertrude Stein. Ambiguities in this portrait allow the more complex interpretation that Stein is creating a narrative voice, which is not her own, to portray a character who is also not easily identified. Janis Townsend states that Stein's voice is distinct within the voice-montage portrait. She compares this interjection of the authorial voice into the portrait with Stein's earlier style:

In 'Picasso' and 'Matisse,' Gertrude Stein wished to express an insistence which would imitate her subjects. As a result, she sought to contain her subjects within their own description. She did this with convoluted sentences containing some variation and much repetition. In 'Captain William Edwards,' Gertrude Stein takes as her subject how she herself perceives William Edwards Cook, and her perception constitutes the form of the work.⁵⁵

A series of direct questions, in the formation of Mallorcan portraits, represents an altered

⁵⁵Townsend, 'The Singing Self', p.63.

approach from the repetition of key phrases in the 1908-12 portraits. Using different methods, an interrogative tone in *Captain William Edwards* highlights an intrusion of the narrative voice into the text, and an independence of the subject. Insistent questioning brings a visual structure, and a rhythmic pattern, which differ from the previous style of interweaving sentences. Lists of inquiries, and a consistent lack of response, lead to the interpretation that this portrait provides more insights about the questioner than about the character who listens to the questions.

Wendy Steiner notes that Stein used word portraits to explore the relationship between the writer's language and the subject under scrutiny:

This inclusion of the portraitist as one of the 'characters' of the portrait is a latent source of ambiguity which Stein found enormously important. Who in fact is the subject of the portrait: the apparent subject or the portraitist himself? [...] When the perceiver's role is dominant in a mimetic program, the object of perception seems correspondingly reduced.⁵⁶

Emphasis upon a persistent voice introduces the narrator into the Mallorcan portraits with a directness not apparent in Stein's earlier portrait style. Through the interrogative language, the voice-montage is given a new sharpness. It also gains a new ambiguity, through the role of the unlocated voices. These questions seem direct. Yet, it is unclear at whom they are addressed, and whose personality they investigate.

Stein chose William Cook, not George Sand, as her subject to enable the questions to hover without a reply. William Cook was free of the documented biography which would infer a factual response, and would divert the reader's attention away from the pauses after each question. George Sand was too well-known to endow the portrait with a silence essential to promote its voices. In this formation, Stein conjured changing impressions of one man, using different names; Cook and Captain William Edwards. Pseudonyms and unanswered questions successfully detach a known individual from the fictional characters in two Mallorcan portraits.

⁵⁶Wendy Steiner, *Exact Resemblance To Exact Resemblance: The Literary Portraiture of Gertrude Stein* (New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1978), p.22.

In the two portraits discussed above, William Cook is framed within the Mallorcan landscape. Impressions of a man active within the countryside emerge from statements that he likes to fish, to row and to walk in the hills. In the third portrait of William Cook, *I Must Try To Write The History Of Belmonte*, Stein uses the voice-montage to place the individual more directly within the Spanish culture. William Cook, the subject of this portrait, is presented in a Spanish environment which centres upon the famous *matador*, Juan Belmonte. In this context, the lesser-known American painter is given the role of spectator and commentator of bullfights. By repeating that Juan Belmonte is absent from his 'history', Stein is able to project the character of William Cook. Before considering the description of bullfights, and the record of William Cook's voice, I will consider the ways in which this portrait reflects the vigorous rhythms of Spain.

Spain increased Stein's appreciation of the pace of language, the modulation of voices and the rhythmic patterns of repeating words. In works composed during her visit to Spain in 1913, Stein had recorded this sensuous culture in a style of overlaid images, and variations of rhythm. For example, she conveyed the swirling dress of the flamenco dancer, 'La Argentina', by capturing the tempo of handclaps, and of shoes rapping on the floor:

Not so dots large dressed dots, big sizes, less laced, less laced diamonds, diamonds white, diamonds bright, diamonds in the in the light, diamonds light diamonds door diamonds hanging to be four, two four, all before, this bean, lessly, all most, a best, willow, vest, a green guest, guest, go go go go go go go.
(*Preciosilla* 1913 SW p.486)

Sudden glints of refracted light, from jewels worn by the dancer, are caught in each utterance of the word 'diamonds'. This single sentence requires a careful enunciation to render the pauses, and the beat of repeated words. Sounds of shoes and handclaps, and the visual movement of the body, are given a rhythm in re-statement: 'diamonds in the in the light'. It is an exultant composition, a revelry in language and in Spanish culture. Stein had *Preciosilla* on her mind during her first weeks in Mallorca, in 1915. She wrote to Carl Van Vechten from her temporary residence at the Grand Hotel in Palma:

About Rogue I would be willing to sell them Preciosilla for \$50 if they want it, if they do you can armed with this letter get it from Mrs. Knoblauch who has it. (26 May 1915. *Letters of G.S. and C.V.V.* p.45)

During her Mallorcan summer of 1915, Stein was urging the publication of an earlier work which captured the rhythms of Spanish dancing. At this time, she was constructing a text which caught the speed of the bullfight.⁵⁷ Bullfights provided energy and tempo for her Mallorcan portrait, similar to the traditional dancing in *Preciosilla*. Stein used the voice-montage to transmit the action of the bullfight in a style which differed from the imagistic word clusters of her 1913 work. However, a trace of the earlier wordplay style filters into this voice-montage portrait of William Cook. Unlocated voices cannot condense the intense visual impressions of activity in the arena. To overcome this problem, Stein combined a commentary upon the spectacle, with imagistic clusters of stark words which convey the tense movement of the fight. Thus, she caught the vigour of the bullfight in two styles: voice-montage and wordplay.

In the changing techniques of *I Must Try To Write The History Of Belmonte*, Stein composed a portrait of William Cook in the context of the bullfights, which they both enjoyed.⁵⁸

⁵⁷Although dated 1916 in the 1929 *transition* bibliography, and in the YCAL HG chronology, *I Must Try To Write The History Of Belmonte* may have been written in the summer of 1915. During the summer of 1915, Stein and William Cook attended the Spanish, and the Mallorcan, bullfights. Stein had returned to Paris before the main bullfighting season had begun in the summer of 1916, and William Cook was not living in Mallorca during the summer of 1916. Unsettled by the war, Stein went to Valencia before 10 August 1915, for five or seven days, to engage in the power, excitement and spectacle of the bullfight. She wrote to Henry McBride on 14 August 1915: '[...] if you had come in time you would have gone to Valencia with where we saw five days of wonder that is bull-fighting. Gallo Gallito and Belmonte.' (YCAL McBride correspondence). The date of the bullfights indicates that she attended the major annual event at Valencia: 'July 25 - First fight of feria at Valencia, where there will be seven to nine fights on successive days until and through 2nd August. [...] The big ferias, not to be missed, are Pamplona and Valencia.' (Hemingway, *Death in the Afternoon*, p.354).

⁵⁸In the spring of 1915, William Cook encouraged Stein to arrive in Mallorca for the start of the bullfighting season. He wrote to Stein on 3 March [1915. No year but dated by internal references]: 'Next month will be just the time to get here - be sure to be here before the 18th [April] as that is the first Bull-fight and you mustn't miss it.' (YCAL Cook correspondence). Stein and Toklas arrived in Palma on 8 April 1915.

By giving subtle impressions of the bullfight, Stein could place William Cook directly within a Spanish environment. Within the portrait formation, she repeated the oblique approach to the bullfight by avoiding a straightforward description of her subject. When the anonymous narrator states 'This is going to be the story of Cook' (*I Must Try To Write The History Of Belmonte* G&P p.70), it is clear that Cook is the central figure. It will be a 'story' of the painter, William Cook, and not a 'history' of the bullfighter, Juan Belmonte.

Stein aligned the skill of the bullfighter with the creativity of the artist. Both prompt their audiences towards a sharper appreciation of life.⁵⁹ A bullfighter can command an audience with a dexterity of movement. She compared this aspect of the bullfighter with the painter, and the author, who hold attention by the representation of action. Stein sought a constant mobility in her compositions by varying the structures, by changing the rhythms and by shifting the styles. She always focused her attention upon the act of writing and, in the bullfighter, Stein found an image which epitomized her own craft. In particular, she found a potent symbol in the *matador* for the controlled emphasis upon each word throughout her texts. Donald Sutherland notes similarities between the images of a bullfight and her Spanish plays:

The general movement does drag the audience along with it, there is no doubt about it, and plenty of people like to be agitated and swept away, but Gertrude Stein was right enough when she pointed out that the emotion of an ordinary stage climax is essentially relief, that is, a relief over having at last caught up with the heart of the matter. She meant instead to create something in which the heart of the matter would be constantly there, as with dancing or bullfighting or such modern painting as maintains an equal interest over every inch of the surface.⁶⁰

Stein did not use Spanish vocabulary in *I Must Try To Write The History Of Belmonte*. She presented the essence of the bullfight without naming it, and without relying on terms which need a glossary. Instead, she sought oblique methods to capture a sense of immediacy in the fast-moving bullfight. In two styles, both drawing attention to each word, she imitated the bullfight which 'maintains an equal interest over every inch of

⁵⁹In a preliminary note for the composition of *Matisse, Picasso and Gertrude Stein* (1911-12), Stein had written: 'Remember Pablo's resemblance to bull-fighters particularly Malchalita. Pablo & Braque the lime-light.' (YCAL GMP, Vol 2 HG 42).

⁶⁰Sutherland, *Gertrude Stein. A Biography of her Work*, p.115.

the surface' of the arena. Incorporating imagistic word clusters, she revived a technique which had caught a dancer's movements in *Preciosilla*. In addition, she exploited the ellipses of the voice-montage to re-create a sparse intensity, characteristic of the movement of the bullfight:

I choose Gallo. He is a cock. He moves plainly.
(*I Must Try To Write The History Of Belmonte* G&P p.74)

In this final line of William Cook's portrait, Stein implies that she is writing 'plainly' to give an impression of the unelaborate gestures of the greatest bullfighters. The name 'Gallo' is abbreviated from 'El Gallo'. This, in turn, is a pseudonym for Rafael Gomez y Ortega. Ernest Hemingway's glossary to *Death in the Afternoon* lists the name of this bullfighter: '*Gallo*: fighting cock; the professional name of the great Gomez family of gipsy bullfighters.'⁶¹ Hemingway's definition shows how Stein was displacing her knowledge of bullfighting in the statement: 'He is a cock.' Anonymity of this bullfighter's real name, which is translated from the Spanish in Stein's text, suggests pride, determined fighting and sexual prowess. She chose the inference over the information.

Similarly, Stein's description of the bullfight re-creates visual images of the spectacle: the horses, the barriers and the bull. Tension builds when definite actions are presented in a style of indeterminate wordplay. Stein generates momentum for the crisis moment of the fight - the swerving movement which brings death closer for the man, or for the bull:

You meant to walk up to the horse kneeling on one knee throw your weight on the barrier and relieve the attack relieve it by planting sharp stars into his shoulder relieve it by stroking the horn, by hurrying.
(*I Must Try To Write The History Of Belmonte* G&P p.73)

Tension in this long sentence is sustained until the motion of piercing the bull with 'sharp stars'. A vocabulary of nurturing (kneeling, relieve, planting, stroking) is fused with words indicating brutality (weight, attack, sharp, horn). There are clear affinities between Stein's use of impressionistic word clusters in this Mallorcan portrait and the

⁶¹Hemingway, *Death in the Afternoon*, p.290.

style of her previous Spanish compositions. Peasant dancing, during the week of bullfights in Valencia in July 1915, could have reminded Stein of her 1913 portraits of flamenco dancing: *Preciosilla* and *Susie Asado*. A wordplay style, which had conveyed the dancing figure, is brought into this voice-montage portrait for the purpose of concentrating the intensity of the bullfight. Stein captured the urgent movement of the bullfight by repetition ('relieve [...] relieve [...] relieve'), and by the rhythm of a comma pause ('horn, by hurrying'). Impressions of the bullfighter's actions are created through a physical vocabulary (walking, kneeling, attacking, stroking). These verbs isolate the 'sharp stars', which are the instruments administering death.

Stein chose not to limit her portrait to a description of a famous bullfighter. She preferred to experiment with images, and with detaching the voice-montage from its subject:

I am coming to see that power real power comes from the part of withdrawal that necessitates choosing an image. My image is in my wording.
(*Letters and Parcels and Wool* YCAL HG 127. AFAM p.167. MS has paragraph indent, and no full stop after 'withdrawal'.)

To project the ritual and the grandeur of a Spanish tradition, Stein used a language which was not governed by emotional turmoil. She displaced a reaction to violent death by drawing the reader's attention to the words which were inspired by the bullfight. An impression of 'power real power' in the letter text, quoted above, provides insights into Stein's strategies of detachment in this Mallorcan portrait. She conveyed the power of the bullfight in different ways: the physical power of the bull; the powerful emotions the event creates in a spectator; and the power of sparse words to transmit an impression of mobility.

Stein placed equal emphasis upon each word in order to control the emotional response, and to re-create the bullfighter's 'understanding with the uncertainty' (*I Must Try To Write The History Of Belmonte* G&P p.73). A sense of 'withdrawal' results from a distillation of language into an 'image' of the bullfight which is evocative, and which refuses the easy definition of bullfighting nomenclature. It is the 'wording' which creates a new event in the presentation of complex syntactic arrangements and word clusters. The force of every word is released in a portrait which does not describe the bullfight in documentary terms, it is a 'withdrawal' from the spectacle into the detachment of

voice-montage formations.

Although Stein had seen Juan Belmonte⁶² when she attended the Valencia bullfights in the summer of 1915, she used this voice-montage text to stress his absence. This historical figure is integral to the portrait of William Cook. Juan Belmonte provides an authentic Spanish context in which William Cook is given a voice as a commentator on bullfights. However, the famous *matador* can be distanced from the composition because it is primarily a portrait of the lesser-known painter, who watches the spectacle. Juan Belmonte's absence from his 'history' reproduces William Cook's reticence in the Mallorcan portraits, which bear his name in their titles.

There is a sense of anticipation for a bullfight in *What Does Cook Want To Do*. Tickets have been bought and the acclaimed bullfighter is expected: 'It is strange but it does seem as if Belmonte would come.' (*What Does Cook Want To Do* PL p.32). This first portrait of William Cook ends without the appearance of Belmonte. There is anger expressed about the same subject, the absence of Belmonte, in this third portrait. Belmonte's name is repeated by unlocated voices:

Belmonte.

We have not seen him.

[...]

When they gave a dinner the other day Belmonte was not there. [...] We can be angry. We were disappointed Belmonte was not there and we had paid as if he were.

(*I Must Try To Write The History Of Belmonte* G&P p.71 and p.73)

Stein chose a direct style to describe a man who 'was not there'. She recorded a moment when Belmonte could not participate in the bullfight, which is central to his 'history': 'He is still in the hospital.' (*I Must Try To Write The History Of Belmonte* G&P p.74). Statements of dismay create a further sense of detachment from the immediacy of the bullfight because they contrast with the imagistic word clusters, which Stein had used to convey the urgent events in the bull-ring.

⁶²I will use the name 'Juan Belmonte' with reference to the Spanish bullfighter whom Stein saw during the summer of 1915. The name 'Belmonte' will refer to the character within this portrait.

Stein used the voice-montage, rather than wordplay, to emphasize that Belmonte is not present within this portrait of William Cook. Absence of the famous bullfighter allows a focus upon the spectator in the crowd. This exchange of status gives a central purpose to the repeating sentences which refer to Belmonte's injury, and which also re-state his absence:

Belmonte uses it for his foot. He uses it to put on his foot. Belmonte uses it on his hurt foot. It is put on his foot a great deal. They use it often. They use it on his foot whenever he is hurt. He has been hurt.

(I Must Try To Write The History Of Belmonte G&P p.74)

Attention is drawn to the words, rather than to a direct account of the injury suffered by the character, Belmonte. Belmonte's absence is dwelt upon with monosyllabic simplicity, creating a rhythmic and a rhyming effect: 'put on his foot'. Yet, the incident is not told in a straightforward manner. Both Belmonte and the iodine are not actually present in the scene which is described. An anonymous narrator has been told to find seaweed, which contains iodine and which a remedy for the hurt foot. An illusion is created, by re-statement, that iodine is administered in the causal events of the text. However, the seaweed and the iodine are only spoken of by unnamed people who 'were here to eat their dinner' (*I Must Try To Write The History Of Belmonte G&P p.74*).

Juan Belmonte's absence from this portrait is another instance of Stein's inclination to concentrate the voice-montage upon ordinary people, and to bypass prominent figures. Documentary evidence shows that Stein did see the great bullfighters in Valencia during July 1915. Legendary Spanish bullfighters attended the *feria*, and later references indicate that it was a memorable occasion:

Once I remember Gertrude Stein talking of bullfights spoke of her admiration for Joselito and showed me some pictures of him in the ring and of herself and Alice Toklas sitting in the first row of the wooden barreras at the bull ring at Valencia with Joselito and his brother Gallo below [...].⁶³

⁶³Hemingway, *Death in the Afternoon*, p.9. Joselito was another name for Gallito, which Stein used in her letter to Henry McBride, dated 14 August 1915. 'Salidas en falsa' means 'attempts to place the banderillas in which the man passes the bull's head without deciding to place the sticks' (Hemingway, *Death in the Afternoon*, pp.288-89).

I watched Belmonte fils do the falsa in the photo from the same place we watched his father do that magnificent fight in 1915 I think it was. Father was less flowery. We saw bull-fighting in the good days - there is nothing like the feria at Valencia with Belmonte and Joselito.

(15 May 1946. YCAL Cook correspondence)

From Palma we went on a little boat to Valencia, asking Cook to come as our guest for the week's fiesta of peasant dancing and great bullfighters. There we saw Gallito and Gallo, his older brother, in some remarkable feats in the bull ring.⁶⁴

Las ferias de Valencia.

Las corridas de toros, uno de los principales números de las ferias, han sido en general medianas, adoleciendo de algo sosas. Para la última corrida que debía celebrarse el jueves y en que tenían que torear en competencia *Joselito y Belmonte* había gran expectación [...].

(31 July 1915. *La Almudaina* p.2)

Stein had sufficient factual knowledge to compile a 'history of Belmonte', and she might have described the exhilaration of watching accomplished bullfighters. As she had preserved William Cook's withdrawn nature in the voice-montage portraits, Stein presented a bullfight without the appearance of Juan Belmonte.

Speakers in a restaurant talk about the absence of Belmonte when they offer advice to fetch seaweed to cure his 'hurt foot'. They give a voice to Stein's decision not to record a documentary 'history' of a bullfight which she had seen. A detachment in their words states the purpose of the entire portrait:

I Must Try To Write The History Of Belmonte.

[...]

This is not the history of Belmonte because there are so many mounted men.

(*I Must Try To Write The History Of Belmonte* G&P p.70 and p.72)

The 'history of Belmonte' is unwritten, it 'must' be written at a future date. The title implies the absence of a second text. It is a positive statement that the composition which follows will not be limited to a purely historical approach. Effort is required to write the 'history of Belmonte', indicated by the authorial self-urging: 'I must try'. Therefore, the text which emerges from the failure of this endeavour will be one which

⁶⁴Toklas, *What Is Remembered*, p.89.

has flowed without strain. The text which is presented to the reader is the one which precedes the 'history of Belmonte', and it is the one which has been written with ease. A statement of fact, which might open a historical account, is immediately undermined: 'Belmonte is a bull-fighter. I have not seen him.' (*I Must Try To Write The History Of Belmonte* G&P p.70). Stein had 'seen him' and, for artistic purposes, she chose not to write a 'history' of Juan Belmonte.

An authorial voice states that this text is the 'story of Cook' (*I Must Try To Write The History Of Belmonte* G&P p.70). His voice is heard within this traditional Spanish environment. Emphasis is placed upon his relationship with language:

They can read.

Cook does and he says and he is kind to all. He has french as a friend and he speaks Mallorcan.

[...]

He was abroad and he was used to English. Not to speak but to be disappointed. He was never disappointed. He spoke it. He called it. He spoke in a low tone.

[...]

Cook works.

He said he asked every one about Guano and they said he worked better than Belmonte. If so they are both of the school of Gallito, in the manner of Gallito who does continually what he does a little. He is no doubt incorrect in what he had heard.

(*I Must Try To Write The History Of Belmonte* G&P p.70, p.70 and p.72)

William Cook is presented in a portrait which is a 'story of Cook'. This blend of the real individual and the fictional character is exemplified by the ambiguous descriptions of Cook's voice. Positive statements are made about his voice: 'he speaks Mallorcan. [...] He spoke it.' Such opinions are disputed in a contradictory assessment of his ability to speak: 'Not to speak [...] He spoke in a low tone.' His voice is not transcribed directly into the portrait, thereby maintaining his elusive nature: 'He said he asked [...].' It is the authorial speaker who is heard most clearly in the voice-montage. Cook's reported words are addressed to the *café aficionados*, not to the narrator. An anonymous speaker dismisses Cook's translation of the Spaniards' comments about bullfighters, or his interpretation of their judgements. In both cases, the speaker implies that Cook's words are not authoritative: 'He is no doubt incorrect in what he had heard.' A reticence is inferred in this third portrait of William Cook because the character, Cook, speaks quietly, and he does not repeat his interlocutors' statements with accuracy.

In the first two portraits of William Cook, considered above, the subject remains silent despite extensive questioning. He allows the inquisitive speaker to portray a landscape in place of himself. In *I Must Try To Write The History Of Belmonte*, Stein employs a wordplay style to re-create the tense atmosphere of a bullfight. She uses the voice-montage to catch conversations in cafés, where Cook listens to talk about the merits of individual bullfighters. In this particular Spanish environment, his voice is still indeterminate and 'low'. Names in this portrait are specific: Guano, Belmonte, Gallito, Cook. However, these characters remain elusive. Stein places real names within the portrait, and yet she consistently avoids biographical interpretations. William Cook wanders in and out of the Mallorcan plays, narratives, letter texts and portraits. His independence attracted Stein, and she explored the possibility of applying the unlocated voice-montage to the formation of portraits.

7

During 1915-16, Stein used two formations to examine her position of isolation from the war. A general sense of distance is introduced into the letter texts by an implicit delay in communication, and into the portraits by a character who does not answer questions. Correspondents who describe their ordinary domestic concerns in the letter texts create a division between spoken dialogue exchange, and the silence of written communication. William Cook's reticence in three portraits juxtaposes an individual with whom Stein spoke frequently, and a fictional character presented in an oblique manner. In these ways, Stein was assessing the potential of the voice-montage to convey an impression of separation from verbal contact, and from physical conflict. Images of the bullfight exemplify Stein's method of presenting her detachment, living in Mallorca, from events of the Great War.

In the context of the Great War, the power of the bull might have been given symbolic reference. During the Second World War, Stein inferred an allegorical significance in her novel which describes life in rural France. A beetle is used to suggest the inexorable menace of Angel Harper, a character who is aligned with Adolf Hitler:

Mrs. Reynolds saw two little girls and a little boy playing in the dust, she thought at first that they were playing marbles but then she saw they were making a little mound of dust. What is it, said Mrs. Reynolds and then she saw that there was a terrible big beetle underneath and he worked his way out and the more they covered him with dust the more he worked his way out.
(*Mrs. Reynolds* MR p.65)

Inverted sizes in the 'little' children and the 'terrible big beetle', and hints of mortality in the 'mound of dust', invest a small incident with wider meanings. Stein chose not to use the bull in the same way in the Mallorcan writings. However, its alignment with the Great War is clearly stated. Bullfights were a way of engaging with power, and with death, in a context of isolation from the battlefield:

We have just been to Valencia for a week and saw all that there is to see of bullfighting, Gallo, Gallito, and Belmonte. [...] It's the only thing that can make you forget the war that is it's the only thing that's made me forget the war.
(10 August 1915. *Letters of G.S. and C.V.V.* p.46)

Necessarily the secret of Belmonte.

I do not wish to weep. I forget war and fear and courage and dancing.

(*I Must Try To Write The History Of Belmonte* G&P p.74 YCAL HG 144. MS & BTS have paragraph indent after 'Belmonte'. G&P has not.)

The deft grace of *matadors*, and the physical boundary of the arenas, brought a control to violent death. Bullfights were a ritual which concentrated Stein's strong feelings about a distant war.⁶⁵ This was a skilful means of administering death, one with traditions and procedures. Furthermore, it was a type of killing that she could know, and could write about. She could 'forget the war', where the scale of human death was incomprehensible, and use the voice-montage to convey the local spectacle of a single, organized death. She re-worked the phrase, 'forget the war', from her correspondence with Carl Van Vechten into her Mallorcan portrait of William Cook. Incorporating the same words from her letters within her composition demonstrates the extent to which, for Stein, bullfights displaced the violence of the Great War.

⁶⁵See also Ernest Hemingway's opinion: 'It isn't just brutal like they always told us. It's a great tragedy - and the most beautiful thing I've ever seen and takes more guts and skill and guts again than anything possibly could. It's like having a ringside seat at the war with nothing going to happen to you.' (Jeffrey Meyers, *Hemingway. A Biography* (London: Macmillan Ltd., 1986, p.117).

Bullfights offered Stein a subject for the voice-montage which could counteract her detachment from the war. They replaced the distance from direct contact, which is implied in the formation of letter texts. She contrasted the closeness of the bullfight with the distant conflict:

It is said that the Queen hit the King. Not here. In Greece.

[...]

A man of talent and plenty. He had blue eyes. He was carried away. By whom. By many men. They were really there.

(*I Must Try To Write The History Of Belmonte* G&P p.70 and p.71)

International fighting is represented by the woman who exerts violence on the man, and by the regal dispute which implies the armies of the European royal families. All this is distant. An event is related by rumour, 'It is said', and it takes place 'Not here.' By contrast, the bullfighter is seen closely, 'He had blue eyes', and the men who carry him from the arena 'were really there.' The fall of a great bullfighter is swift and unexplained, like the swerve of the bull's head catching him unaware. There is no blood mentioned in Stein's text, but the injury must be severe for him to be 'carried away.' Controlled death in the bull-ring is expressed in restrained understatement. For instance, a violent death is brought close by a passing reference to blue eyes, which may no longer see. In the portrait formation, short sentences reproduce the speed of the charge, the sudden disaster and the rush to the infirmary. Stein used stark images, and a staccato style of the voice-montage, to condense reference to human mortality in the Great War into an image of Spanish bullfights.

In the formations of letter texts and portraits, Stein presented relationships between isolated individuals. She used an array of names in the letter texts to indicate the characters' independence from their acquaintances. Fleeting signatories of miscellaneous letters do not receive a reply. Interrogative voices cannot elicit a spoken response from the subject of the portraits. During the Second World War, Stein expressed this sense of isolated voices within a war context: '[...] so that is what war is it is the inhabitants in geography.' (*Wars I Have Seen* p.12). It was the 'geography' of Stein's detachment from the Great War during 1915-16 that concentrated her attention upon its displaced impact on Mallorcan 'inhabitants'. In these two formations, different in structure and characterization, she was consistent in replacing distant events with immediate experience.

AFTERWORD

Gertrude Stein made two major innovations in the voice-montage texts of 1914-16. An initial idea prompted her to catch fragments of ordinary conversation in her compositions. This aspect of her work was enhanced by the inventiveness of her new formations. Stein understood that everyday speech sounds robust and strange when it is displaced from an explanatory context. Using a technique of juxtaposition, she brought a shock of fresh appreciation to voices which could be overheard at any moment. Furthermore, she knew that the sound of casual talk was just one feature of the voice-montage. It was the visual structures which created patterns upon the page, and scripts for performance. Stein recorded daily occurrences, in a familiar language, and the result is a body of texts which is richly challenging in its mosaic of exchanges.

I have focused upon both the content (the 'voice-montage'), and the structure (the 'formations'), to show Stein's dual approach to the new style. A fundamental shift in her use of language marks the first stage in the process of change. She responded to transitory voices around her, and she incorporated the words of anonymous speakers into her compositions. Tensions expressed in the late 1914 texts are replaced, in subsequent works, by the exchanges of speakers who converse with ease. A second stage is seen in her expansion of the visual design. Building upon her early attempts to accumulate snatches of conversation, she sought to create different effects from the arrangement of this material. Moving towards a greater mix of voices is a development which corresponds to the increasing complexity of the formations.

A range of vocal tones, and a diversity of visual arrangements, were the outcome of Stein's decision to concentrate upon the voice-montage. During the Parisian winter 1914-15, she had made substantial advances in these two directions. Texts dated to this interim period show a broadening of subjects and structures. With hindsight, a critic can understand that the full potential of the voice-montage had not been reached by March 1915. Stein felt that the idea, and the style, required more than five months' work in Paris to explore its implications. In Mallorca, a changed location provided sources for new characters in the plays, and for named speakers in the narratives. A Spanish context inspired the rhythms, and the vocabulary, of Stein's compositions. Moreover, a year of uninterrupted work gave rise to new and imaginative formations.

When Stein left Mallorca in 1916, she had completed an important and successful phase in her career which would clearly influence her future compositions.

Stein later exploited the achievements of the Mallorcan writings. When she was directly involved with the Great War, during 1917-19, her duties with the AFFW reduced the time available for composition. Short texts were constructed within a full schedule of war relief activity:

I am at present engaged in good works which includes running a little Ford into the country for the American relief committee and am enjoying it. Otherwise I am working. [...] Some day I want to do a volume of Spanish things [...].
(23 February 1917. *Letters of G.S and C.V.V.* pp.57-58)

Stein's enthusiastic attitude arose, in part, from her feeling that the moment was right for involvement in the Great War. Having completed a rigorous examination of the voice-montage, she was able to re-direct her creative energy. Henceforth, she could present the experience of purposeful mobility within the structures which she had worked so hard to develop.

In one respect, the writings of 1917-19 resemble the restricted compositions of the summer of 1914. Under the pressure of social activities, as a guest at Cambridge and at Lockeridge, Stein had composed short narrative texts. These brief essays did not explore the full possibilities of structuring the new style. Instead, they focused upon the altered approach to presenting aural material. Texts composed during the two years of Stein's war relief work, after her residence in Mallorca, show the same tendency to concentrate upon the subject matter. Since a range of structures had already been tested, the works of this later period place a response to a different situation within previously established formations.

It was in 1922 that Stein eventually published many of her Mallorcan compositions. *Geography and Plays* was the 'volume of Spanish things' which she had anticipated after her return from Mallorca. A year of extensive investigation into the voice-montage resulted in a series of accomplished texts which she was determined to set before the public. Although Stein was able to select examples from nearly two decades of her previous work, she chose to promote the compositions of 1915-16. As

a statement of her pride in the Mallorcan writings, she published each of the plays and several of the shorter narratives. *Geography and Plays* helped to secure Stein's reputation as a major literary figure, and a measure of this book's importance lies in her decision to print so many voice-montage works.

Stein preserved her notebooks containing the voice-montage compositions. These manuscripts, and the Bound Typescripts, enabled texts excluded from *Geography and Plays* to be published after her death. Works from this period were printed in the Yale Edition, mainly in the volumes *Bee Time Vine*, *As Fine As Melanctha* and *Painted Lace*.

Each of Stein's later stylistic alterations, towards opera and audience writing, bears traces of the voice-montage. The resonances of these two years of innovation, 1914-16, were to reverberate throughout her career.

APPENDIX 1

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF GERTRUDE STEIN'S WRITINGS: 1914-16

This chronological list reproduces the order of texts in the Bound Typescript Volumes. These are held in the Stein Collection at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

I have introduced new divisions in this order. I have aligned the titles within four stages of the voice-montage: the early 1914 wordplay style from which it emerged; the late 1914 voice-montage works composed in England; the texts of the Parisian winter 1914-15; and the Mallorcan writings dated 1915-16.

My re-arrangement of the Bound Typescript Volumes is based upon an examination of the manuscripts, an identification of names and events cited in the works and a cross-referencing of different texts written in the same notebook.

The titles follow those in the Bound Typescripts. In instances where this differs from the published version, I have made a note beside the relevant entry. No alteration has been made in the dating of compositions within their calendar year.

EARLY 1914 WORDPLAY TEXTS

Bound Typescript Volume Twelve lists texts dated 1914. It orders the work of 1914 in the 1929 *transition* bibliography, and in the YCAL HG catalogue.

[...]

- 13 *Meal One* HG 82/BTV p.147
- 14 *Emp Lace* HG 83/BTV p.157
- 15 *Series* HG 84/BTV p.173
- 16 *Tillie* HG 85/BTV p.173 (in vol with HG 81)
- 17 *Curtain Let Us* HG 86/PL p.159 (in vol with HG 87 & *Four*)
- 18 *Dates* HG 87/BTV p.168 (in vol with HG 86 & *Four*)
- 19 *Four* HG not listed/BTV p.167 (in vol with HG 86 & 87)
- 20 *Finished One* HG 89/BTV p.170 (in vol with HG 104)
- 21 *Oval* HG 90/BTV p.119
- 22 *One or Two. I've Finished* HG 91/BTV p.179 (in vol with HG 98)

LATE 1914 VOICE-MONTAGE TEXTS

- 23 *Crete* HG 92/BTV p.172 (HG 92, 93, 94, 95, 96 on same notepaper)
- 24 *In One* HG 93/BTV p.177
- 25 *Wear* HG 94/ROAB p.15
- 26 *Gentle Julia* HG 95/BTV p.178
- 27 *Painted Lace* HG 96/PL p.1

- 28 *At* HG not listed/BTV p.155 (in vol with HG 105 and *Lockeridge*)
- 29 *A New Happiness* HG 98/PL p.151 (in vol with HG 91)
- 30 *Mrs. Whitehead* HG 99/G&P p.154 (in vol with HG 109)
- 31 *Lockeridge* HG not listed/BTV p.178 (in vol with HG 105 and *At*)
- 32 *Mrs. Emerson* HG 101/ROAB p.44 (on same notepaper as HG 92, 93, 94, 95, 96)
- 33 *Tubene* HG 102/BTV p.179
- 34 *Bird Jet* HG 103/BTV p.179

TEXTS OF THE PARISIAN WINTER: 1914-15

- 35 *One Sentence* HG 104/AFAM p.71 (in vol with HG 89)

Bound Typescript Volume Thirteen lists texts dated 1915. It orders the work of 1915 in the 1929 *transition* bibliography, and in the YCAL HG catalogue.

- 1 *Not Slightly. A Play* HG 105/G&P p.290 (in vol with *At* & *Lockeridge*)
- 2 *Pink Melon Joy* HG 106/G&P p.347
- 3 *Johnny Grey* HG 107/G&P p.167 (in vol with HG 108)
- 4 *Study Nature* HG 108/BTV p.181 (in vol with HG 107)
- 5 *Possessive Case* HG 109/AFAM p.111 (in vol with HG 99)
- 6 *No* HG 110/AFAM p.33
- 7 *Monsieur Vollard et Cezanne* HG 45/P&P p.37 (in vol with HG 111. 1929 *transition* bibliography follows BTS, not HG order)
- 8 *When We Went Away* HG 111/PL p.19 (in vol with HG 45)
- 9 *Farragut or A Husband's Recompense* HG 112/UK p.5
- 10 *How Could They Marry Her* HG 113/ROAB p.16
- 11 *If You Had Three Husbands* HG 114/G&P p.377

MALLORCAN WRITINGS: 1915-16

- 12 *This One Is Serious* HG 115/PL p.20 (in vol with HG 116. First Amengual Y Muntaner, Palma de Mallorca notebook. Hereafter abbreviated as 'AYM')
- 13 *He Didn't Light The Light* HG 116/PL p.17 (AYM notebook. In vol with HG 115)
- 14 *David Daisy and Appolonia* HG 117/P&P p.226 (in vol with HG 118)
- 15 *Independent Embroidery* HG 118/PL p.81 (in vol with HG 117)
- 16 *I Have No Title To Be Successful* HG 119/PL p.23
- 17 *He Said It. A Monologue* HG 120/G&P p.267

Bound Typescript Volume Fourteen lists texts dated 1916. It orders works of 1916 in the 1929 *transition* bibliography, and in the YCAL HG catalogue.

- 1 *In The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters* HG 121/G&P p.227 (AYM notebook. MS has 'In' written underneath 'For'. 1929 *transition* bibliography has 'In'. G&P index page and title page have 'For')
- 2 *What Does Cook Want To Do* HG 122/PL p.31 (AYM notebook. In vol with HG 123, 124, 125, 126)
- 3 *It Was An Accident* HG 123/PL p.34 (AYM notebook. In vol with HG 122, 124, 125, 126)
- 4 *Mr. Miranda and William* HG 124/PL p.274 (AYM notebook. In vol with HG 122, 123, 125, 126)
- 5 *Henry and I* HG 125/PL p.273 (AYM notebook. In vol with HG 122, 123, 124, 126)
- 6 *We Have Eaten Heartily and We Were Ashamed* HG 126/PL p.39 (AYM notebook. In vol with HG 122, 123, 124, 125. BTS index page and 1929 *transition* bibliography have 'Ashamed'. MS & title page of BTS have 'Alarmed')
- 7 *Letters and Parcels and Wool* HG 127/AFAM p.163 (AYM notebook)
- 8 *Water Pipe* HG 128/ROAB p.31 (in vol with HG 148)
- 9 *Ladies Voices. A Curtain Raiser* HG 129/G&P p.203 (in vol with HG 130)
- 10 *Every Afternoon. A Dialogue* HG 130/G&P p.254 (in vol with HG 129)
- 11 *Advertisements* HG 131/G&P p.341 (AYM notebook)
- 12 *Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* HG 132/G&P p.215 (AYM notebook)
- 13 *Let Us Be Easily Careful* HG 133/PL p.35
- 14 *Bonne Annee. A Play* HG 134/G&P p.302
- 15 *Captain William Edwards* HG 135/PL p.272 (in vol with HG 136. 1929 *transition* bibliography has *Captain Walter Arnold* following *Captain William Edwards*)
- 16 *Polybe Silent* HG 137/PL p.29 (AYM notebook. In vol with HG 138)
- 17 *Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* HG 138/G&P p.262 (AYM notebook. In vol with HG 137. 1929 *transition* bibliography has *I Like It To Be A Play. A Play* following *Please Do Not Suffer. A Play*)
- 18 *A Very Good House* HG 140/PL p.26 (in vol with HG 139)
- 19 *Turkey and Bones and Eating and We Liked It. A Play* HG 141/G&P p.239
- 20 *I Often Think About Another* HG 142/PL p.32 (AYM notebook. In vol with HG 143)
- 21 *A Collection* HG 143/G&P p.23 (AYM notebook. In vol with HG 142)
 - i) *My Dear Miss Carey. A Story*
 - ii) *Polybe in Port. A Curtain Raiser*
 - iii) *Spanish Chattings*
 - iv) *They Came Together*
 - v) *Wild Flowers*
 - vi) *Will They Crush Germany*
- 22 *I Must Try To Write The History Of Belmonte* HG 144/G&P p.70 (AYM notebook. In vol with HG 147)
- 23 *Universe or Hand-Reading* HG 145/PL p.268 (in vol with HG 146 & 151)
- 24 *Mallorcan Stories* HG 146/G&P p.96 (in vol with HG 145 & 151)
- 25 *Look At Us* HG 147/PL p.259 (AYM notebook. In vol with HG 144)
- 26 *Mexico. A Play* HG 148/G&P p.304 (AYM notebook. In vol with HG 128)
- 27 *Decorations* HG 149/BTV p.185 (in vol with HG 150)

- 28 *A Poem About Walberg* HG 150/G&P p.166 (in vol with HG 149)
- 29 *All Sunday* HG 151/A&B p.89 (in vol with HG 145 & 146)
- 30 *I Like It To Be A Play. (A Play)* HG 139/G&P p.286 (in vol with HG 140)
- 31 *Captain Walter Arnold. A Play* HG 136/G&P p.260 (in vol with HG 135)

Bound Typescript Volume Fifteen lists texts dated 1917. It orders works of 1917 in the 1929 *transition* bibliography, and in the YCAL HG catalogue.

- 1 *Lifting Belly Parts 1, 2, & 3* HG 152/BTV p.61
- 2 *Miss Cruttwell* HG 153/AFAM p.173
- 3 *A King or Something. The Public Is Invited To Dance* HG 154/G&P p.122
- 4 *Marry Nettie. Alright Make It A Series And Call It Marry Nettie*
HG 155/PL p.42

[...]

APPENDIX 2

BIOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND: 1914-16

To understand the context in which Stein was creating the voice-montage, I found it necessary to compile the biographical material into a single essay. Since I consulted it frequently, to trace references, I believe other readers might find the information useful.

Within the chapters, I have used footnotes to present the relevant biographical facts. There is a great deal of additional information, so I have separated this biographical essay from the critical analysis. This approach has allowed me to focus upon Stein's texts.

This Appendix brings together extensive factual details to give a chronological account of Stein's life during 1914-16. I have gathered data from my research in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, from the correspondence quoted in Appendix 3 and from secondary sources. Where factual information is based upon a secondary source, I have abbreviated either the name of the author, the book or the dissertation. References in parentheses are given full details in the Bibliography.

BACKGROUND TO CHAPTER 1 - STEIN'S VISIT TO ENGLAND IN 1914

When Gertrude Stein arrived in London on Monday 6 July 1914, she knew both the city and some of its artistic inhabitants. This was her third visit to England.

Her first visit had lasted from September 1902 until February 1903. The second visit had been spent during January 1913 and February 1913.

She would re-visit England in May 1926 (Bridgman, p.363). During this later visit, she gave a lecture to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Her lecture would be published by the Hogarth Press in November 1926, entitled *Composition As Explanation*. A lecture to the Literary Society at Cambridge was held on 3 June 1926. A few days later, she spoke to the 'Ordinary,' Oxford's literary society (Simon, p.132). This second lecture was held on 7 June 1926 (letter from Stein to Harry Phelan Gibb. 1 May 1926).

In 1936, Stein returned to England. She lectured at Oxford and Cambridge. On a social level, she visited Lord Berners in Berkshire, and then Sir Robert and Lady Diana Abdy in Cornwall (Bridgman, p.364).

Stein's sixth, and final, visit to England took place the following year. On 27 April 1937, she attended the opening of a performance of *A Wedding Bouquet* at the Sadler's Wells theatre. This ballet was an adaptation of her 1931 composition *They Must. Be Wedded. To Their Wife. A Play* (F. Lowe, p.256).

In 1914, a third visit to England was arranged to secure publication of *Three Lives*. John Lane, of the Bodley Head, indicated that he would re-distribute the unsold copies of the 1909 Grafton Press publication. This had been the First American Edition. In 1914, a total of 288 bound and 500 unbound copies remained unsold from a printing of 1000 copies (Draft letter. YCAL Misc. Box A). Stein hoped to secure a re-issue of

these books by the Bodley Head. Furthermore, she anticipated a First English Edition which could be printed from the plates in her possession (Draft letter. YCAL Misc. Box F).

Acquaintances outside the publishing circle were founded upon the two previous visits to England. These earlier occasions provide a background to the extended stay in London, Cambridge and Lockeridge during the summer and autumn of 1914.

STEIN'S FIRST VISIT TO ENGLAND IN 1902-1903

Gertrude and Leo Stein arrived in London about 29 August 1902. This date is established from a letter which Leo Stein sent to Mabel Weeks on 19 September 1902: 'We came to London almost three weeks ago.' (*Journey*, p.10).

They spent their first weekend with Bernard Berenson at Friday's Hill, Haslemere. Leo Stein had met Bernard Berenson in Florence in 1896. The two men had been introduced by Hutchins Hapgood (F. Lowe, p.21). A letter from Leo Stein, dated 9 October 1900, confirms their acquaintance in Italy before the 1902 visit to England (*Journey* p.3). Bernard Berenson was gaining a reputation as an expert in Florentine art, for which Leo Stein was expressing an interest at that time.

After their first weekend with Bernard Berenson, Gertrude and Leo Stein returned to London during the week. They stayed the following weekend with the Berensons. Two weekends in the country encouraged them to rent a cottage, either named or at, 'Greenhill' for 'a week or two, or possibly longer.' (*Journey* p.10). This cottage was situated near the village of Fernhurst, and it was close to Haslemere. By renting a home in this area, the Steins were living near Bernard Berenson, Bertrand Russell and Alys Russell.

A connection between Bernard Berenson and Bertrand Russell was that their wives, Mary Berenson and Alys Russell, were sisters. This was a reason for the two families to live close to each other. Bertrand Russell had met Alys' family, the American Pearsall Smiths, soon after they had moved to Friday's Hill, near Fernhurst. Russell had been introduced to the family whilst he was staying with his Uncle Rollo in the summer of 1889 (Russell, p.103).

Gertrude Stein met the Pearsall Smith family in 1902. Afterwards, she remained on cordial terms with both Logan Pearsall Smith and Alys [Pearsall Smith] Russell. Following Stein's second visit to England, in 1913, Logan Pearsall Smith attempted to place her *Portrait of Constance Fletcher* (1908-12) with the *Oxford Fortnightly* (F. of F., p.75. Letter from Logan Pearsall Smith to Stein. 26 February 1913). Also, during the third visit, in 1914, Alys Russell invited Stein and Toklas to stay with her at Ford Place, Arundel. It is unlikely that Bertrand Russell would have been present on this occasion because he had been separated from Alys Russell since 1911 (Feinberg, p.32). This trip was intended to follow their Bank Holiday weekend with the Whitehead family (YCAL. Letters from Alys Russell to Stein. 14 July 1914 and 1 August 1914).

GERTRUDE STEIN AND BERTRAND RUSSELL

Gertrude Stein may have met Bertrand Russell before her visit to England in 1902-1903. Russell had taught a semester at Harvard University in 1896: 'I had stayed with William James at Harvard in 1896.' (Russell, p.326).

In 1896, Stein had taken philosophy courses at the Harvard Annex (re-named

Radcliffe College in 1894). She had enrolled in philosophy classes for both semesters of 1896: 1895-6 Philosophy 20a (grade A) and Philosophy 20b (a one-semester course grades A and C, either taking the course twice or receiving double credit); 1896-7 Philosophy 20a (grade A and A.) (Bridgman p.357). As a promising student of William James, Stein would probably have heard Russell lecture, if she was not invited to make direct contact.

During 1896, Stein was secretary to the Radcliffe Philosophy Club 'with the responsibility of securing guest-lecturers.' (Gallup note *F. of F.* p.6). There are two letters of 1896, one from Josiah Royce and one from George Santayana, agreeing to Stein's request that they present a lecture to the Club (*F. of F.* pp.6-7). However, there is no extant document to prove that Stein invited Russell to speak to the Club during his visit.

In September 1902, Gertrude and Leo Stein entered a circle of intellectuals which included Berenson and Russell. They shared a knowledge of William James' writing. In a letter of 19 September 1902, Leo Stein mentioned William James' *The Varieties of Religious Experience*: '[...] I was reading James's new book about religion [...].' (*Journey*, p.10). On 1 September 1902, Bertrand Russell wrote from Friday's Hill, to Lucy Martin Donnelly at Bryn Mawr College: 'We have all been reading with great pleasure James on Religious Experience [...].' (Russell, p.252). Leo Stein recorded his meeting with Russell in his letter dated 19 September 1902: 'I have also met Mrs. Berenson's sister and brother-in-law, a young mathematician of genius.' (*Journey*, p.11).

It is worth noting Bertrand Russell's influence on Stein's compositions. Within her narrative work, entitled *Fernhurst*, she incorporated several names associated with her acquaintance with Bertrand Russell in the summer and autumn of 1902. *Fernhurst* would be written in Paris during 1904-1905 (approximate dating by Donald Gallup in his 'Note on the Texts', *Fernhurst*). Stein's title, 'Fernhurst', is the name of the college which is the setting of the work. It is also the name of the village near which she, and Russell, lived in 1902. In the text, Stein included references to William James' book, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, which the Berenson circle was reading in September 1902. She adapted this title at the beginning of her own narrative work: '[...] all varieties of ecstatic experience. [...] the varieties of human experience [...].' (*Fernhurst* p.16 and p.19).

When *Fernhurst* was incorporated into the drafts of *The Making of Americans* (1906-11), Stein changed the name 'Fernhurst College' to 'Farnham College' (YCAL MOA 1st Draft Box 2, Vol 26). Farnham was Bertrand Russell's address in April 1903, a couple of months after Stein had left England (Russell, p.256. Letter dated 13 April 1903 to Lucy Martin Donnelly. It is addressed: Churt, Farnham).

Bertrand Russell was part of the network of acquaintances who were familiar with the story of the affair between Alfred Hodder and Mary Gwinn, two professors at Bryn Mawr College. This affair took place in 1895, approximately ten years before Stein based her story upon it. Alys and Bertrand Russell had experienced the scandal at first hand during their visit to Helen Carey Thomas in 1896. Dr. Martha Carey Thomas was the president of Bryn Mawr College, and she was Alys Russell's cousin (Feinberg, p.20). In the affair between Mr. Hodder and Miss Gwinn, Dr. Thomas was the third member of the triangle. Stein would re-name her Dean Helen Thornton in *Fernhurst*, and Dean Hannah Charles in *The Making of Americans*. (She could be the reference of the heading in *A Collection* (1916): 'My Dear Miss Carey: A Story' G&P p.23. In another paragraph segment in *A Collection* is the line: 'The cares and duties of a mother had been denied to Carrie Russell.' G&P p.25). Stein associated Bertrand Russell with her thoughts about Alfred Hodder and Mary Gwinn, as references in *Fernhurst* make clear. However,

Russell was probably not the source of the story. Leon Katz notes: 'Hodder's position within the Harvard-Stein-Hapgood group was, I think, well established before either Gertrude or Leo met Russell, and the disastrous romantic career of Hodder was a matter of general talk among the 'Harvard bunch' from well back in the Nineties.' (Katz, letter to the author).

In the summer and autumn of 1902, the group which had gathered in the area around Fernhurst may have talked of Hodder's affair. At this time, Stein could have taken notes which would later be incorporated into *Fernhurst*. In his autobiography, Bertrand Russell gave an account of the affair (Russell, p.195). He also mentioned Alfred Hodder in his letter dated 1 September 1902, sent from Friday's Hill to Lucy Martin Donnelly at Bryn Mawr College (Russell, p.251). When Stein met Russell in the summer of 1902, he was writing about the affair in his correspondence. For example, in another letter to Lucy Martin Donnelly, dated 6 July 1902, he wrote: '[...] in spite of Miss Gwinn and Mr. Hodder's grave man's world [...].' Russell, p.250). Stein's plot may have been prompted by gossip, when the English intellectuals discussed the American philosophers, William James and Alfred Hodder.

References to London, and to English politics, in *Fernhurst* fall into place if Stein had made notes during the winter of 1902-1903. These allusions seem out of place in a work which was written in Paris, and was based upon a scandal in America. Russell's support of English Free Trade began in 1902: 'Throughout this period my winters were largely occupied with political questions. When Joseph Chamberlain began to advocate Protection, I found myself to be a passionate Free Trader.' (Russell, p.230). His opinions seem to influence Stein's comments about Free Trade in the dislocated prefacing section:

Is it the Manchester school leading England to free-trade philanthropy and prosperity or Joseph Chamberlain leading them farther to protection selfishness and a great future.

(*Fernhurst* p.7)

Fernhurst may have been completed in Paris during 1904-1905, based upon notes made during the winter of 1902-1903. Stein believed that it would mark the beginning of her career as a writer. On 11 May 1904, Germania Oppenheimer wrote to Leo Stein: 'Gertrude tells me that she hopes to write "The epoch-making book now.' (No end quotation marks. YCAL Misc. Letters: 'unsigned fragments, undecipherable or with first or 'pet' names only'). On 3 February 1904, Gertrude Stein was thirty years old: '[...] it is not till we reach thirty that we find at last that vocation for which we feel ourselves fit and to which we willingly devote continued labor.' (*Fernhurst*, p.30). The story, of which Russell was aware in 1896 and in 1902, was brought before Stein in 1904. Perhaps the stimulus for *Fernhurst* was the visit to Gertrude and Leo Stein by Alfred Hodder and Mary Gwinn, in 1904. They had married on 2 June 1904 (Katz, letter to the author). Leon Katz records that Hodder went to 27 rue de Fleurus during his trip to Europe (Katz, Introduction to *Fernhurst*, p.xxix).

A link between Bertrand Russell, England and *Fernhurst* is relevant in the context of the voice-montage works considered in Chapter 2. It is possible that Stein made notes from the conversations she heard in the summer of 1902, and that she used them in a later composition. These preliminary notes do not survive. However, jottings of conversations in England during the summer of 1914 are held in YCAL, and they can be traced to texts of the Parisian winter 1914-15. Similar fragments appear in many YCAL manuscript boxes, especially in the Miscellaneous Boxes A-G. They range from lists made of books she was reading in the British Museum Library, during the winter of 1902-1903, to notes of her impressions of her first flight, from New York to Chicago on 7 November 1934. The difference in the 1914 notes from others extant in YCAL,

is their notation of conversation fragments which are transferred *verbatim* into the final draft.

Stein's long relationship with Bertrand Russell explains her tone of superiority in *The A of A B. T*, when she recounts their conversations during the summer of 1914. Arguments, which she states took place in 1914, had also taken place in 1902. Leo Stein's letter of 19 September 1902 records a meeting with John Mackinnon Robertson. He was an English journalist and a Shakespeare scholar: '[...] at B.B's, we had a long and violent argument about genius and social conditions.' (*Journey*, p.11). Russell also mentions the gathering when Robertson was present (Russell, p.252). Leo Stein describes Stein's role in these debates, similar to the one she says she assumed against Russell in 1914: 'Gertrude was the other day trying to hold up the American end of a general discussion against Russell, Berenson and a young journalist, Dill. [...] We have Am. vs. Eng. disputes all the time.' (*Journey*, p.13. Letter dated 19 September 1902).

Stein later explained that she used arguments to deflect attention from a conflict between Russell's pacifist ideals and the Whitehead family's support for the war: 'He [Russell] came and Gertrude Stein, to divert everybody's mind from the burning question of war or peace, introduced the subject of education.' (*The A of A B. T*, p.186). Stein noted her triumph in this debate, whereas Leo Stein's letter says that she was 'trying' to win the arguments in 1902. Yet, she does not record that she already knew Russell. Her stand against Russell was based upon her own beliefs, and it was an expression of loyalty to her hosts. An undated letter, probably October or November 1914 by the 17 Carlyle Square address, from Evelyn Whitehead, acknowledges this support: 'We are missing you so, you came to us at our most self-centred time & were angels of understanding & toleration [...].' (YCAL Whitehead correspondence).

Stein expressed her antipathy towards Russell by using a diminutive of his name in a text of the Parisian winter 1914-15:

What is your name.

As if he felt himself to be one.

I listened to Bertie.

(*Not Sightly. A Play* G&P p.293)

Stein also made a negative statement about Bertrand Russell in *All Sunday*, a Mallorcan composition. The following line appears in the manuscript notebook: 'Bertrand Russell is foolish.' (YCAL HG 151). In the Bound Typescript Volume 14, the name is changed to 'Richard Russell'. There is no indication why, or when, the revision was made. Richard Russell is the name used in the posthumous publication (A&B p.116). A long antipathy to Bertrand Russell may have been a cause for her harsh statements about him in the texts dated 1914-16.

This erased name is the most precise indication that Stein referred to Bertrand Russell when she used the name 'Russell' in her previous notes. In her early notebooks for *The Making Of Americans* this name is used as part of her scheme of character traits: 'Russell is connected with Simon H. and all those but in his case there is actually attacking [...] Russell is certainly attacking.' (YCAL MOA notebooks. Blue notebook H). She recorded an aspect of his character: 'Russell, Leo said it was like a billiard ball set going reaction prompt and personal but still a reaction.' (YCAL MOA notebooks. Red notebook G). An initial, 'L', possibly an abbreviation for Leo Stein, implies that the name 'Russell', which appears infrequently in the notebooks, refers to the philosopher Bertrand Russell: 'This is really why he [L.] is no philosopher is on account of the paucity of his experiencing philosophically. Russell has proved that he is interested in the emotion of power not in power itself or the creation of power.' (YCAL MOA notebook M). This extract is not likely to refer to the painter, Morgan Russell, who was

in Paris at the time that Stein was making her notes (1906-11).

Stein's 1908-12 portrait entitled *Russell* does not indicate whether she refers to the philosopher, or to the painter (*Two*, p.336). Also, the manuscript does not identify the subject (YCAL HG 17). Morgan Russell was known to Stein when she was composing her portraits: 'Morgan Russell was a practising sculptor when he first met Gertrude and Leo, around 1908. [...] Russell was one of Nina's three tempestuous suitors when her affair with Leo had just begun.' (Mellow, p.183). He is referred to by his initials in Leo Stein's early dated letters to Nina Auzias. For example, a letter dated 20 May 1910: 'I am happy that things are going well, that you are calm, that the ardor of M.R. abates [...].' (*Journey*, p.31).

Despite a confusion between two men with the same surname, it is probable that Stein made notes referring to Bertrand Russell prior to her visit to England in 1914.

STEIN'S VISIT TO LONDON DURING THE WINTER OF 1902-1903

At the end of September 1902, or in early October 1902, Gertrude and Leo Stein moved to 20 Bloomsbury Square, London. They anticipated a long stay: '[...] we have taken rooms for five or six months.' (*Journey* p.10). Leo Stein left for Paris on 24 December 1902. Gertrude Stein kept the rooms for the five months, leaving for New York in February 1903 (Bridgman, pp.360-61). The date of her departure may have been influenced by the termination of a five-month lease.

Unless it has been re-numbered since 1902-1903, the house at 20 Bloomsbury Square is no longer standing. A row of terraced houses ends at Number 21, with a gap where Number 20 would have followed. It was a convenient position, centrally located in a quiet area of London. The British Museum is a five-minute walk from Bloomsbury Square.

Stein spent her days reading in the British Museum Library. In small notebooks, she recorded the titles of books she had read, or intended to read. Also, she copied quotations from some of them. Readers' application slips, for books held in the British Museum Library, were destroyed around the turn of the century. Therefore, it is not possible to gain full details of the books she requested. This stay was not a happy one. She had been left alone on Christmas Eve, she spent two months in the city without close companionship and she was experiencing the pain of her relationship with May Bookstaver. Memories of a troubled earlier visit may have contributed to her decision to stay away from Bloomsbury in subsequent visits. If this area reminded her of a time when she loved May Bookstaver, her residence in Knightsbridge during the 1913 visit may have represented a fresh start. A new part of London would mark a break with the past when she returned with Alice Toklas.

It was probably during the visit to England in 1902-1903 that Stein met Emily Dawson. They would meet in London in 1914, and they were correspondents during the years 1914-16. Emily Dawson was the cousin of Alys Russell, Mary Berenson and Logan Pearsall Smith (Toklas, p.49). Leon Katz states that Stein was introduced to Emily Dawson in 1902 through the Berenson circle (Katz dissertation, p.98). In her early letters, Emily Dawson expressed a passionate feeling for Gertrude Stein. The first extant letter from Emily Dawson is dated 11 December 1905. Stein paired her own name with that of Emily Dawson in her early notes: 'Emily Dawson & me' (YCAL MOA NB Folder III #23). Thus, a regular correspondence in 1914-16 was the result of a long acquaintance.

STEIN'S SECOND VISIT TO ENGLAND IN 1913

Stein's second visit to London is important for two main reasons. First, it was the failure to secure a re-distribution of *Three Lives* which made necessary a third visit in 1914. Secondly, in 1913, she made acquaintances which would be renewed a year later.

Gertrude Stein and Alice Toklas arrived in London between 14-21 January 1913. They returned to Paris about 9 February 1913. Alice Toklas stated that they spent their first weekend with Colonel and Mrs. Rogers at Riverhill, Surrey (Toklas, p.79). On their return to London, they stayed at the Knightsbridge Hotel, Knightsbridge. They would also choose to begin their 1914 visit at this hotel.

This trip was timed to exploit Stein's influence as an art collector. Stein may have pressed the English publishers to take on new compositions, as well as the re-distribution of *Three Lives*. The exact texts she was promoting are not noted in the correspondence of 1913. Toklas made a revealing statement about the preparation for this visit:

We had been advised by Mira Edgerly to go to London and see the publishers about the publication of Gertrude's work. She had said to write in advance, giving some account of Gertrude's position in the art world, which I did not think had anything to do with the publication of her work. (Toklas, p.79)

'Gertrude's position in the art world' had been boosted in England during the winter of 1912-13 by her loan of two Picasso paintings to Roger Fry.

GERTRUDE STEIN AND THE SECOND POST-IMPRESSIONIST EXHIBITION

Several months before her visit to England in 1913, Stein had sent two 'Nature Morte' paintings by Picasso to Roger Fry. These pictures had formed part of Roger Fry's Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition, which was held at the Grafton Galleries during the winter of 1912-13.

The Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition was advertised to open on 5 October 1912, and to close on 31 December 1912. However, it was extended into January 1913 in a slightly different format (Spalding, pp.157-63). Roger Fry was responsible for the collection of French art, and Clive Bell organized the English art to be exhibited (Spalding, pp.156-58). There were sixteen paintings by Picasso on display (Cambridge, King's College Library, Roger Fry Papers, ref: III/1.8). Since the exhibition was still open on 8 February 1913, Stein could have viewed her donations. In a letter dated 23 January 1913, Emily Dawson, who knew Roger Fry, suggested that she meet Stein at the Grafton Galleries.

Evidence of this loan is found in a letter sent to Leo Stein from Robert Dell, dated 28 September 1912. Dell inquires about the cost of insuring two 'Nature Morte' pictures, by Picasso, which were planned to be exhibited in the Grafton Galleries (YCAL Misc. letters Da-Dz). This is the only reference to the loan in Stein's correspondence. Robert Dell's letter is addressed to Leo Stein. Acting on behalf of Roger Fry, he may have followed up an early contact between the two men. In a letter dated 19 September 1902, Leo Stein mentioned Roger Fry's name in the context of a quotation from Bernard Berenson. However, Fry had also met Gertrude Stein before the Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition. In 1909, Mildred Aldrich had introduced Gertrude Stein to Roger Fry and Henry McBride, at a restaurant on the boulevard Montparnasse (Toklas, p.62).

Further evidence for the loan is found by matching Robert Dell's letter with the

catalogue of the Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition. A xerox copy of this catalogue is held in the Roger Fry Papers, at the King's College Library, Cambridge. It lists the pictures by Picasso which were exhibited: Number 60 'Nature Morte'; Number 63 'Nature Morte' (ref: III/1.8). In the catalogue, there are no photographs of the pictures on display. The lender of paintings Number 60 and Number 63 is listed as Leo Stein.

It is interesting to speculate which two pictures were sent to London. They could have been the pair with 'still life' in their titles, which aligns them with the 'Nature Morte' description: *Still Life with Glasses and Fruit* (1908) and *Still Life with Fruit and Glass* (1908) (Plates 44 & 45, details on p.169, *Four Americans in Paris*). These two pictures appear in a photograph of the atelier dated about 1913. This photograph is the nearest to the Second Post-Impressionist exhibition (*Four Americans in Paris*, p.93).

When Toklas mentioned Stein's 'position in the art world', she may have referred to Gertrude Stein's advocacy of Picasso's painting. By 1912, her taste in art had diverged from that of her brother. In the division of paintings which took place in 1914, Leo Stein acknowledged that he did not care for Picasso's recent work. At the same time, Gertrude Stein's interest in it had increased:

[...] I am glad that Pablo is sufficiently indifferent to me that I am willing to let you have all you want of it. I should not have taken the Spanish landscape in the first place if I had not supposed that your interest in the later things had rendered it of minor importance.

(*F. of F.* p.91 Gallup's date January 1914. Letter from Leo to Gertrude Stein)

These two pictures may have belonged to Gertrude Stein, and the business-letter was addressed to Leo Stein as the male head of the household.

During her visit to London in 1913, Stein wanted to maximize her connection with the Picasso pictures. An undated draft letter, in Alice Toklas' handwriting, seems to be the one she refers to in her memoir:

Miss G. Stein - who - as you may or may not know - has been so intimately connected with the ^so called^ post impressionist movement [and from whose collection so many of the important canvases that have been shown in London have come from her collection] & is coming to London for the ^purpose of ^ placing her works with a publisher most suited for such expression.

(YCAL Misc. Box F. Words in square brackets are lined through)

However, this approach to the publishers was unsuccessful.

STEIN'S ATTEMPTS TO SECURE RE-DISTRIBUTION OF *THREE LIVES* IN 1913

On 31 January 1913, John Lane informed Stein that he would not publish *Three Lives* (YCAL Lane correspondence). She received this letter during her stay in London. Showing resilience, she immediately arranged a meeting with Grant Richards. A letter dated 1 February 1913, sent from the Knightsbridge Hotel, shows that Stein was approaching other publishers on the day after John Lane's rejection. This letter requests a meeting, and it reveals that Stein had attempted to find Grant Richards at his office. In a second letter to Richards, she expressed regret that the meeting had not taken place: 'I am awfully sorry to have missed seeing you in London. I am leaving for Paris in a few days and I am wondering if you will be there. If so will you let me know. My address is 27 rue de Fleurus.' (YCAL Richards correspondence). Although this letter is dated by the YCAL curator to July 1914, it is more likely to date from February 1913. There is no record whether Grant Richards responded to Stein's invitation. It was during 1913 that he signed a contract with James Joyce to publish *Dubliners*, but he

withdrew when he was not given permission to censor the text (Carpenter, p.225).

Stein's visit to London in 1914 is placed in context by considering her efforts, between February 1913 and March 1914, to secure the re-distribution of the First American Edition of *Three Lives*. Whilst Stein was in Spain during the summer of 1913, she corresponded with Duckworth Ltd. about *Three Lives*. However, she declined to pay the sum of £50 they required towards the cost of re-distribution (YCAL Fry correspondence).

Stein's resistance was probably due to the fact that she had already paid \$660 for the First American Edition of *Three Lives*. This sum is documented in the contract with the Grafton Press for their printing of 1000 copies. Half of these copies were unbound, which meant 500 bound books for immediate sale. This contract had been signed in America by Mary [Bookstaver] Knoblauch, on Gertrude Stein's behalf, on 12 November 1908. Added to the sum of \$660 was a bill for \$105.38, dated 12 July 1909, for corrections to the typeset (140 ½ hours at a rate of 75¢). (YCAL Grafton Press correspondence. 7.12.1909. Date deduced from the American method of placing the month first).

This decision would seem to have been a matter of pride - not paying for the same book twice. A sum of £50, required by Duckworth Ltd., was small compared with the total of \$2500 which Stein paid the Four Seas Company for the publication of *Geography and Plays* (1922). Letters were sent to Duckworth Ltd., and to Alvin Langdon Coburn, between 1 May 1913 in Paris and 28/29 August 1913 in Granada, Spain. The matter of re-distributing *Three Lives* lapsed after this period of correspondence.

Between January 1913 and April 1913, Roger Fry had attempted to encourage John Lane to sign *Three Lives* to his lists. In March 1914, Fry renewed his efforts. On 31 March 1914, John Lane wrote to Stein that he would negotiate terms during Stein's proposed visit to London that spring (YCAL Lane correspondence). It is unclear whether Stein had planned her visit to London before receiving this letter. The visit in 1914 may have been a response to his recent change in attitude towards her book.

John Lane may have seen Stein in Paris shortly before her departure for London in July 1914. In her memoirs, Alice Toklas wrote of the 1914 visit: 'This time we came to see John Lane, who in the meantime had come to see Gertrude in Paris.' (Toklas, p.82). If they had met, it would have been the weekend before Stein and Toklas left Paris: Saturday 4 July 1914 and Sunday 5 July 1914. This was the same weekend that they met Carl Van Vechten. A letter from John Lane was sent from London on Wednesday 1 July 1914. It stated that he would arrive in Paris on Friday 3 July 1914, and that he would depart on Monday 6 July 1914. Stein, Toklas and Lane would have left Paris, bound for London, on the same day. (YCAL Lane correspondence). There are no letters confirming that this meeting did take place.

STEIN'S SOCIAL ENGAGEMENTS DURING HER VISIT TO LONDON IN 1913

Stein's visit to London in 1913 was intended primarily to conduct business. Yet, she also had a busy social schedule. Acquaintances were made at this time which would be renewed in the summer of 1914.

A party was held by Ethel Sands at which Stein, Toklas, Lytton Strachey and George Moore were present. A fragment of a letter survives from Ethel Sands, addressed 42 Lowndes Street SW and dated 3 February 1913. It indicates that her contact with Stein was made through Logan Pearsall Smith: 'Mr. Pearsall Smith writes

[?word ?word] you are staying here for another week.' (YCAL Misc. letters Sa-Sz). In a letter dated 13 February 1913, Lytton Strachey described this gathering:

I found George Moore [...] Miss [Gertrude] Stein and others. I spent most of the time talking to a Spanish-Jew-American lady - a friend of Miss Stein [...] and I gleaned a certain amount of information about Picasso, which interested me; but I wanted to listen to George Moore, and couldn't manage it, which was vexing [...].

(Holroyd, p.76)

Lytton Strachey would be a neighbour of Stein's during her visit to Alfred North Whitehead at Lockeridge in 1914. It is interesting to note that she was already acquainted with Strachey. During July 1913, Strachey was working on *Eminent Victorians* at his cottage, 'The Locket', near Marlborough (Holroyd, p.93).

Stein was meeting a group of men who were members of the Cambridge Apostles. It is a relevant point because this group was influential in the emergence of Bloomsbury as a literary circle. By 1913, Stein knew three members of the Apostles: Roger Fry (elected in 1887); George Moore (elected in 1894); and Lytton Strachey (elected in 1902). (Levy, p.99, p.107, p.226). In 1914, she would meet Alfred North Whitehead (elected in 1884). Later, in 1926, she would have contact with Leonard Woolf (elected in 1902). (Levy, p.94, p.236).

During the visit to London in 1913, Stein renewed her acquaintance with Logan Pearsall Smith. She had given him a copy of *Portrait of Mabel Dodge at the Villa Curonia*. In a letter to Mabel Dodge, dated January 1913 and addressed from the Knightsbridge Hotel, Stein conveyed his enthusiastic response:

But the most unexpected person is Logan Pearsall Smith [Berenson's brother-in-law]. He went quite off his head about your portrait and is reading it to everybody. Never goes anywhere without it and wants to do an article on it for the English Review.

(Hobhouse, pp.98-99)

Stein may have given Logan Pearsall Smith one of the finely bound copies of her portrait, of which Mabel Dodge had printed 300 copies in October 1912 (Wilson, p.7). However, the article does not seem to have been published. Ray Lewis White does not list an article by Roger Fry in the English Review for the years 1913-14 (White, pp.4-9).

Stein visited the opera whilst she was in London. In another letter to Mabel Dodge, dated February or March 1913, she wrote:

Did I tell you that I heard Elektra in London. I enjoyed it completely. It made a deeper impression on me than anything since Tristan in my youth. He has done what Wagner tried to do and couldn't, he has made real conversation and he does it by intervals and relations directly without machinery. After all we are all modern.

This statement provides an insight into the voice-montage, which would emerge the following year. It may have been Stein's powerful reaction to the 'real conversation' in *Elektra* which encouraged her to experiment with presenting fragments of speech. The Mallorcan plays represent her efforts to reproduce Richard Strauss' use of words: 'by intervals and relations directly without machinery.' Stein may have attended another opera by Richard Strauss because the first performance of *Der Rosenkavalier* was held in January 1913 (Holroyd, p.77).

STEIN'S THIRD VISIT TO ENGLAND IN 1914

Stein had planned to visit England in the spring of 1914. For various reasons, her departure was postponed until the summer. During this period, there were disruptions to the household at 27 rue de Fleurus, both emotional and physical.

At the time of Stein's return from London in February 1913, Leo Stein wrote to Mabel Weeks about the 'disaggregation' between himself and Gertrude Stein (*Journey* p.52. Letter dated 7 February 1913). It became evident that either the brother, or the sister, would need to leave 27 rue de Fleurus. Until Leo Stein left for Settignano, Italy, in April 1914, it seemed that Gertrude Stein and Alice Toklas would be the ones to move.

Throughout late 1913 and early 1914, the two women negotiated the rental of an apartment at Le Palais-Royal. It was a prestigious address. Although it had no separate atelier, this was compensated by its small balconies which overlooked the gardens of Le Palais-Royal. The apartment was on the third storey (Stein's letter to Henry McBride dated 29 December 1913). A plan of the apartment, sent by the proprietor M. Paul Conard, shows three bedrooms and a large salon, with the building backing onto the rue de Montpensier (YCAL Misc. letters Ca-Cz). They proposed alterations to create a bathroom next to the kitchen. Their move was scheduled for July 1914.

In April 1914, Leo Stein was preparing to leave Paris. A letter from a shipping agency, dated 8 April 1914, records that Leo Stein's household goods had been transported to Settignano, near Florence (Mellow, p.209). After his departure, it was less urgent for Stein and Toklas to move to Le Palais-Royal. In May 1914, they chose to refurbish 27 rue de Fleurus. As late as 4 May 1914, Mabel Weeks was referring to the 'new house'. During May 1914, Stein wrote to Mabel Dodge: 'We have changed our minds about moving [...].' (Mellow, p.206). On 15 June 1914, Mildred Aldrich sent a letter expressing sympathy that the building work 'drags'. Her letter indicates that renovation was begun in May 1914, since it seems that the inconvenience had gone on for some time.

Stein's short visit to Brittany, before 7 May 1914, may have been a temporary escape from the building work. Evidence that this trip took place is extracted from Stein's letter to Henry McBride: 'We have just been in Brittany.' (YCAL McBride correspondence. Letter dated 7 May 1914). John Lane had expected Stein to visit London in the spring of that year. Their departure in July 1914 implies that, until this month, they were involved with disturbances in their domestic arrangements.

Refurbishment of 27 rue de Fleurus was extensive. Stein later catalogued the alterations:

We planned that we would have a little passage-way made between the studio and the little house and as that entailed cutting a door and plastering we decided that we would paint the atelier and repaper the house and put in electricity.

(*The A of A B. T* p.172)

Edward Burns confirms that this was a major operation. He has compared photographs of the atelier taken about 1913 with those taken in the winter 1914-15. That is, before and after the visit to England in 1914. He has concluded that two first-floor rooms were converted into one large room, a fireplace was installed to replace the small coal stove in the atelier, and a central hanging light in the atelier was removed.

A letter from Mildred Aldrich indicates that the building work should have been completed in the month between Stein's and Toklas' departure, on 6 July 1914, and their anticipated return, at the end of July, or early August. On 28 July 1914, she expressed

a hope that Stein and Toklas would find a 'renovated "27"' on their imminent return.

GERTRUDE STEIN AND ENGLISH LITERARY GROUPS

There were two practical reasons for Stein to visit England in the summer of 1914. She wanted to negotiate with John Lane about *Three Lives*, and it was convenient to avoid building work at 27 rue de Fleurus. However, she declined the opportunity to align herself with two artistic movements: the Omega Workshops and the Bloomsbury group.

During her visit to London in 1913, Stein had met prominent members of both groups: Roger Fry, Duncan Grant and Clive Bell. They had visited 27 rue de Fleurus during 1913, and in the spring of 1914, to look at her collection of pictures. They had expressed an interest in Stein's compositions, and in her 'theories of literature' (YCAL Letter from Roger Fry to Stein, dated 4 February 1913). Roger Fry had recommended Stein's work to several English publishers. In 1913, it had been proposed that Fry would write the introduction to *Three Lives*, which Duckworth Ltd. considered necessary if they were to re-distribute the unsold copies.

Perhaps Stein feared that she could be drawn into an allegiance which would restrict her creativity. She reluctantly acknowledged the 'guarantee' of publicity which Roger Fry's name would bring to her book. She expressed her doubts about this introduction in a letter to Alvin Langdon Coburn, dated 8 August 1913. During the 1914 visit, she chose to distance herself from Roger Fry. John Lane re-distributed *Three Lives* without an introduction by Fry. A re-issue of 300 copies of *Three Lives* was brought out in 1915: '[...] the edition consisted of bound copies of the American edition with a cancel title page [...].' (Wilson, p.3).

There is no extant correspondence from Roger Fry arranging to meet Stein in 1914, as there is during the visit to England in 1913. A letter from Harry Phelan Gibb implies that no contact was made: 'I saw Sir Roger. he seemed angry not to have seen you / I rather fancied sort of blamed me some how. he doesn't want to lose you.' (YCAL Gibb correspondence. 21 December 1914). In another letter, dated 1914, Gibb hints at the possessive aspect of belonging to a named artistic movement. He expresses his dilemma whether to exhibit a dozen drawings in the Omega Workshops: 'I am really for financial reasons afraid of the 'label' that is also to be considered a protege of Fry.' (YCAL Gibb correspondence).

In 1914, Stein chose to distance herself from Clive and Vanessa Bell. They offered to secure Desmond MacCarthy's house for the duration of Stein's visit in 1914. However, she preferred the independence of staying at the Knightsbridge Hotel. This hotel was geographically distant from members of the literary group in Bloomsbury, and from the place with memories of her unhappy stay in 1902-1903. Vanessa Bell sent a letter to Stein, during the ten-day visit to Cambridge, re-emphasizing that MacCarthy's house would be available on Stein's return to London. Again, Stein declined the offer.

STEIN'S VISIT TO THE MIRRLEES FAMILY IN CAMBRIDGE

After her arrival in England on 6 July 1914, Stein spent four days in London. On 10 July 1914, she travelled to 11 Cranmer Road, Cambridge to stay with Hope Mirrlees and her family. It was a successful visit.

Her hosts were the parents of Helen Hope Mirrlees. Stein and Toklas had not met

William and Lina Mirrlees, but they had met their daughter in Paris. During the spring of 1914, Karin Costelloe had introduced Hope Mirrlees (the name by which she was known) to Stein and Toklas (*The A of A B. T* p.172). Karin Costelloe was the step-daughter of Bernard Berenson: 'Ten years before [1892], Alys's sister, Mary, had left her husband, Frank Costelloe, and two daughters to run away with Berenson.' (V. Lowe, Vol I, p.249). Stein had known Karin Costelloe for many years: 'As a young girl in Florence, she knew Gertrude, who spent summers in Fiesole, not far from Berenson's home in Settignano. Karin, who lived with her grandmother in England, would visit her mother in Settignano during the summer.' (Katz, letter to the author). By July 1914, Stein had a long acquaintance with Karin Costelloe, but only a recent friendship with Hope Mirrlees. A letter from Karin Costelloe thanks Stein for tickets, which she had given to herself and Hope Mirrlees, for the Indépendants exposition in Paris. (YCAL Misc. letters Ca-Cz).

During July 1914, Hope Mirrlees stayed with her parents at 11 Cranmer Road, Cambridge, so Stein and Toklas knew one member of the Mirrlees' household. Letters sent from Mrs. E.L. Mirrlees, introducing herself, suggest a hospitable family which had acquaintances among the university professors. This visit was so successful that Mrs. Mirrlees pressed them, in a letter dated 27 September 1914, to return 'for a long visit' until safe passage could be guaranteed to Paris.

In *The A of A B. T*, Stein recorded that she and Toklas stayed with the Mirrlees family for ten days (p.178). This is probably correct. Her visit was first scheduled to begin on Monday 6 July 1914. Mrs. Mirrlees feared that few of her acquaintances would be in Cambridge at that time, so Stein would not have the opportunity to meet a wide range of people. In a letter dated 26 June 1914, she proposed a delay until Friday 10 July 1914. Since Stein and Toklas left Paris on 6 July 1914, it is likely that they agreed to the alternative date. They returned to London on Monday 20 July 1914. This date is established by a letter sent on 19 July 1914 from Emily Dawson in London: 'Hurrah for your return tomorrow.' (YCAL Dawson correspondence). 10 - 20 July 1914 would make the ten days an accurate statement.

They returned to London in order to dine with Evelyn and Alfred North Whitehead at their London home (17 Carlyle Square, Chelsea), at 8pm on Monday 20 July 1914. This fact is deduced from a page of the Mirrlees' addressed notepaper, it is headed 11 Cranmer Road, Cambridge. In Stein's handwriting, there is a note of the Whiteheads' London address, and there is an appointment: 'at eight on Monday'. Considering the Mondays in July, the most likely date is Monday 20 July 1914.

The Mirrlees family were friends of the Whiteheads. They had bought the lease of 11 Cranmer Road from the Whiteheads, who had lived there from 1907-10. In 1910, Dr. and Mrs. Whitehead had left 11 Cranmer Road to live at 17 Carlyle Square, London (V. Lowe, Vol II, p.29).

Little is known about Mr. and Mrs. Mirrlees, and their relationship with Gertrude Stein is not extensively documented. There are no extant letters from Mrs. Mirrlees after the visit in 1914. There is only one letter from Hope Mirrlees which, by its friendly tone, dates it after this visit. It would seem to have been a warm, but transient, friendship. Victor Lowe describes Hope's father, William Julius Mirrlees: 'He was a Scot with an inventive turn of mind, interested in almost everything. He had done well in South Africa, and wanted to live in Cambridge because his daughter Hope (later a distinguished scholar) was at Newnham.' (V. Lowe, Vol II, p.29). This is the reference to Scotland which Stein includes in her later account of her stay with the Mirrlees family: 'The food was excellent, scotch food, delicious and fresh [...].' (*The A of A B. T* p.178). In the *Newnham College Register 1871-1971*, his profession is listed as:

'engineer, later businessman in Natal.' (p.224). Mrs. Mirrlees signed her letters to Stein with her initials: E.L. Her name was Emily Lina [Montcrieff] Mirrlees (*Newnham College Register*, p.224). She was affectionately called 'Maffy' (Stewart, p.147).

Mr. and Mrs. Mirrlees were an active couple in the social, and political, life of Cambridge. A week after Stein's departure for London, the *Cambridge Chronicle* newspaper for 17 July 1914, p.6, records that Mrs. W.J. Mirrlees attended the Cambridge and County Branch of Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association meeting. A vote of thanks was given to Lady Betty Balfour by Mr. Mirrlees. Of their social engagements, Victor Lowe notes: 'The Mirrleeses frequently entertained the intellectual aristocracy of Cambridge.' (V. Lowe, Vol II, p.29). A dinner to which A.E. Housman was invited (*The A of A B. T* p.178) would not have been an unusual occasion.

More information is available about Hope Mirrlees than about her parents. She was born on 8 April 1887, and she died on 1 August 1978 (*Newnham College Register*, p.224). Although she had studied at Newnham College from 1910-13, her entry in the *Newnham College Register* records: 'No Tripos' (p.224). At some point in 1913, she moved to the Hotel de l' Elysée, 3 rue de Beaune, Paris. Her friend, Karin Costelloe, sent letters headed with the same address. Her first letter to Stein, undated but formal (therefore before the 1914 visit to her parents' home), arranges a meeting with Stein at 27 rue de Fleurus. A second letter, also undated and formal, requests that she might visit with Jane Harrison. She seeks advice on a trustworthy dealer to sell a Degas picture in Miss Harrison's possession. This painting may have been a 'group of Degas ballerinas bought for her by D.S. MacColl' (Stewart, p.123).

An impression of Hope Mirrlees is given by Professor Elsie Butler. She recalled a period in 1915 when Hope Mirrlees was learning Russian with Jane Harrison at Newnham College:

In Hope would dart like a humming-bird, towards the end of a lesson, her sapphire eyes flashing, her pendant earrings swinging; a soft torrent of musical sounds issuing from her lips. This brilliant contemporary of mine - a cross between a pixy and a genius - was closer to Jane at that period than anyone else.
(Stewart, p.174)

In her biography of Jane Harrison, Sandra Peacock is less positive: '[...] Hope shared with Jane a problematic relationship with her mother, which worsened after her father's death in 1924. [...] Hope, self-conscious and abrasive [...].' (Peacock, p.109 and p.115). Hope Mirrlees had a deep and lasting friendship with Jane Harrison. After 1928, she was the literary executor of Jane Harrison's papers.

In 1919, Hope Mirrlees published *Paris, a poem*, with the Hogarth Press (Cambridge Univ. Library, SYN.7.91.27). Her distinction as a scholar, to which Victor Lowe refers, comes from her work with Jane Harrison in later publications. They studied Russian together at the École des Langues Orientales in Paris in 1916, and from 1922-25 (Stewart, p.163). Hope Mirrlees published translations from the Russian, in collaboration with Jane Harrison. Two of their joint ventures were: *Avvakum: The Life of the Archpriest* ('Translated from 17th Century Russian by Jane Ellen Harrison & Hope Mirrlees'. London: 1924); *The Book of the Bear* ('Being 21 tales newly translated from the Russian by J. Harrison & H. Mirrlees'. London: 1926).

Jane Harrison and Hope Mirrlees returned to Paris in October 1914, shortly before Stein and Toklas. In a letter dated 13 October 1914, addressed from the Hotel de L'Elysée, Jane Harrison stated: 'We are going to the Embassy to see if we can get permits for the front to see Hope Mirrlees' brother [...].' (Stewart, p.156).

Stein's visit to Newnham College in July 1914 to meet Jane Harrison is not then

surprising. It was Hope Mirrlees' college at her *alma mater*, and Jane Harrison was a close friend of the Mirrlees family.

It is interesting to note that Jane Harrison and Gertrude Stein had mutual acquaintances. In March 1903, Jane Harrison had stayed with Bernard Berenson at 'I Tatti', Settignano (Stewart, p.28 and p.102). Stein and Jane Harrison belonged to the same intellectual circle. They had both lived close to Bernard Berenson in 1902-1903: Gertrude Stein in England and Jane Harrison in Italy. Jane Harrison remained in contact with the Berensons, she wrote on 11 July 1913: 'Mrs Berenson (not that I take all my views from Mrs BB) was saying yesterday [...].' (Cambridge, Newnham College Library, Jane Ellen Harrison Papers, Box 4. Letter No. 637-1). Also, Jane Harrison was friends with Bertrand and Alys Russell, and with Logan Pearsall Smith. During April 1912, she had visited Greece with Logan Pearsall Smith: 'Long after, I visited Mount Athos [...] Mr. Logan Pearsall Smith, I remember, proudly led the way.' (Harrison, p.69). In September 1912, she had stayed at Ford Place, Arundel with Alys Russell (Stewart, p.135). She was a frequent visitor, and she had sent a letter from there on 2 July 1913: 'Alys angelically is keeping me till the 9th in this haven of rest.' (J.E.H Papers. Box 4. Letter No. 633-2). Jane Harrison was an acquaintance of Roger Fry: '[...] Roger Fry he knew me well in old days.' (ND. J.E.H. Papers. Box 9). She had contact with Lytton Strachey, whom she had introduced to Ottoline Morrell at a tea-party given at Newnham College (Holroyd, p.8).

In addition, Stein and Jane Harrison shared the acquaintance of Karin Costelloe. Before Stein's visit to England in 1914, Jane Harrison had stayed with Karin Costelloe. She dated a letter 'Easter Eve 1914': 'I am staying the night 22nd with Karin Costelloe.' (J.E.H. Papers. Box 4. Letter No. 672). This friendship arose, in part, from her contact with the Berenson circle. It also arose from connections at Newnham College. Karin Elizabeth Conn Costelloe (10 March 1889 - December 1953) had studied at Newnham College from 1907-11. She was a Mary Bateson Research Fellow during 1914-15, and she was an Associate Fellow of the college from 1913-28. On 21 October 1914, she married Adrian Leslie Stephen (*Newnham College Register*, pp.35-36). Karin Costelloe, as much as Hope Mirrlees, formed a link in the social network between Jane Harrison and Gertrude Stein.

It is uncertain whether Stein and Toklas travelled far during their residence in Cambridge. They may have visited the nearby cathedral city of Ely. This is indicated in a line from *Possessive Case*, which I have proposed was compiled during the Parisian winter 1914-15 from notes made of conversations in England: 'Please drive slowly through Ely.' (AFAM p.148).

Stein and Toklas probably stayed at 11 Cranmer Road, Cambridge. The house is situated five minutes walk from Newnham College, in a cul-de-sac of nineteen houses. Houses in Cranmer Road are Victorian residences, built between 1885-95 (Mrs. P. Gardner-Smith, letter to the author). Number 11 forms one half of a building consisting of two houses. In effect, it is semi-detached, with only two houses forming the unit. It is a large house, and it has three storeys. Many chimney stacks indicate that there would have been fire-places in most rooms. There are large windows with shutters, and it is partly separated from the road by a high wall. A large garden at the back of the house has mature trees, which would have been there in 1914.

There are extensive references to gardens in the texts which transfer preliminary notes, made during the summer of 1914, into the final draft (See Chapter 2). In her retrospective description of 11 Cranmer Road, Stein emphasized the importance of English gardens: 'It was a most comfortable house to visit. Gertrude Stein liked it, she could stay in her room or in the garden as much as she liked without hearing too much

conversation. [...] We were taken into all the gardens and invited into many of the homes.' (*The A of A B. T* p.178).

It is unlikely that these gardens belonged to the home which the Mirrlees family later owned. An undated letter from Hope Mirrlees raises the question whether Stein and Toklas actually stayed at Mount Blow in Great Shelford, which is a village south-east of Cambridge. The problem centres upon a reference to a different house: '[...] so I hope it will soon all be over, we settled in this house, & you both staying with us.' (YCAL Mirrlees correspondence). It seems that Hope Mirrlees refers to a proposed second visit, and that the letter was composed after the stay at 11 Cranmer Road in 1914. The tone of the letter is affectionate: 'My dear Alice [...] Much love to you both'. This informality implies a close acquaintance. Hope Mirrlees' style contrasts with her earlier, more stiff, letters from Paris arranging short meetings. Mount Blow had gardens, which would have provided material for Stein's texts: '[...] miles & miles of windy, sunny country - all fields, no woods, so the larks are legion. It is really very beautiful & desolate. The garden is all to make, & my parents are very busy rolling round the domain & making plans.' Since Stein noted that the house in which she stayed was 'comfortable', this discounts Mount Blow as Stein's residence during 1914. Hope Mirrlees, writing on 11 Cranmer Road headed notepaper, says that the family is 'camping out there just now for a week, just for a treat before its turned into a Hospital, for which purpose we have lent it for the duration of the War.' On 5 September 1919, Jessie Whitehead headed a letter to Stein and Toklas: '% Mrs Mirrlees/ Mount Blow/ Great Shelford/ Cambs.' Presumably, by this date, Mount Blow had been re-converted from a hospital.

If Hope Mirrlees' undated letter was sent after the 1914 visit, it indicates that Stein met Jane Harrison after the Newnham College luncheon. This letter contains the statement: 'I hope to come to Paris with Miss Harrison this week [...].' There is no documented evidence to prove that this meeting with Jane Harrison took place.

STEIN'S ELEVEN DAYS IN LONDON

After their visit to Cambridge, Stein and Toklas spent eleven days (20 July 1914 to 31 July 1914) at leisure in London. They visited Hampton Court with Emily Dawson. Muriel Draper invited Stein and Toklas to her home in London: 'They came to Edith Grove, where Gertrude would sit in Buddhistic calm until some topic of conversation arose which stimulated her interests.' (Draper, p.148). She also noted that Stein attended theatre performances in London: 'And so the season of 1914 progressed from triumph to triumph. [...] Gertrude Stein was in London that year, and could be seen at most of the Drury Lane performances, stalking through crowds, adorned in a short corduroy skirt, a white silk shirt, sandals, and a tiny hat perched up on her monumental head. (Draper, pp.147-49. It must be qualified that Muriel Draper may have confused Stein's visit to London in January 1913 with that of July 1914).

In the interval between visiting the Mirrlees family and the Whitehead family, Stein and Toklas shopped for furniture. They wanted to replenish 27 rue de Fleurus, after Leo Stein had taken his share of items to Settignano in April 1914. Stein recalled that they purchased '[...] some comfortable chairs and a comfortable couch covered with chintz [...].' (*The A of A B. T* p.179). At this time, Stein spent \$372.86 on furniture. This fact is deduced from two sets of accounts: the first sent from Gertrude Stein to Michael Stein on 26 November 1914; the second sent from Michael Stein to Gertrude Stein on 23 January 1915. They record that the sum of \$372.86 was forwarded by

Julian Stein in Baltimore to pay for this furniture. The draft in pounds sterling was made on 30 October 1914. Considering this expense, Michael Stein wrote with curiosity on 9 February 1915: 'Can't you send me some snaps of your new furniture?' (YCAL Stein correspondence).

When Stein was in London, waiting to visit Lockeridge, Julian Stein sent a draft on 30 July 1914 for \$543.79 in francs. To allow for post, Stein would have received the money whilst she was staying at the Whiteheads' country home. On 10 August 1914, knowing she would not immediately return to France to use the francs, she contacted Michael Stein about exchanging the sum into pounds sterling. Michael Stein replied from Agay, in the south of France, on 15 September 1914: 'Just got your postal of the 10 -. I think you will be able to cash Julian's draft in London all right.' (YCAL Stein correspondence). In addition to the sum in francs, and in addition to the furniture money, Julian Stein forwarded two drafts in pounds sterling before Stein returned to Paris: \$200.00 on 7 August 1914; \$502.76 on 9 October 1914. Stein collected the money from the American embassy in London.

STEIN'S VISIT TO THE WHITEHEAD FAMILY IN LOCKERIDGE

Stein and Toklas first met Evelyn and Alfred North Whitehead at a dinner given in Cambridge by Lina and William Mirrlees. This social occasion resulted in an invitation for another dinner at the Whiteheads' London home. In turn, this dinner with the Whiteheads, on Monday 20 July 1914, resulted in a second invitation. It was proposed that Stein and Toklas should make a vacation of the August Bank Holiday, in two weeks time, to the Whiteheads' country home. Dr. and Mrs. Whitehead had first rented the cottage, named 'Sarsen Land', in the summer of 1910 (V. Lowe, Vol II, p.21). It was situated in the village of Lockeridge outside Marlborough, Wiltshire. On the day after the dinner at the Whiteheads' London home, Stein sent a letter to Carl Van Vechten from the Knightsbridge Hotel, saying that they had extended their stay. This decision took into account the new invitation: 'We are staying over here a little longer than we intended. We will get back about the tenth of August.' (21 July 1914. *Letters of G.S. & C.V.V.* p.28).

Stein's anticipated return to Paris, on 10 August 1914, also took into account an invitation to visit Alys Russell. On 14 July 1914, whilst Stein and Toklas were in Cambridge, Alys Russell had sent them a note expressing regret that they could not meet for tea in London on 15 July 1914. She extended an invitation to stay at Ford Place, Arundel from 4 to 6 August 1914. This visit was intended to follow directly the visit to the Whiteheads' country home. Transport would be easier on Tuesday 4 August 1914, after the Bank Holiday on Monday 3 August 1914. Stein seems to have accepted this invitation. In the next letter from Alys Russell, dated 1 August 1914 and sent to Lockeridge, she advises them to catch the 4.50 train from Victoria station to Ford Junction. Stein's decision not to visit Alys Russell must have been taken at the last minute. Britain declared war on the Central Powers on the day Stein and Toklas were due to travel to see Alys Russell - 4 August 1914. Thus, an invitation to Ford Place would have made Stein's extension of her stay until 10 August 1914 a logical proposal, considering that they planned to return to London on 6 August 1914. Alys Russell's correspondence about the visit is practical, and it is not particularly welcoming. Most of the arrangements were mediated by Emily Dawson.

At 5pm on Friday 31 July 1914, Stein and Toklas left Paddington train station. They arrived at Marlborough station in the early evening. This journey took two hours,

or two hours and twenty minutes. A difference in times arises from Alfred North Whitehead's note of their anticipated arrival time: '7.2' (YCAL Whitehead correspondence). His abbreviation could be read as 7.02pm, or as 7.20pm.

This journey time is relevant because it is unclear how often Stein and Toklas returned to London during their stay at Lockeridge. Stein notes one specific journey, made close to the Bank Holiday. Their purpose was to collect their trunks, and to cable for money from Julian Stein in Baltimore (*The A of A B. T* pp.181-82). Stein's recollection, 'From time to time we went to London.' (*The A of A B. T* p.189), cannot be verified.

During the summer of 1914, the deep friendship with the Whitehead family was partly due to Evelyn Whitehead's need of their support. From an interview with Hope Mirrlees, on 8 August 1965, Victor Lowe notes: 'Whitehead and Gertrude Stein, both great readers of history, talked easily. Evelyn at first looked down her nose at Gertrude and her companion. Then she discovered that Gertrude personally knew various painters in Paris. Thereafter the four were on excellent terms with each other.' (V. Lowe, Vol II, p.29 & note p.350).

Evelyn Whitehead was distraught about the outbreak of the Great War. Her letters to Stein, following the visit to Lockeridge in 1914, register her fury at the German army, and her enthusiasm for the Allied Forces. Her eldest son, North, had been assigned to the mechanical transport section in the Second Division of the British Expeditionary Force (V. Lowe, Vol II, p.28). Later in the war, North Whitehead became shell-shocked from his involvement with the fighting. In February 1918, Eric Whitehead enlisted in the Royal Flying Corps. He was killed in action over the Forêt de Gobain on 13 March 1918 (V. Lowe, Vol II, p.34). From August 1914 to October 1914, Stein helped to allay Mrs. Whitehead's fears about North Whitehead, who was then at the Front.

During this period, Jessie Marie Whitehead seems to have been living at Lockeridge. She had entered Newnham College in the autumn of 1913, but she did not return for her second year in the autumn of 1914. She found a job as a clerk in the Secretariat of the Foreign Office, and she worked on matters concerned with the English blockade of Germany (V. Lowe, Vol II, p.33). After the war, Jessie Whitehead did not return to Newnham College to complete her degree. The *Newnham College Register* notes: 'No Tripos' (p.252).

STEIN'S VISIT TO THE WHITEHEADS' LONDON HOME

At some time between 24 and 30 September 1914, Stein and Toklas had returned to 17 Carlyle Square, London. They may have remained at the Whiteheads' London home for three weeks, until their departure for Paris on 17 October 1914. There is no documentary evidence to prove that they returned to Lockeridge between these dates. After September, the summer home would probably have been vacated. Alfred North Whitehead needed to return to London for the beginning of term at the Imperial College of Science and Technology in South Kensington. He had been appointed Professor of Applied Mathematics, and his post took effect from 1 September 1914 (V. Lowe, Vol II, p.27).

Stein met John Lane in the period between leaving Lockeridge in September 1914, and then leaving London for Paris in October 1914. Their meeting was held on Sunday 4 October 1914, because John Lane intended to leave for America on Saturday 10 October 1914. This fact is deduced by matching dates from a 1914 calendar with references in a letter from Annie Lane, dated 30 September 1914. In response to Stein's

enquiry about the contract for *Three Lives*, John Lane had replied on 15 September 1914: 'Do not trouble to come up, but when you are in town I hope you will come to see me.' (YCAL Lane correspondence). It is likely that Stein was staying permanently at 17 Carlyle Square at the end of September, and into October.

Stein declined the offer from Mrs. Mirrlees to make a second visit to their home in Cambridge. However, it is likely that they met before Stein left for Paris. It is uncertain whether they met in London, or in Cambridge. A letter from Mrs. Mirrlees, dated Sunday 27 September 1914, expresses regret that the Whiteheads, Stein and Toklas were 'all still absent on Thursday.' The Thursday to which she refers was 24 September 1914. Mrs. Mirrlees probably went to 17 Carlyle Square on this occasion, but it is undocumented when they met after this. The fact that they did meet is indicated by a note dated 30 September (no year, but it is probably 1914) from Hope Mirrlees. She wrote in French, on the 11 Cranmer Road headed paper, to Madame Lenz at her residence, Hotel de l' Elysée, 3 rue de Beaune. This letter introduces Gertrude Stein, and it gives her permission to arrange Hope Mirrlees' 'affaires'. Hope Mirrlees' note may have been sent to Stein in London. However, the absence of a covering letter, in an otherwise carefully saved correspondence from the Mirrlees family, implies that it was hand-delivered.

STEIN'S CONTACT WITH THE WHITEHEAD FAMILY AFTER THE VISIT TO LOCKERIDGE IN 1914

Stein and Toklas gave hospitality to Evelyn Whitehead on their return to 27 rue de Fleurus, on 17 October 1914. They had crossed the Channel from Folkstone to Dieppe (YCAL Whitehead correspondence. Letter dated 12 November 1914). Evelyn Whitehead probably stayed one week in France. A letter of 27 October 1914 records that she had returned to 17 Carlyle Square by this date. She seems to have been introduced to Stein's and Toklas' friends because she asked in a letter dated 12 November 1914: 'How are Mildred, Alfie, Pablo & Co Jeanne, Brenner & all of them. E. Paul I don't worry about.' However, she does not seem to have met her son Thomas North Whitehead. She opened the same letter with an expression of gratitude: 'You are dear to have sent us North's letter - It is harrowing to think that I might have seen him intolerable really [...].' Evelyn Whitehead bought a Spanish table, which was shipped to England. Stein and Toklas provided her with a hearty meal for her train journey home, and she shared this food with a woman in her carriage.

Gertrude Stein had introduced the irascible and impoverished British painter, Harry Phelan Gibb (8 April 1870 - 25 October 1948), to the Whitehead family. For a time, they became his patrons. Alfred North Whitehead wrote to Stein on 31 December 1914: 'Phelan Gibb has just left us for Lockeridge. I like his pictures more and more. They make all the difference to our rooms.' Evelyn Whitehead stated, in an undated letter: 'Poor old H.G. [...] Eric has gone wild about a black & white which I am purchasing for his birthday & I hope to sell some more for him.' (probably dated late October 1914, or early November 1914. The address is 17 Carlyle Square, not 121 Beaufort Mansions which was their temporary address after 12 November 1914). Gibb stayed at the Whiteheads' country home, at Lockeridge, to ease his desperate financial situation. On 4 December 1914, Evelyn Whitehead arranged a show of his pictures at their new house, 12 Elm Park Gardens, Chelsea. She informed Stein of its success: 'H.G.'s show started well today [...].' (Whitehead correspondence. Letter dated 4 December 1914). Gibb reported to Stein on 21 December 1914 that the show had raised £36. Gibb was also

grateful to Stein. He thanked her in a letter dated 29 January 1915, posted in Lockeridge: 'It was lucky for me you introduced me to the Whiteheads.' Stein may have intended that this introduction would give Evelyn Whitehead another interest, and thereby divert her attention from North Whitehead's service in the war.

Stein and Toklas intended to return to Lockeridge to spend Christmas 1914 with the Whitehead family, and with Harry Phelan Gibb. On 12 November 1914, Evelyn Whitehead asked whether they could arrive about 14 December 1914. This date was an amendment to that of 18 December 1914, which had been previously arranged. By 28 November 1914, Stein and Toklas had declined the invitation. Evelyn Whitehead's letter of 12 November 1914 did not describe a cheerful scene: 'Jessie is really very seedy, she looks ill & miserable & E. & A. nervy so I am blue, blue, blue [...].'

Stein and Toklas invited the Whitehead family to Paris for Christmas 1914. However, Evelyn Whitehead declined on 4 December 1914 because North Whitehead had been granted a week of leave from the Army. Gifts were exchanged instead. Letters sent on 31 December 1914 show that Eric was sent an engraving, Jessie was sent a coral necklace and Alfred North Whitehead was sent a paper knife.

Contact with the Whitehead family diminished after a period of friendship with Jessie Whitehead in 1918-19. On 16 December 1918, she informed Stein that she had been 'stuck on the staff of the British Delegation to the Congress & I should so like it if you would let me come & see you sometime.' Victor Lowe notes that she worked at the peace conference in Paris as a précis-writer, drafting news releases for the press (V. Lowe, Vol II, p.82). In a letter dated 21 December 1918, Jessie Whitehead accepted an invitation to lunch the following day. Stein and Toklas had returned to Paris from war relief work in Nîmes by 16 December 1918.

During February 1919 and March 1919, Jessie Whitehead sent letters from Paris to Mulhouse, Alsace. Stein and Toklas had been posted there to distribute supplies for the AFFW. In a letter dated 19 June 1919, Jessie Whitehead asked whether they had returned to Paris permanently. On 10 July 1919, she wrote to make arrangements for Stein and Toklas to watch the victory parade. She had a clear view of the Arc de Triomphe from the roof of her residence, the Hotel Majestic, Place de l'Étoile. Stein acknowledged this fortunate circumstance in *The A of A B. T*: 'And we ourselves were admirably placed and we saw perfectly.' (p.235). Stein and Toklas returned the favour with a three-day trip in their Ford car, thanked by Jessie in letters dated 4 and 11 August 1919. She returned to England around 5 September 1919. She urged, as the family had for five years, for Stein and Toklas to return to England.

Stein and Toklas do not seem to have met Evelyn and Alfred North Whitehead after 1914. In 1924, Whitehead was appointed Professor of Philosophy at Harvard University (Levy, p.94). On 3 November 1932, Burrill Freedman of New York secured an introduction to Gertrude Stein: 'Perhaps a year ago, Mrs. Whitehead assured me that you would be pleased to hear from anyone who was interested in your work, and also asked me to send her regards to you, if I addressed myself to you as such a person.' (YCAL Misc. letters Fa-Fz). The last letter from Evelyn Whitehead extant in YCAL is dated 4 February 1919. Jessie Whitehead passed on messages from her parents. Yet, there is no extant correspondence from her between 5 September 1919 and 3 July 1931. On this latter date, she wrote to Stein: 'I'm bursting with messages from Mummy & Daddy.'

Also, Stein did not meet Evelyn and Alfred North Whitehead during her 1934-35 American lecture tour. Jessie Whitehead wrote on 19 November 1934: 'I hope Mummy and Daddy get to see you, but they are really rather helpless, Mummy can't leave the flat and Daddy is just coming back after a coronary thrombosis of the heart.' Victor

Lowe acknowledges that Alfred North Whitehead was ill. However, he suggests that the reason they did not meet lay with *The A of A B. T*: 'It contained a false statement that made Evelyn indignant: "Mrs. Whitehead was terribly worried lest he [North] should rashly enlist." Of course Evelyn was proud of North for trying to enlist at Rugby on August 5, 1914; and, unlike her husband, she did not readily forgive.' (V. Lowe, Vol II, p.30). It was a deep friendship during the summer of 1914, but it faded when there was no longer a direct contact.

BACKGROUND TO CHAPTER 2 - STEIN'S PARISIAN WINTER 1914-15

Stein and Toklas had declined an invitation to spend the Christmas period of 1914-15 at Lockeridge with the Whitehead family, and with Harry Phelan Gibb. Instead, they spent Christmas Day with Mildred Aldrich in Paris. A letter from Mildred Aldrich indicates that they had visited her home, 'La Creste', Huiry, around 4 November 1914. This fact is deduced from a letter dated one year later, on 4 November 1915: 'Did you remember Sunday that a year ago you were here with me?' (YCAL Aldrich correspondence). For Christmas Day, they gathered at Miss Josephine Tozier's house in Paris.

By consulting a calendar of 1914, it is possible to work out an itinerary for Stein's Christmas of that year. Mildred Aldrich wrote to Clara Steichen on Wednesday 23 December 1914: '[...] I am going up to Paris Thursday [24 December 1914] and coming down again Saturday [26 December 1914], and Gertrude and Alice are coming to Miss Tozier's to eat a little Christmas [Friday 25 December 1914] dinner.' Mildred Aldrich's letter to Clara Steichen of 30 December 1914 shows that the four women had met in Paris for a Christmas breakfast.

STEIN'S RELATIONSHIPS WITH ARTISTS DURING THE PARISIAN WINTER 1914-15

A note added to a letter from Picasso by Eva Gouel [Marcelle Humbert], on 11 September 1914, told Stein that André Derain and Georges Braque had been mobilized in the French army. Juan Gris was living outside Paris in Collioure, and Guillaume Apollinaire also went to fight. Eva Gouel described an atmosphere of desolation in Paris in a letter sent from Avignon on 6 October 1914, shortly before Stein's and Toklas' return from London: 'Nous recevons des nouvelles de Paris où l'on nous dit que c'est comme un village, plus personne dans les rues après huit heures du soir.' (YCAL Picasso correspondence).

Picasso and Eva Gouel had returned to Paris from Avignon on Tuesday 24 November 1914. This fact is based upon a letter which they sent from Avignon on Saturday 14 November 1914: 'Nous pensons partir Mardi prochain [23 November 1914] à 6 heures et ½ du soir et nous esperons etre à Paris le matin apres [24 November 1914] [...].' They remained in Paris until after Stein and Toklas had left for Mallorca. So, throughout the Parisian winter 1914-15, this friendship was enhanced by frequent meetings.

One friendship was interrupted during this winter. A misunderstanding developed between Stein and Juan Gris which was not resolved for six years. A letter to Stein of 2 February 1920 was the first communication with her since 24 December 1914. In the latter correspondence, Juan Gris sought to renew their acquaintance: 'I hope I shall have

a chance of seeing and talking to you.' (Cooper, p.76).

Juan Gris had very little money at this time. When Stein arrived back in Paris, in October 1914, she sent Gris \$200 so that he could live cheaply at Collioure. A plan was laid between Henri Matisse, Michael Brenner and Stein. They decided to pay Gris 125 francs each month, for which Stein and Brenner would receive pictures. Gris explained that the deal was an 'exchange' rather than a sale (Letter to Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler dated 30 October 1914. Cooper, p.14). Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, who had arranged to sell Gris' pictures, saw this as a breach of his contract. He had been in Italy at the outbreak of war, and he was not permitted to return to Paris. He went first to Rome and then to Berne, Switzerland. His period of exile would last from 1914 until 1924 (Meffre, p.77 & p.80). Consequently, on 24 December 1914, Gris wrote to Stein refusing to sell '[...] the pictures you asked for yesterday.' (Cooper, p.22). Stein informed Gris that the money was a gift, but a break was made in their relationship. Stein may have used the incident, changing the Spanish name Juan Gris into an anglicised version, in a work dated to the Parisian winter 1914-15: *Johnny Grey*.

STEIN'S DECISION TO LEAVE PARIS IN MARCH 1915

In letters to Stein and Toklas during this winter of 1914-15, William Cook expressed his enthusiasm for life in Palma de Mallorca. His family had visited him from America in the summer of 1914, and they were touring Italy together when the Great War broke out. An undated letter, from 19 via Merletta Catanci in Sicily, seems to have been sent to Stein during the autumn of 1914: '[...] I do wish if you have come back to Paris you would go and see what is happening to Jeanne [...] I have to get to Paris and get Jeanne down to Mallorca for the winter.' (ND. YCAL Cook correspondence). When they were re-united, the couple travelled to Palma.

William Cook and Jeanne Moallic had invited Stein and Toklas to spend the previous winter, 1913-14, with them in Mallorca. A letter from Jeanne Moallic dated 21 November 1913 shows that a decision had been made for a visit in January 1914: 'Je suis très heureuse d'avoir appris que vous aller venir ainsi que Madame Toklas nous faire visiter pour Janvier.' Stein and Toklas might have changed their minds because of their plans to move into an apartment at Le Palais-Royal.

An alternative option was a return to England. Evelyn Whitehead had interspersed her invitations to visit England with accounts of her angina and Alfred North Whitehead's flu, mentioned in a letter dated 21 December 1914. In a letter dated 30 December 1914, she had recorded epidemics of influenza and scarlet fever in England. Prospects for another visit to the Whitehead family did not look good: 'Eric has an awful cough after flue five cases dear, I am disinfecting room after room as if we had had fever.' (Letter dated 31 January 1915).

Compared with this bleak correspondence, William Cook's account of his Christmas of 1914 must have seemed delightful. He gave a description in a letter dated 12 January 1915: 'We spent Christmas eve in Barcelona. It was very gay - and we tried to do our part in helping on the gaiety. We did on lobster a la american with a bottle of Bordeaux.' If there was a stimulus to leave Paris during this winter, the choice between London and Palma was unevenly balanced.

By February 1915, Stein and Toklas had decided to return to Palma. They had stayed there briefly around 28/29 July 1913. Evidence for the date of this previous visit is found in two letters. First, a letter was sent to Stein from Michael Stein on 29 July 1913: 'Just got yours from Palma.' Secondly, on a postcard of Inca, Mallorca, Stein

posted two small leaves to Harry Phelan Gibb: 'A little leaf, two little leaves from the garden of George Sand & Chopin [...].' (YCAL Gibb correspondence). Although the postmark is unclear, I have deciphered it as 28/29 July 1913. William Cook and Jeanne Moallic had been on the same boat as Stein and Toklas when they crossed to Palma in July 1913. Although Stein and Toklas stayed for only a few days, William Cook and Jeanne Moallic chose to find a home on the island. On 15 February 1915, William Cook had responded to a statement that they would return: 'We're waiting for you to get here.'

The fact that Stein had made this decision during February 1915 is confirmed by a letter from Michael Stein. In a letter dated 12 February 1915, he mentioned a second draft of \$2000, possibly an instalment paying for Matisse's painting *La Femme au Chapeau*. He informed Stein that this draft would be sent in March 1915, if she still planned to be in Paris: '[...] should you want to leave earlier let me know and I'll send the second draft to you to Spain.' Therefore, by 12 February 1915, Stein had voiced a plan to go to Spain some time in March.

It was not a hasty decision to depart. Michael Stein informed them, in a letter of 8 March 1915, that Americans had recently been required to have U.S. passports when travelling within Europe. This might have delayed the departure since Jeanne Moallic expected them about 28 March 1915. The date is deduced from a letter dated 7 March 1915, in which she had written: '[...] on vas vous revoir d'ici 3 semaines [...].'). There was no pressing reason for Stein and Toklas to remain in Paris because the cost of living was high, and the community of artist friends had dispersed.

Stein and Toklas stayed in Barcelona at the Hotel Quatro Naciones. This was probably the address noted by Picasso as 'Custro Naciones' on his postcard of 31 March 1915. Stein and Toklas had stayed at this hotel during their visit to Spain in the summer of 1913. They spent 'a lively time in Barcelona with some journalist friends of Picasso.' (Letter dated 11 April 1915 from Stein to Gibb). These may have been the people Picasso referred to in a postcard dated 17 April 1915, addressed to the Hotel Victoria, Palma: 'Avez vous rencontré déjà Rosiñol et Fontera?'

BACKGROUND TO CHAPTERS 3, 4 AND 5 - STEIN'S VISIT TO MALLORCA IN 1915-16

STEIN'S FIRST RESIDENCES IN MALLORCA DURING 1915

On Thursday 8 April 1915, the Mallorcan newspaper *La Almudaina* listed Stein and Toklas among the passengers on a ferry from Spain. In the regular 'De Sociedad' column, it recorded: 'Ayer llegaron de Barcelona, en el vapor *Rey Jaime I* [...] don Alice B. Taklas, doña Gertrudis Stem [...].' (p.2).

Stein and Toklas stayed first at the Hotel Victoria in Terreno (Letter to Gibb dated 11 April 1915). El Terreno is described in the 1913 edition of *Baedeker's Spain and Portugal* as a 'village' (p.275). It is a short distance from the centre of Palma, approximately a half hour walk. This hotel was chosen on the advice of William Cook. He had written on 3 March 1915: 'Be sure to let us know what boat you take from Barcelona so that we can meet it. The hotel Victoria is open the year round.' The Hotel Victoria is advertised in the *Baedeker* as overlooking the sea, a small dépendance of the Grand Hôtel with 'pens.' (pension, or full board), 12 ½ - 18 pesetas and 'suitable for a long stay' (*Baedeker*, p.275). This hotel was situated opposite the 'Castillo de Bellver'

described as 'a royal residence of the second half of the 13th cent.' (*Baedeker*, p.275). Bellver castle dominates the skyline of Palma, and of Terreno. It was built on the summit of a steep hill overlooking the bay. In *Ladies' Voices. A Curtain Raiser* (1916), Stein mentions her first residence: 'The Hotel Victoria. / Many words spoken to me have seemed English.' (G&P p.204).

One month later, they had moved to the Grand Hôtel in Palma. On 4 May 1915, Stein wrote to Carl Van Vechten with this new address (*Letters of G.S. & C.V.V.* p.44). This change may have been prompted by financial considerations. The Grand Hôtel cost 9 - 16 pesetas for full board, this price was lower than the Hotel Victoria. It stood in the Plaza de Weyler, which is situated in the centre of Palma. Plaza de Weyler is located half-way between two of the broadest, busiest, tree-lined streets in Palma: Passeig La Rambla and Passeig des Born. It is an area of shops, theatres and restaurants, and it was certainly at the heart of activity when Stein stayed there in 1915. This hotel is advertised as 'fitted with modern conveniences, lift, baths, electric light, and steam heating' (*Baedeker*, p.272). Stein and Toklas lived in these hotels for approximately three months; from April 1915 to June 1915.

STEIN'S RESIDENCE AT CALLE DOS DE MAYO, 45, DURING 1915-16

It is uncertain exactly when Stein and Toklas moved into Calle Dos de Mayo, 45. A letter from Mildred Aldrich, dated 27 June 1915, indicates that it was some time during June: 'So you have taken a house there.' (YCAL Aldrich correspondence). Since Mildred Aldrich was a frequent correspondent, it seems that her response to Stein's news would not have been greatly delayed. On 10 August 1915, Stein announced to Carl Van Vechten: '[...] we have taken this little house for a few months [...].' (*Letters of G.S. & C.V.V.* p.46). Alice Toklas recalled that their home was owned by a retired major in the Spanish army (Toklas, p.88). Details of purchasing household goods, and of plants in the garden, are woven into Stein's Mallorcan compositions. They seem to have been happy living alone in their 'little house'.

Various scholars have established that the house which Stein rented in 1915-16 is the present Calle Dos de Mayo, 17A. José Maria Costa said that his father, who owned the Galerías Costa and who collected Picasso's paintings, had stated that this was the house in which Stein had lived. In an article published in the *Baleares* newspaper, Pablo Lull presented his evidence which demonstrated that Number 17A is the old Number 45. Mrs. Elaine Kerrigan, who currently owns the house, has gathered information which gives valuable insights into the alterations made since Stein's residence. Based upon her research, Mrs. Kerrigan has concluded that the present Number 17A is the house in which Stein and Toklas lived between June 1915 and May 1916.

Number 17A, originally Number 45, has access from two streets. The front door opens directly onto the Calle Dos de Mayo. There is no garden to separate the front wall of the house from the pavement. From the Calle Josep Villalonga there would have been access to the back of the house, through the garden. It is a residential street, close to the Bellver Castle and its grounds. The street is one of the furthest from the bay in the parallel layout of roads. Since it is high on the hillside leading to the castle, it is a steep climb from the main promenade along the bay.

Number 17A is one half of a single house, which was divided into two smaller units. It is uncertain whether the division was made before, or after, Stein's residence. Since she described a 'little house', it is possible that the partition was completed before

1915. This house was built in the 1880s, or the 1890s, as a country home for people with town houses near Palma cathedral. In this, it is typical of many houses in Terreno. They were designed as vacation homes, often with features similar to 'follies'. At one time, the undivided house was a 'pension', deduced from the fact that each of the four bedrooms had a bathroom. After the division, there were two bedrooms in each house. If Stein had rented an undivided house, she would have had four bedrooms. Considering the small size of 27 rue de Fleurus, excluding the studio, this would not fit her description of a 'little house'.

Inside, there is a tiled passage-way with the kitchen on the left, overlooking the Calle Dos de Mayo. Imposing Corinthian columns provide an archway into the two lower rooms, and they divide the staircase from the hall. These stone columns, and the tiled floor, make the entrance bright and cool. Wooden beams in the kitchen, and in the lower rooms, were probably there in 1915-16. A large black stove in the kitchen may have been installed before, or during, Stein's residence. In one of the lower rooms are *art deco* wall tiles in luxuriant colours; deep pink carnations and green foliage.

The lower rooms lead onto a terrace which would have overlooked Palma bay. In 1915-16, each house would have had a clear view because they were built low on the hillside. Houses on this section of the Calle Dos de Mayo are divided by a low wall on both sides, and there is a third wall on the Calle Josep Villalonga. Steps from the terrace lead down into a lower garden. A well in the centre of the lower garden would have been the main water supply in 1915-16.

From her knowledge of the plants and trees which grew, and those which currently grow, in the garden, Mrs. Kerrigan has considered which of them might have been present during Stein's residence. She has stated that a false laurel (*ficus pittosporum*), a persimmon, an apricot tree and a lemon tree might have been growing. Also, plumbago and bougainvillaea vines might have been present. There was no almond tree when she first acquired the house, but an almond tree in the neighbouring garden may have shed its nuts into the garden of Number 17A/45. She notes that an almond tree might have grown in the garden during 1915-16, but it has since been cut down.

STEIN'S DAILY LIFE IN PALMA DURING 1915-16

In 1913, Terreno was connected to Palma by a tramway. It was drawn by mules every quarter hour, with stops at: Plaza de Coll; Harbour; suburb of Santa Catalina; El Terreno; and Bay of Portopí (*Baedeker*, p.272). During Stein's visit, an electric tram system was being installed. She recorded this alteration to life in Palma: 'And so do I like to see them lay the tracks. / They are laying them for the electrical railroad.' (*Turkey and Bones and Eating and We Liked It. A Play* G&P p.243). Old methods of transport were being replaced by modern technology. Lettie Lindo Webb wrote from Mallorca on 10 September 1916, after Stein's departure and whilst she was staying out of the capital at Fornalutz: 'It is pleasant to be out of sound of the clanging electric trams. There are now 8 of 'em careering about & they are always crowded!' (YCAL Webb correspondence).

There were 68 000 inhabitants in Palma in 1913 (*Baedeker* p.273). However, in 1915-16, the English-speaking community was small. A letter from Lettie Lindo Webb shows that, even by 1921, there were few English and American inhabitants. Her letter is dated 24 August (no year is given, but it must be 1921 by the reference to Stein's proposal to return to Mallorca). She noted that since Mr. and Mrs. Penfold had left the island, '[...] that brings our English colony down to 8 all told.' Her list of a '[...] fair

sprinkling of Americans' in the same letter is a list of just seven names. One can assume that the number of English-speakers in Palma during 1915-16 was similarly low.

This small community was close and friendly. In their correspondence with Stein, Mr. Penfold, Mr. and Mrs. Lindo Webb, Mrs. Marchand and Mark Gilbert all passed on regards from each other. Stein's proposed return to Mallorca was greeted with pleasure. She had first expressed her intention to return in 1917. Lettie Lindo Webb wrote on 24 April 1917: 'oh. yes. do come back [...] Perpignan seems so near.' During 1921, Stein again voiced plans to visit Palma. On 8 August 1921, James Lindo Webb wrote: 'Its very good to hear that you really think of coming this way again.' It is evident that, in 1915-16, the English-speaking community was enlivened by Stein's presence. This fact is supported by a letter sent from Lettie Lindo Webb on 10 September 1916: '[...] come back & relieve our dullness!'. She repeated her warm invitation for Stein to return to Palma in a letter dated 24 August 1921: 'So hurry up & come & tell us of all the big things you have seen & cheer us all up with your wonderful vitality.'

Stein spent her days reading, walking and writing. She had books sent from Mudie's circulating library in London. In addition, she bought many cheap books in Spain. Mark Gilbert wrote, on 27 January 1917, to thank her for leaving them behind: 'We have read nearly all your sixpenny novels by now & lent them to the few English out here & we feel very grateful to you for them.' (YCAL Misc. letters Ga-Gz). The 1913 *Baedeker* notes that there was 'sea-bathing at El Terreno' (p.273), and the Mallorcan writings contain many references to swimming. It is uncertain whether Stein and Toklas swam. William Cook, who loved water and sailing, and Jeanne Moallic could have been the swimmers to whom Stein referred.

William Cook, Stein and Toklas crossed to the Spanish mainland to spend a week at the Valencia bullfights. This journey took place before 10 August 1915. They also went to bullfights at Inca, a town in central Mallorca, with William Cook and Jeanne Moallic (Letter from William Cook dated 25 February 1941).

Stein and Toklas seem to have dined well on local produce. The Mallorcan compositions, and the correspondence, are full of references to lobsters, fish, melons, figs, almonds and oranges. Also, they may have tried gardening in their new home at Calle Dos de Mayo, 45. This fact is deduced from an authorial voice in a Mallorcan text: 'We are growing turnips mandarins and almonds. [...] We saw the things growing which were planted and they came up regularly they came up as she said they would.' (*I Have No Title To Be Successful* 1915 PL p.24 HG 119. MS & BTS have 'saw'. PL has 'say').

The Mallorcan writings, as documents of Stein's activities, tell of shopping trips to Palma to purchase shoes, stockings, embroidery and gifts for Parisian friends. For example, a vase was bought for Mildred Aldrich (Letter to Stein dated 8 August 1916). In works composed after Stein moved to Calle Dos de Mayo, 45, she incorporated details of daily chores such as ordering olive wood and lighting fires during the cool Mallorcan winter. Stein was active within a domestic sphere, and she found new material for her texts. Part of the lightness of the Mallorcan compositions comes from her ordinary, but energetic, existence on the island.

It is not confirmed that Alice Toklas spent her days typing Stein's Mallorcan writings. It was her habit to rise early, and to type Stein's work of the previous day. However, there is no evidence to prove that she brought her typewriter from Paris. This seems improbable because it was a heavy item to carry, particularly when one considers that they were travelling by train and by ferry. Since they anticipated only a short stay, it is likely that Toklas planned to type the work on their return to Paris. When they decided to stay on the island over the winter of 1915-16, they may have rented, or

bought, a typewriter in Palma. *La Almudaina* regularly printed full-page advertisements for 'Pittsburg' typewriters. There were large pictures of the machines, and they were sold at 'Estradas & Malondra' in Palma (For example, 12 May 1915. *La Almudaina* p.4). However, the uniform typeface of the bound typescripts of 1915-16 leads me to conclude that Toklas used the same typewriter as she had for the bound typescripts of other years.

An early work of the Mallorcan year, *He Didn't Light the Light* (1915 PL p.17), has a copy made in ink, in Alice Toklas' handwriting. It is written on large-sized typing paper (YCAL HG 116). It might have been an initial idea that she would transcribe Stein's notebooks into her own handwriting for typing up later. If this explains the presence of the handwritten copy, the idea was soon abandoned. No other such transcript survives for the texts dated 1915-16.

If she did not type the manuscripts on the island, Toklas would have done so in the autumn and winter of 1916. There would have been plenty of time in Paris, whilst they waited for the arrival of their Ford car. This would explain why only Mallorcan works are gathered in Bound Typescript Volume 14 under the date 1916. There are no texts in this volume dated to the second half of 1916, after Stein had returned to Paris by June 1916. Texts dated to the latter part of 1916 are placed in Bound Typescript Volume 15 under the date 1917. Also, this interpretation would provide a reason why the order of Mallorcan compositions is haphazard within the two bound volumes which arrange work of 1915-16.

STEIN'S DECISION TO LEAVE MALLORCA IN MAY 1916

In her correspondence, Stein emphasized that her visit to Mallorca would be short. Each time she wrote to Carl Van Vechten, she extended her stay by only a few months. Renting Calle Dos de Mayo, 45 was a half-measure because it gave them a sense of permanence, and it ended their residence in hotels. Stein and Toklas could create their own home, the first which they had found and furnished together. In August 1915, they enforced their decision to stay on the island for a longer term by sending for their servant, Jeanne Poule, from Paris.

Even after moving to Calle Dos de Mayo, 45, Stein's letters to Carl Van Vechten, and to Henry McBride, state that the extension is only for another couple of months. At first, she proposed to stay in Mallorca until October 1915. Later, Stein informed Maud Cruttwell that she would be in Paris by December 1915 (Postcard from Maud Cruttwell dated 25 January 1916).

About 23 November 1915, Stein wrote to Henry McBride: 'After all we are staying the winter here.' This letter is undated. A date can be deduced from the *New York Sun* stamp on a different postcard, received in New York on 7 September 1915. This postcard was stamped in Palma on 23 August 1915. Stein's undated letter is stamped in New York on the same day, but two months later: 7 December 1915. Therefore, one can assume that it was sent from Palma about 23 November 1915. Stein incorporated details of her new plans in *Turkey and Bones and Eating and We Liked It. A Play* (1916): 'We will stay here for the winter. The summer climate is not possible. [...] Oh yes we will leave in the spring.' (G&P p.246 & p.251).

The plan had been to return to Paris for a short time, and then to return to Spain (Letter to Carl Van Vechten dated 23 August 1915. *Letters of G.S. & C.V.V.* p.47). *All Sunday* (1916) offers an itinerary for the plan which Stein outlined to Carl Van Vechten: 'We have planned that if the war continues we will go to Malaga after returning to Paris.'

After that we will go to Seville and Madrid.' (A&B p.108).

Stein and Toklas did not return to Mallorca after 1916. However, they encouraged friends to visit the island.

They suggested to Mabel Weeks that she should travel to Palma in February 1920 (Letter from Mabel Weeks, sent from the Grand Hôtel in Palma). Stein used her Mallorcan contacts to give Mabel Weeks a pleasant impression of the island. For instance, she provided her with an introduction to James and Lettie Lindo Webb: 'I just went around to see Mrs. Webb but she hasn't come in from the country, and I spent a courtly few moments in conversation with the consul.' (Letter from Mabel Weeks in Palma, dated February 1920).

Louise Hayden Addis Taylor had known Alice Toklas in Seattle during the 1880s. 'After the death of Colonel Addis in 1932, Mrs. Addis lived exclusively in a house she had acquired some years earlier in Deya, Majorca.' (Burns' note, *Letters of G.S. & C.V.V.* p.189). Her decision to buy a house in Deya, before the death of Colonel Emmet Addis, may have been influenced by Stein and Toklas.

Stein encouraged Robert Graves to take Laura Riding to Mallorca after her attempted suicide in 1929 (Letter to Stein from Graves at Casa Salerosa, Deya). In October 1929, Graves and Riding visited Stein in Bilignin. Martin Seymour-Smith states that '[...] it was Stein who was responsible for their eventual destination.' (Seymour-Smith, p.190). He notes a conversation, which has become legendary: 'Graves asked Stein, 'What about Mallorca?'. 'It's paradise if you can stand it,' she answered, half-jokingly, and with a sidelong look at Laura.' (Seymour-Smith, p.190). William Cook was acquainted with Graves and Riding during their residence in Mallorca. He wrote to Stein on 28 February 1930: 'We had not seen Graves and Miss Riding for some time. We saw them last Sunday.' Stein may have spoken of William Cook whilst Graves and Riding were visiting her during October 1929.

BACKGROUND TO AFTERWORD - STEIN'S WAR RELIEF WORK IN 1917-19

STEIN'S DECISION TO WORK FOR THE AFFW

Stein's decision to work for the American Fund for French Wounded (AFFW) was not sudden, and its execution was not immediate. The idea of war relief work may have arisen in Mallorca. William Cook had returned to Paris in December 1915, after a Thanksgiving meal with Stein in Mallorca on the last Thursday of November 1915. In a letter dated 25 December 1915, he mentioned that he was learning to drive. His enthusiasm, and his mobility, may have influenced Stein who was still living in Mallorca. Also, James Lindo Webb was involved with the Red Cross in Palma. Stein knew of his efforts, and she may have spoken for the cause of the Red Cross: 'Red Cross is going right well; it must be due to your so prettily bestowed parting blessing.' (Letter from James Lindo Webb dated 19 May 1916).

Stein and Toklas had returned to Paris by 17 June 1916. In July, William Cook began to teach Stein to drive. This fact is deduced from a letter from Mike Stein dated 6 August 1916. In this letter, he thanked Stein for a photograph of herself as a 'chuffer': a chauffeur. At the beginning of August, having decided she liked the experience of one month's driving, she sought help to buy a car. She applied to her relatives, Bird and Howard Gans, who lived in America. A total sum of \$550 was needed to buy a Ford

car. In anticipation of its arrival, Stein was given a French driving licence on 1 September 1916.

Stein did not know which organization she would work for until November 1916. During this month, she was pressed to name a war relief organization by Howard Gans. He required an official affiliation for the French customs forms, before the authorities would permit the import of the car. Negotiations with war relief organizations were carried out in August, September and November 1916. Stein approached the Duryea Committee of American War Relief, the American Red Cross and the French Wounded Emergency Fund. The latter agreed to sign the customs forms, but they had no immediate vacancies for volunteers.

In a letter dated 17 November 1916, Howard Gans referred to the 'Committee for the relief of French Wounded'. It is unclear whether he meant the American Fund for French Wounded, for whom Stein eventually worked. He may have referred to another organization with a similar name.

The AFFW was the second largest American relief agency working in France during the Great War (Price, p.1). The largest was the American division of the Red Cross. In October 1915, the AFFW had become a fully independent war relief organization (Price, p.1). Stein joined this group of volunteers shortly after they had moved to larger premises at the Alcazar d'Été, in August 1916. This was a restaurant and nightclub, situated off the Champs Élysées and the Avenue Gabriel (Price, p.12). By early 1919, the AFFW had recruited 78 workers in France (Price, p.15). Checking the official listing of the AFFW volunteers in France for 1917, Alan Price has noted that Stein was engaged as a volunteer under the 'Motor Service' section. Alice Toklas was described as a 'Branch Depot Worker' (Price, 'On the Road', p.9).

STEIN'S ASSIGNMENTS IN PERPIGNAN, NÎMES AND MULHOUSE

A 'regular Ford touring car chassis' was sent to France on 9 December 1916 (Letters from Howard Gans dated 17 November 1916, and 18 December 1916). It was sent with \$200. This sum was the remainder from the total cost of \$550. With this money, Stein would buy the body of the car in Paris.

The first test-drives of the Ford car were made locally. Stein informed Carl Van Vechten, on 23 February 1917, that she was 'running a little Ford into the country for the American relief committee [...].' (*Letters of G.S. & C.V.V.* p.57). This seems to refer to local deliveries, intended to prepare them for their first long assignment in Perpignan.

Stein and Toklas left Paris, bound for Perpignan, at the end of March 1917. Nine months had been spent in Paris between their return from Palma, and their departure for Perpignan. In this interval, Alice Toklas could have typed the Mallorcan works if she had no access to a typewriter in Palma. It was a period of stability before the two years travelling in France for the AFFW. They would not spend this length of time in Paris until after 1919.

They returned to Paris for approximately two months (about 6 August 1917 until about 12 October 1917) between the assignments in Perpignan and Nîmes. Then they spent approximately three months (about 16 December 1918 until about 3 February 1919, or 4 March 1919) between the assignments in Nîmes and Mulhouse.

War relief work in Mulhouse ended when the AFFW closed down its organization in May 1919. In a letter dated 17 April 1919, Mike Stein speculated: 'I guess you all will be coming back soon as I see by the papers that the A.F.F.W goes out of business in May.' Stein and Toklas stayed in Mulhouse until the last moment, the month when

the AFFW ceased to be a working operation.

The years 1917-19 were full of challenges. Stein was learning to drive, and she was organizing excursions in the new car. Alice Toklas was increasing her role as a proficient organizer, and she became a successful polemicist. Toklas had many articles and reports printed in the AFFW 'Weekly Bulletin'. These appeared whilst they were in Nîmes, in editions dating from 28 November 1917 to 12 October 1918. One report from Mulhouse was published in an edition dated 29 March 1919 (YCAL ZaSt 34/+Zcl/AFFW Weekly Bulletin).

On 15 September 1920, they were both granted La Médaille de 3e Classe de la Reconnaissance Française. It was awarded in recognition of: 'A travaillé pendant 2 ans comme volontaire et avec le plus grand dévouement au Comité Américain pour les blessés Français.' Stein's anecdote relating to this award, in *The A of A B. T* (p.221), is supported by documentary evidence. Alice Toklas' commendation did indeed have the additional words: 'sans relache' (YCAL Misc. Box D).

APPENDIX 3

CHRONOLOGY BASED UPON GERTRUDE STEIN'S CORRESPONDENCE

Letters held in the Gertrude Stein Collection of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, provide an extensive source of biographical details. They give information about the context in which Stein worked, and they date specific events in her life.

In this Appendix, I present extracts which provide facts about her activities in the years 1913-17. Three main criteria have governed the selection procedure: first, letters which provide data about Stein's geographical location and her physical circumstances; secondly, letters which include names mentioned in the texts dated 1914-16; and thirdly, letters which have postmarks indicating the period of time between postal and delivery.

In order to trace the changing situations affecting Stein whilst she was composing the voice-montage texts, I have arranged these extracts chronologically. Each of the dates has been derived from a postmark, or from the date noted by the correspondent.

Except in the following cases, each of the letters is my transcription of the manuscripts held at YCAL. For the letters by Stein to Mr. Brown, Four Seas Company, Boston, and for Mildred Aldrich's letters to Clara Steichen, I have used Edward Burns' transcription. Letters by Stein to Carl Van Vechten are taken from Edward Burns' publication: *Letters of G.S. & C.V.V.* Leo Stein's correspondence is quoted from *Journey into the Self*, edited by Edmund Fuller. Alvin Langdon Coburn's correspondence is reproduced from *Flowers of Friendship*, edited by Donald Gallup. Letters from Juan Gris are extracted from *Letters of Juan Gris: 1913-1927*, translated and edited by Douglas Cooper. Full details of these collections are recorded in the Bibliography. Stein's undated letter to John Lane, concerning the contract for *Three Lives*, is the property of Erasmushaus, Haus der Bücher AG, Basel, Switzerland.

1913

From the letters of 1913, it is possible to date Stein's visits to England and to Spain. By 21 January 1913, she had arrived in England. Her aim was to secure publication of her work. She was still in England on 4 February 1913.

After this visit to England, early in the year, she remained in Paris until a summer vacation to Spain.

On 28 or 29 July 1913, she was in Palma de Mallorca, and she had travelled to Granada by 8 August 1913. At least a month was spent in Granada because she was still there on 6 September 1913. By 12 September 1913, she had moved on to Madrid.

- 14 JANUARY **MILDRED ALDRICH. 23 RUE BOISSONADE XIV^e, PARIS**
I meant to have gone to say 'au revoir' to you today but am not well [...].
- 21 JANUARY **ANNIE LANE. 8 LANCASTER GATE TERRACE, LONDON**
Thank you so much for the delightful gift of your books. I have been, as you know, keenly interested in reading your 'Three Lives'. The originality of your work and its great power have made a deep impression on me, so I need not say how greatly I value your gift.
I hope that you and your friend can come next Sunday to tea. It will be delightful to see you again.
- 22 JANUARY **LOGAN PEARSALL SMITH TO EMILY DAWSON. 14 MERTON STREET, OXFORD**
I should like to meet Miss Stein if she will be in London next Wednesday or Thursday.
- 23 JANUARY **EMILY DAWSON. 39 CHEYNE COURT, CHELSEA, LONDON**
Here is a letter from Logan - & do send on some Samples to the English Review Editor! [...] Let me know if there is any chance of a gossip Friday or Saturday afternoon? Chez nous or at the Grafton Gallery?
- 27 JANUARY **FRANK PALMER (FERRESTONE PRESS) 14 RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET, LONDON TO KNIGHTSBRIDGE HOTEL, KNIGHTSBRIDGE, LONDON**
I say I have only read a portion of it, because I found it perfectly useless to read further, as I did not understand any of it.
- 28 JANUARY **JOHN LANE. THE BODLEY HEAD. TO KNIGHTSBRIDGE HOTEL**
Since you own the plates of the book it would not cost nearly so much to bring it out here.
I am writing to say I should like to see you about the matter here on Thursday morning at 12 o'clock, if you can manage to come then.
- 31 JANUARY **JOHN LANE. THE BODLEY HEAD. TO KNIGHTSBRIDGE HOTEL**
Unfortunately I have come to the conclusion that I am unable to use your book here, I am therefore returning it. [...] If you are in town on Sunday we shall be very pleased to see you and your friend.
- 1 FEBRUARY **GERTRUDE STEIN TO GRANT RICHARDS. KNIGHTSBRIDGE HOTEL**
I called you up at your office but did not find you. I should be glad if you would make an arrangement one Monday or Tuesday any hour in the afternoon before four.
- 1 FEBRUARY **MIKE STEIN. TO KNIGHTSBRIDGE HOTEL**
There is by Kandinsky pub. in Munich a bit along your lines.
- 3 FEBRUARY **ETHEL SANDS. 42 LOWNDES STREET, LONDON**
Mr. Pearsall Smith writes [?word ?word] you are staying here for another week [...].

4 FEBRUARY

ROGER FRY. DURBINS, GUILDFORD

I think it will be best to meet in London on Thursday. Will you come to lunch at 1.0 at the Café Royal in Regent Street. I suggest one because Duncan Grant has to go to the theatre after & we shall have more time to talk if we begin early. I am asking Mr. Bell to come too as he is interested in your theories of literature.

7 FEBRUARY

LEO STEIN TO MABEL WEEKS. 27 RUE DE FLEURUS, PARIS

One of the greatest changes that has become decisive in recent times is the fairly definite 'disaggregation' of Gertrude and myself.

21 FEBRUARY

EMILY DAWSON. 39 CHEYNE COURT, LONDON

On Sunday I saw Isabel Fry who was full of her brother's report of your wonderfulness.

5 [MARCH]

ROGER FRY. DURBINS, GUILDFORD

Now the delightful present of the Picasso of you inspires me. It is a great portrait and in some ways the most complete thing he's done. Many thanks for it.

3 APRIL

ROGER FRY. DURBINS, GUILDFORD

I have practically settled 3 Lives with John Lane subject to yr. approval.

4 APRIL

JOHN LANE. TYPESCRIPT COPY

I have this morning seen Mr. Roger Fry and I have decided to take your 'Three Lives' if you will agree to the following terms.

1. The title to be changed to something more generic.
2. You transfer to me all the sheets or bound copies you possess free of charge. I think you told me the number amounted to about 500.
3. You will allow me to use the plates for reprinting if necessary.

13 APRIL

ROGER FRY. DURBINS, GUILDFORD

I am arriving in Paris Hotel Pas de Calais Rue de St Pères Tuesday late afternoon. The Bells & perhaps Duncan Grant will be there then. We will look round in the evening & I will bring yr. MSS.

1 MAY

EMILY DAWSON. [No address]

I wish I had Alice to tell me to be good - but I don't wonder you're a bit scimmagy for that visit of Roger & the Clive Bells sounds rather annoying.

1 MAY

GERTRUDE STEIN TO ALVIN LANGDON COBURN. 27 RUE DE FLEURUS, PARIS

I will be pleased to have you see the pictures Saturday evening.

4 MAY

MABEL WEEKS. BARNARD COLLEGE, NEW YORK

You are becoming a lion, aren't you? All our papers and magazines are interested. Mrs. Dodge has done a lot to bring it about.

6 MAY

GERTRUDE STEIN TO ALVIN LANGDON COBURN. 27 RUE DE FLEURUS, PARIS

I will be very glad to have you do my photograph.

[YCAL note by Coburn: 'I photographed her on Wednesday May 7th 1913.']

29 JULY

MIKE STEIN TO GERTRUDE STEIN. GRAND HOTEL D'AGAY, ENTRE CANNES ET SAINT-RAPHAËL

Just got yours from Palma. We all seem to have struck it rich this Summer. [...] We, also, have melons and figs and tomatoes, and lobsters twice a week [...].

[28/29] JULY

GERTRUDE STEIN TO HARRY PHELAN GIBB.

A little leaf, two little leaves from the garden of George Sand & Chopin and when we get to Granada I'll send a letter telling all our adventures.

[Post-mark date unclear. Post-mark year unclear but must be 1913 since Stein was in Paris by 17 June 1916. Sent to 15 rue Boissonade, Paris which was Gibb's address from 1911-1913. Stein travelled on to Granada in 1913 but to Barcelona in 1916. Postcard of Inca, Mallorca.]

JULY

WILLIAM COOK. CAFE COLÓN DE JOSÉ NADAL, PALMA DE MALLORCA

I believe I saw you on the boat this morning and I know I saw you getting off - but as I am travelling 'incognito' as it were I made no [?word ?word] to salute you. Will call some time tomorrow evening and hope I may see you and Miss Toclas. [...] you are in the Hotel - but only God knows where Miss Toclas is. [ND. Dated by another letter from Cook encouraging Stein to return to Mallorca for the winter 1913-14: '[...] you know we landed at the place the same time and it belongs to the four of us [...].']

29 AUGUST
[= JULY]

WILLIAM COOK. 4 CALLE DE PALMA, MALLORCA

You have been gone only twenty four hours but we miss you greatly. We really do, Mallorca is not the same without you.

2 AUGUST

WILLIAM COOK. ALHAMBRA HOTEL CAFÉ, PALMA
[...] when I had expected to have photographs of the bull fight - signed by the Matador, ^to send you,^ they are going to take them to you in person at Granada, also a most terrible rivalry has developed as to which Matador you liked the best.

8 AUGUST

GERTRUDE STEIN TO ALVIN LANGDON COBURN. HOTELES WASHINGTON IRVING, ALHAMBRA, GRANADA

I am sorry that Duckworth will not publish the book with your portrait, I understand his insisting upon an introduction by Roger Fry, it would be a guarantee, I am sorry that it is not easy to arrange. As to publishing at my xpense that is out of the question. [...] I will be here the rest of the month.

[28/29] AUGUST

GERTRUDE STEIN TO ALVIN LANGDON COBURN. HOTELES WASHINGTON IRVING, GRANADA

I received the letter from Duckworth and he said that if I were willing to contribute 50£ to the xpense of the book and Roger Fry would write the introduction he would publish. I have written to him that it is out of the question for me to contribute to the xpense of the book but that I would regret if he could not publish it. [...] I would be pleased with an introduction by him and a

- reproduction of your photo. [...] My address will be here until the eighth of Sept.
- 6 SEPTEMBER **JEANNE [MOALLIC] COOK. [PALMA]**
[Two postcards addressed to Hoteles Washington Irving, Granada.]
- 12 SEPTEMBER **MIKE STEIN. AGAY, VAR**
[Postcard addressed to Hoteles Washington Irving, Granada, re-addressed to Thomas Cook and Son, Madrid.]
- 23 OCTOBER **WILLIAM COOK. 17 CALLE DE LOS BANOS, TERRENO, MALLORCA**
Our house furnishings our dishes and everything have been acquired with the fixed and certain idea that you will come and stay with us a couple of weeks next spring. And you will, wont you?
- 21 NOVEMBER **JEANNE [MOALLIC] COOK. [PALMA]**
Je suis très heureuse d'avoir appris que vous aller venir ainsi que Madame Toklas nous faire visiter pour Janvier.
- 6 DECEMBER **ARNOLD RÖNNEBECK. BERLIN-FRIEDENAU**
But it is a kind of puzzle to me to imagine you and Miss Toklas and all the living things in your house at another place than rue de Fleurus. Perhaps you did not move yet - or did you? and has your brother gone to Florence?
- 29 DECEMBER **GERTRUDE STEIN TO HENRY McBRIDE. 27 RUE DE FLEURUS, PARIS**
We have been very busy finding an apartment because my brother has decided to settle in Italy and I decided to stay in Paris. We have taken a place with very little balconies third story in the Palais Royal and it's going to be very nice. We don't move until July so perhaps you will be here to see us do it.

1914 - BEFORE VISIT TO ENGLAND

Two important dates can be extracted from these letters. By 29 April 1914, Leo Stein had moved to Italy. By 7 May 1914, Gertrude Stein had spent a short vacation in Brittany.

- 14 JANUARY **OLIVER ST. JOHN GOGARTY. 15 ELY PLACE, DUBLIN**
I sent your M.S. by registered post to your Paris address. I wonder if your good nature would not be overtaxed by my requesting a few copies of 'The Portrait of Mabel Dodge at the Villa Curonia'? I want one or two for my friends.
- 22 JANUARY **CLIVE BELL. HOTEL PAS DE CALAIS, PARIS**
I should very much like to bring my friend Mr O'Connor to see your pictures if that is possible and pleasant to you.
- 23 JANUARY **CLIVE BELL. CARTE PNEUMATIQUE, PARIS**
We will appear at 3.30.

- 17 FEBRUARY **DUNCAN GRANT. HOTEL DE L'UNIVERS ET DU PORTUGAL, PARIS**
I should very much like to come to lunch with you on Friday next Feb. 20.
- 14 FEBRUARY **IRVING-WALDBERG, DR. OF DENT. SURG. 5 PLACE DU THÉÂTRE-FRANÇAIS, PARIS**
Miss Stein is expected to be in my office Monday at 3pm.
- 18 MARCH **E. BURNS' NOTE IN LETTERS OF G.S & C.V.V. p.23**
Gertrude Stein signed the contract for 'Tender Buttons' with the Claire Marie Press, founded by Donald Evans.
- 31 MARCH **JOHN LANE. THE BODLEY HEAD, LONDON**
The last time I had the pleasure of meeting Mr Fry he told me that you had not succeeded in placing your book, and he thought that I should be better able to handle it successfully than anyone in England. He also told me that he expected you to be in London this spring. I am writing to say that I shall be very pleased to see you again when you are here.
- 14 APRIL **HARRIET LEVY. HOTEL MONROE, SAN FRANCISCO**
Everyone is interested in Post Impressionism - that is, everybody wants to know about it. I should have had seances with Gertrude before coming west - so sadly am I equipped for missionary work. 'Is Gertrude Stein expressing in literature just what the cubists are expressing in painting? - I should like to know just what is the analogy.' is what I am asked.
- 18 APRIL **PAUL CONARD. PROPRIETAIRE AU PALAIS-ROYAL 50, GALERIE DE MONTPENSIER ET RUE DE MONTPENSIER 30, PARIS**
D'autre part si vous avez l'intention d'établir une salle de bains dans la [?word] attennante à la Cuisine?
- 29 APRIL **LEO STEIN TO NINA AUZIAS. VILLA DI DOCCIA, SETTIGNANO, FIRENZE.**
As for me, I roam the house but it will take several days yet for the flooring to be fixed and the closets constructed so that I can 'systematize' everything, and then I shall feel more at ease.
- 1 MAY **WILLIAM COOK. 106 RUE DU CHERCHI MIDI, PARIS**
Won't you have a little dinner or walk on Sunday evening at eight? Am sorry to have been so hazy about the suggestion this afternoon [...].
- 4 MAY **MABEL WEEKS. BARNARD COLLEGE, NEW YORK**
Do write, dear Gertrude and tell me about your new house & your plans for the summer.
- 7 MAY **GERTRUDE STEIN TO HENRY McBRIDE. 27 RUE DE FLEURUS, PARIS**
We have just been in Brittany. Had lots of fun and did poems, quite funny ones.
- 31 MAY **E.L. MIRRLEES. 11 CRANMER ROAD, CAMBRIDGE**
Hope tells me you & your friend Miss Tokuas are due in England shortly. We hope very much you will both come to us for a little visit. We think you will enjoy seeing Cambridge & we shall much enjoy making the acquaintance of any one who has

- been kind to our daughter. She has written so often about you that we feel already as if we knew both you and your friend.
- 5 JUNE **MILDRED ALDRICH. LA CRESTE, HUIRY, COUILLY**
I got here Wednesday at noon and at six o'clock everything was in.
- 13 JUNE **VANESSA BELL. 46 GORDON SQUARE, BLOOMSBURY, LONDON**
Instead of finding you a house & servants as I offered to do I am writing to ask you whether you can help me to find one for ourselves. I'm afraid this will seem to you less amusing than my proposal to establish you in London! but I am still ready to do that if you would like me to. [...] Please in any case let us see you & your friend whose name I darent attempt to spell - it would be very nice if you would suggest yourselves to lunch or dine or whatever happened to suit you.
- 15 JUNE **MILDRED ALDRICH. LA CRESTE, HUIRY**
So sorry the work of rebuilding drags, but I am not surprised. You see I have had five months of workmen and know it all in every detail. [...] if] you feel like escaping for a few days, say the word and come along - or had you rather wait until your house is in order.
- 19 JUNE **GEORGIANA GODDARD KING. CARTE PNEUMATIQUE, PARIS**
Tell me when I can see you.
[20 June, carte pneumatique: 'Saturday. With pleasure.']
- 26 JUNE **E.L. MIRRLEES. 11 CRANMER ROAD, CAMBRIDGE**
We look forward to having you & Miss Tokluas with us very much. The 6th suits us admirably, but I fear Cambridge will be very empty [...] If you could put off till after the 10th we should be able to arrange for your meeting various people who might interest you, but if this is impossible please keep to the original arrangement & we shall do our best to entertain you. [...] Hope arrived on Wed. & sends her love.
- 1 JULY **CLARIBEL CONE. [PARIS]**
I hope to have the pleasure of the company of yourself and Miss Toklas to-morrow evening.
- 1 JULY **JOHN LANE. THE BODLEY HEAD, LONDON**
I am leaving London on Friday for Paris and I return on Monday night. I hope that I may have the pleasure of seeing you during my visit.
- 4 JULY **GERTRUDE STEIN TO CARL VAN VECHTEN. 27 RUE DE FLEURUS, PARIS**
We are leaving town Monday so come to lunch Sunday with your friend.

1914 - VISIT TO ENGLAND

These letters provide details about Stein's activities during her stay in England during the summer of 1914. I have established the following itinerary:

MONDAY 6 JULY 1914	- to England
FRIDAY 10 JULY 1914	- to the Mirrlees in Cambridge
MONDAY 20 JULY 1914	- leave the Mirrlees
	- meet the Whiteheads in London
SUNDAY 26 JULY 1914	- meet John Lane
FRIDAY 31 JULY 1914	- to Lockeridge
MONDAY 3 AUGUST 1914	- English Bank Holiday
TUESDAY 4 AUGUST 1914	- planned to visit Alys Russell
24 SEPTEMBER - 30 SEPTEMBER 1914	- to the Whiteheads in London
4 OCTOBER 1914	- meet John Lane
17 OCTOBER 1914	- return to Paris

It is important to understand the busy social schedule within which Stein composed the first voice-montage texts. Extracts from the Stein correspondence enable an accurate summary of her different visits to the Mirrlees family, to the Whitehead family and to John Lane.

8 JULY

MILDRED ALDRICH. LA CRESTE, HUIRY

By this time you are at Cambridge and I suppose Gertrude is enjoying being a lion - no a lioness.

11 JULY

GEORGIANA GODDARD KING. ESTELLA, NAVARE

Postcard of Estella: Ruinas De Santo Domingo. Forwarded to the Knightsbridge Hotel, Knightsbridge, London, SW.

14 JULY

ALYS RUSSELL. FORD PLACE, ARUNDEL

We are so disappointed that you cannot come to tea tomorrow, & fear we shall not see you in Town, as we are leaving early on Saturday.

Can you not bring Miss Toklas to stay with Grace Worthington & me at Ford Aug. 4th to 6th.? My brother will be away yachting, but we hope you will think it is worth coming to see us.

16 JULY

VANESSA BELL. 46 GORDON SQUARE, LONDON

I am sorry to bother you again, perhaps unnecessarily, on the subject of the MacCarthy's house. I have however seen Desmond MacCarthy who told me that if you would still like the house the servant question can be easily solved. [...] The house itself is ready to be inhabited - & so if you feel inclined for it you have only to let me know & you can move in at any moment. I telephoned to the hotel to tell you this but found you were still away.

I hope you've found plenty of mad Englishwomen in Cambridge.

- [10-20] JULY **GERTRUDE STEIN'S HANDWRITTEN NOTE. 11 CRANMER ROAD, CAMBRIDGE**
A.N. Whitehead / 17 Carlyle Square / Chelsea. S.W / at eight on Monday.
[A note in Gertrude Stein's handwriting, on the Mirrlees' 11 Cranmer Road headed notepaper.]
- 19 JULY **EMILY DAWSON. 39 CHEYNE COURT, CHELSEA, LONDON**
Hurrah for your return tomorrow.
- 21 JULY **GERTRUDE STEIN TO CARL VAN VECHTEN. THE KNIGHTSBRIDGE HOTEL, LONDON**
We are staying over here a little longer than we intended. We will get back about the tenth of August.
- 21 JULY **ANNIE LANE. 8 LANCASTER GATE TERRACE, LONDON**
I shall be delighted to see you again and I should be so glad if you can take a cup of tea with me next Sunday at 4.30.
- 27 JULY **EMILY DAWSON. 39 CHEYNE COURT, CHELSEA, LONDON**
Leucophyton Brownii & refers to the tall white flowery thing we saw at Hampton Court. [...] look forward to seeing you on the 4th. Alys will surely tell us what train to take. [...] What about Johnnie & yesterday's Tea party - I long to know - please save up all Experiences till we meet at Ford.
- 28 JULY **MILDRED ALDRICH. LA CRESTE, HUIRY**
Pretty soon you must be turning your sandalled feet in the direction of renovated '27'.
- 28 JULY **ALVIN LANGDON COBURN. THAMESIDE, HAMMERSMITH, LONDON**
Alas, I have just received the enclosed telegraph from Henry James. Perhaps another year when you are over he will be in town and we can make an arrangement for a meeting.
- 29 JULY **ALFRED NORTH WHITEHEAD. 17 CARLYLE SQUARE, CHELSEA, LONDON TO KNIGHTSBRIDGE HOTEL**
We are immensely looking forward to seeing you and Miss Toklas on Friday afternoon at our Wiltshire cottage. The best train leaves Paddington at 5pm. and arrives at Marlborough at 7.2, where I will meet you at the station.
- 31 JULY **EMILY DAWSON. THE IMPERIAL HOTEL, MALVERN**
I've just had a note from Alys Russell saying she has lost your address and will I ask you with her love to take the 4.50pm train to Ford Junction from Victoria Station on Tuesday next - I write in wild haste that you may receive this information before you leave for the Whiteheads.
- 1 AUGUST **ALYS RUSSELL. FORD PLACE, ARUNDEL. TO STEIN % MRS. A.N. WHITEHEAD, SARSEN LAND, LOCKERIDGE, MARLBOROUGH**
Unless you come across country, will you take the 4.50 train from Victoria to Ford Junction on Tuesday? Emily Dawson will be in it.

- 7 AUGUST **EMILY DAWSON. DALVINGTON, PRIORY RD, MALVERN**
 I hear from Ford that you did not get there on Tuesday - and neither did I - alas - alas.
- 8 AUGUST **PABLO PICASSO. 14 RUE ST BERNARD, AVIGNON**
 Je viens de recevoir votre lettre. Nous sommes à Avignon et nous pensons rester pour le moment. Braque et Derain sont partis à la guerre. Vous devez être à Londres tout de même mieux que à Paris peut être vous seriez mieux de rester.
- 21 AUGUST **MIKE STEIN. GRAND HOTEL D'AGAY, ENTRE CANNES ET SAINT-RAPHAËL**
 Just got yours of the 15. [...] I suppose you recd the draft from Julian. You can surely cash it in England.
 [Draft for Frs 2718.95 on Paris by Stein Brothers Bankers, Baltimore, MD]
- 29 AUGUST **MIKE STEIN. GRAND HOTEL D'AGAY TO THE KNIGHTSBRIDGE HOTEL. FORWARDED TO LOCKERIDGE**
 Just had a line from Leo, saying you had not heard from me. I have written several times to you & have heard from you.
- 29 AUGUST **MILDRED ALDRICH. LA CRESTE, HUIRY**
 I have this minute received your card postmarked Aug 21.
- 9 SEPTEMBER **EMILY DAWSON. DALVINGTON, PRIORY RD, MALVERN**
 I was in London last week for a couple of days & swooped down on Knightsbridge, hoping I might find you Two or get some news of you. [...] I had a week in Ford, crowded to its utmost capacity with refugees: B.B, Mary, the Stracheys, Grace Worthington (who tried to see you in London a fortnight ago & could get no address information from hotel) [...].
- 11 SEPTEMBER **PABLO PICASSO [AVIGNON]**
 Je suis bien content de vous savoir toujours en Angleterre. Nous pensons rester ici jusque la fin de la guerre et nous ne sommes pas mal et même je travaille un peu mais je suis bien inquiet je pense à Paris à ma maison & toutes mes choses.
- ND **STEIN TO JOHN LANE. SARSEN LAND, LOCKERIDGE, MARLBOROUGH, WILTSHIRE**
 I am sending you a paragraph. Will you have the contract made and sent to me here or would you rather have me come in to London before you leave. If you wish me to come let me know what day the contract will be ready.
- 15 SEPTEMBER **JOHN LANE. THE BODLEY HEAD. SENT TO LOCKERIDGE**
 I am sending you a copy of the agreement, which I hope will be satisfactory. Do not trouble to come up, but when you are in town I hope you will come to see me.
- 16 SEPTEMBER **MILDRED ALDRICH. LA CRESTE, HUIRY**
 I was within sight and hearing of the smoke and the cannonading, and just before noon on Saturday September 5 the battle advanced into that plain before my garden and for eight hours right under

- my eyes they pounded their heavy artillery and ended just after dark by shelling the plain [...] From Wednesday to Saturday I fed and helped to clean up the retreating English from the battles of Mons, Cambrai, St Quentin, La Fere, made tea for the officers.
- 27 SEPTEMBER **E.L. MIRRLEES. 11 CRANMER ROAD, CAMBRIDGE**
 We have felt so much for you & dear Miss Toklas in these uneasy weeks & for your sakes as well as for the great issues involved rejoice that Paris has escaped untouched by those barbarian Germans. We fancy however it will be some time before you can get back to Paris so will you ^both^ come to us for a long visit & settle down to a quiet hum drum life which is all we can offer you in these anxious times. You have both so many interests that I am sure you will find lots to interest you & we shall all love to have you make your home with us for a time. Our love to you both & to dear Evelyn & Alfred. We were so sorry to find you all still absent on Thursday.
- 29 SEPTEMBER **JUAN GRIS. COLLIOURE**
 Thank you for your card.
- 30 SEPTEMBER **EMILY DAWSON. DALVINGTON, PRIORY RD, MALVERN**
 [Letter addressed to Miss Stein, 17 Carlyle Square, Chelsea, London SW.]
- 30 SEPTEMBER **ANNIE LANE. 8 LANCASTER GATE TERRACE, LONDON**
 It would give me much pleasure to see you and your friend again. If you are not busy Sunday afternoon perhaps you will come & take a cup of tea with us. [...] Mr Lane goes to America next Saturday.
- 30 SEPTEMBER **HELEN HOPE MIRRLEES. 11 CRANMER ROAD, CAMBRIDGE**
 Letter written in French to Madame Lentz, 3 rue de Beaune introducing Gertrude Stein and giving permission for Stein to arrange Mirrlees' 'affaires'. The address is the Hotel De L'Elysee.
- 2 OCTOBER **MIKE STEIN. AGAY, VAR**
 Just had a card from Leo.
 [Letter addressed to 17 Carlyle Square, London. Previous letters addressed to the Knightsbridge Hotel.]
- 8 OCTOBER **MILDRED ALDRICH. LA CRESTE, HUIRY**
 [...] I am glad your steps are turned a little toward dear France [...].

1914 - AFTER VISIT TO ENGLAND

Once Stein had returned to Paris in October 1914, her letters do not record any further travels. Correspondence which is dated to the Parisian winter 1914-15 is largely concerned with domestic matters.

- 18 OCTOBER **ERIC WHITEHEAD. 17 CARLYLE SQUARE, LONDON**
 How long do you think it will take you to get to North? Please give him my very best love if you see him.
 [Written to Mrs. Whitehead. Held in the Stein Collection]

- 18 OCTOBER **MILDRED ALDRICH. LA CRESTE, HUIRY**
 Enchanted. Your wire has just come. [...] It does give me such a 'comfy' feeling to think that you are back, although I wrote you day before yesterday not to come yet.
- 19 OCTOBER **GERTRUDE STEIN TO CARL VAN VECHTEN. 27 RUE DE FLEURUS, PARIS**
 We are back in Paris, just got here a couple of days ago.
- 19 OCTOBER **EVA PICASSO. [AVIGNON]**
 Nous avons reçu vos cartes, nous sommes très contents que tous vous plaisiez à Paris.
- 26 OCTOBER **JUAN GRIS. COLLIOURE**
 Here in the country we could still manage to live for more than a month on the money you have sent.
 [Stein had sent 200 francs to Gris.]
- 27 OCTOBER **MIKE STEIN. AGAY, VAR. SENT TO 27 RUE DE FLEURUS, PARIS**
 So you are back at 27. How do you like it?
- 27 OCTOBER **EVELYN WHITEHEAD. 17 CARLYLE SQUARE, LONDON**
 [...] we are missing, missing, missing you both - I returned to a mute Jessie, stammering as never before [...].
- 30 OCTOBER **JUAN GRIS. COLLIOURE. TO DANIEL-HENRY KAHNWEILER**
 Matisse, who has gone to Paris for a few days, has succeeded in arranging with Gertrude and Brenner that, between them, I shall receive 125 frs. per month. [...] Of course Gertrude and Brenner expect to get pictures in exchange.
- 12 NOVEMBER **EVELYN WHITEHEAD. 121 BEAUFORT MANSIONS, CHELSEA, LONDON**
 Could you & Alice arrive about Dec: 14th (or earlier if you can). Eric is free from the 16th so we shall try & go to the country a little earlier, but if 18th suits you better stick to it only come we are building on that - forgive this dreary letter: Jessie is really very seedy, she looks ill & miserable & E. & A. nervy so I am blue, blue, blue, & we are wanting to move into more space - we are thinking of asking H. Gibb to spend Xmas with us, would that suit you both - [...].
- 13 NOVEMBER **JUAN GRIS. PARIS. TO DANIEL-HENRY KAHNWEILER**
 Gertrude Stein is willing to help me to the extent of 50 frs. per month as agreed and on the conditions you propose.
- 14 NOVEMBER **PABLO PICASSO. [AVIGNON]**
 Nous pensons partir Mardi prochain à 6 heures et ½ du soir et nous esperons etre à Paris le matin apres vers 7 heures matin. Nous irons vous voir le même jour.
- 25 NOVEMBER **MILDRED ALDRICH TO CLARA STEICHEN. LA CRESTE, HUIRY**
 Gertrude and Alice came out Oct 30 and stayed three days and I went back to Paris with them [...].

- 26 NOVEMBER **GERTRUDE STEIN TO MIKE STEIN. 27 RUE DE FLEURUS, PARIS**
I have had from Julian \$200 that he sent me to London by the Embassy.
[Letter from Mike Stein to Gertrude Stein 23 January 1915 shows this sum was sent on 7 August 1914. This letter also shows Stein spent \$372.86 on furniture for 27 rue de Fleurus.]
- 28 NOVEMBER **EVELYN WHITEHEAD. 12 ELM PARK GARDENS, CHELSEA, LONDON SW**
We are sick at heart over your not coming, I had been fearing it a little, your last letter & Alice's sounded warnings but it is horrid & we miss looking forward dreadfully - you must come & go as you like dears, only when you have the impulse don't forget what it means at this end will you.
- 4 DECEMBER **EVELYN WHITEHEAD. 12 ELM PARK GARDENS, LONDON**
We cannot go over to you just now dear, I wish we could - Three days ago I got a delerious letter from North, saying that he had got a weeks leave to come Home!
- 21 DECEMBER **ETTA CONE. [No address]**
Sister Claribel writes very cheerful happy letters from Munich where she talks of remaining all winter. [...] I wrote to Mike when the war broke out to let me know whether you or they needed financial aid & he wrote you did not.
- 21 DECEMBER **HARRY PHELAN GIBB. SARSEN LAND, LOCKERIDGE, MARLBOROUGH, WILTSHIRE**
Mrs Whitehead worked tremendously well for the little Show at her house & I believe there is £36 awaiting me isn't it good for War times. [...] I saw Sir Roger. he seemed angry not to have seen you / I rather fancied sort of blamed me some how. he doesn't want to lose you. [...] But why! is there not one of your books or more on the 'Omega' sideboards. perhaps you don't wish it.
- 23 DECEMBER **MILDRED ALDRICH TO CLARA STEICHEN. LA CRESTE, HUIRY**
[...] I am going up to Paris Thursday and coming down again Saturday, and Gertrude and Alice are coming to Miss Tozier's to eat a little Christmas dinner.
- 24 DECEMBER **JUAN GRIS. PARIS**
I regret that I cannot let you have the pictures you asked for yesterday. I am upset by the misunderstanding we talked about yesterday and have decided not to sell anything for the moment.
- 30 DECEMBER **MILDRED ALDRICH TO CLARA STEICHEN. LA CRESTE, HUIRY**
On Christmas day Miss Tozier asked Alice and Gertrude Stein over for breakfast - and I saw no one else - [...].
- 31 DECEMBER **ALFRED NORTH WHITEHEAD. 12 ELM PARK GARDENS, LONDON**
When are you and Miss Stein coming over again to see us? We shall be bitterly disappointed if it is not soon. Phelan Gibb has just left us for Lockeridge. I like his pictures more and more.

1915 - BEFORE VISIT TO MALLORCA

Letters sent during the second part of Stein's Parisian winter 1914-15 indicate that she was planning a vacation in Mallorca. An important aspect of this correspondence is the encouragement given by William Cook, and by Jeanne [Moallic] Cook, to visit them in Palma.

- 6 JANUARY **WILLIAM COOK. [PALMA]**
The almonds are coming to flower and in a couple of weeks it will be great. The war doesn't seem to exist down here. The sympathies are pretty strongly German [...] the church of course is anti France - and they run every thing here.
- 12 JANUARY **WILLIAM COOK. [PALMA]**
We spent Christmas eve in Barcelona. It was very gay - and we tried to do our part in helping on the gaiety. We did on lobster a la american with a bottle of Bordeaux.
- 14 JANUARY **JUAN GRIS. PARIS. TO DANIEL-HENRY KAHNWEILER**
As for my debts, this is the position: Miss Stein has written to say that I don't owe her the 200 frs. because they were a gift. But as a result of this business I have quarrelled with her.
- 29 JANUARY **HARRY PHELAN GIBB. LOCKERIDGE, MARLBOROUGH**
I wonder if you are working much. You seem to be a marvel. Can you tell me how it is done. [...] It was lucky for me you introduced me to the Whiteheads. Saved my life once more.
- 12 FEBRUARY **MIKE STEIN. AGAY, VAR**
Enclosed you will find draft for \$2 000 - will send you the other \$2 000 in the early part of March. [...] Should you want to leave earlier let me know and I'll send the second draft to you to Spain - Do you plan to leave your Cezannes in your studio when you leave? If not put the Femme au chapeau with them.
[Although Alfred H. Barr dates the sale of La Femme au Chapeau to Mike Stein after the war, *Matisse: His Art and his Public* p.199, Donald Gallup dates the sale in February, *The Flowers of Friendship* p.106]
- 15 FEBRUARY **WILLIAM COOK. [PALMA]**
We're waiting for you to get here. Do hurry.
- 17 FEBRUARY **MIKE STEIN. AGAY, VAR**
Palma aint got any thing on us. The almond trees are in full bloom [...].
- 26 FEBRUARY **MAUD CRUTTWEEL. SAN REMO, ITALY**
Im going to pay all my expenses at the tables & I've won already - The weather is beautiful & Im very glad to be here, so glad that if I can win a little money I shall stay on for a bit - Why dont you come? You might pay the expenses at Rouge et Noir like me - like I hope to do at least. The only thing I regret are my visits to you & those I do regret very much. [...] Later: all my winnings gone. alas!

- 3 MARCH** **WILLIAM COOK. 17 CALLE DE LOS BANOS, PALMA**
 We are delighted that you are coming down [...] Be sure to let us know what boat you take from Barcelona so that we can meet it. The hotel Victoria is open the year round. [...] Next month will be just the time to get here - be sure to be here before the 18th as that is the first Bull-fight and you mustn't miss it.
- 7 MARCH** **JEANNE [MOALLIC] COOK. PALMA**
 J'apprend avec plaisir qu'on vas vous revoir d'ici 3 semaines il fera assez chaud pour d'ici la car maintenant il fait déjà chaud c'est remplie d'oiseaux et de papillons mon petit jardin est remplie de fleurs [...].
- 8 MARCH** **MIKE STEIN. AGAY, VAR**
 I believe Americans need some kind of U.S. Passports now when they go from any one country in Europe to another. So you had better look into the subject in time, so as not to get hung up on the Spanish border or at the French border on your way back.
- 11 MARCH** **HARRY PHELAN GIBB. LOCKERIDGE, MARLBOROUGH**
 What a joy it was to be back in Paris & see you again [...] Mrs Whitehead was most anxious to know all things about you & what you said & what she said. What an interest she takes in you.
- 18 MARCH** **MAUD CRUTTWELL. SAN REMO, ITALY**
 Now you will be going away just as I come back for everything is breaking up here & the hotel will be closing & my finances wont stand going to Rome with the others - So I shall come back & Paris will be gloomier than ever without you.
- 27 MARCH** **GERTRUDE STEIN TO CARL VAN VECHTEN. 27 RUE DE FLEURUS, PARIS**
 We are not leaving Paris xcept for the summer. We are rather full up with war and xpect to stay some weeks in Palma where they haven't got it. [...] Later we will be in Madrid and then in the north of Spain. Continue to address here.
- 29 MARCH** **MILDRED ALDRICH. LA CRESTE, HUIRY**
 I am glad you are off to the sun and where this awful waiting will not be as hard, am so sorry not to have seen you. I should have gone to you last Wednesday had I had any idea you were off so soon. [...] Is it for all summer again - or until Joffre comes 'marching home again' or what? [...] Are you going to try and forget the war? Might as well.
- 29 MARCH** **MILDRED ALDRICH TO CLARA STEICHEN. LA CRESTE, HUIRY**
 The Steins - that is to say Gertrude and Alice have to Barcelona for easter. You would laugh is to see the letters I got after the Zeppelin raid. They were all st comic. What fools the Germans are to imagine they could terrorize Paris in that way. Why every one I know rushed out in the hope to see a Zeppelin.

1915 - VISIT TO MALLORCA

An approximate calendar gives indications of Stein's movements during the first part of her visit to Palma de Mallorca:

[by] 31 MARCH	1915	- in Barcelona
[by] 11 APRIL	1915	- in Palma
[by] 27 JUNE	1915	- moved to Calle Dos de Mayo, 45
[by] 10 AUGUST	1915	- 5/7 days in Valencia for bullfights
[by] 23 NOVEMBER	1915	- decide to spend winter

One feature which is apparent in the correspondence, is the late decision to spend the winter on Mallorca. Evidently, Stein's visit had been planned as a short vacation.

Throughout my text, I use the Spanish arrangement of Stein's address: Calle Dos de Mayo, 45. However, in the transcription of her letters, I reproduce her version of this address: 45 Calle del Dos de Mayo.

31 MARCH	PABLO PICASSO. ADDRESSED TO GRAND HÔTEL, CUSTRO NACIONES, BARCELONA Bon souvenir de Paris à Gertrude et Alice.
11 APRIL	GERTRUDE STEIN TO HARRY PHELAN GIBB. PALMA, MALLORCA Here we are very content and peaceful in Palma. Its beautiful here and warm which is a blessing. How are you getting on. We had a lively time in Barcelona with some journalist friends of Picasso. They are all pro Ally so we didn't quarrel. Everybody is xcept clericals. Our address is Hotel Victoria, Terreno, Palma da Mallorca, Isles Balears, Spain.
17 APRIL	PABLO PICASSO. ADDRESSED TO HOTEL VICTORIA, TERRENO, PALMA DE MALLORCA, ISLAS BALAERES J'ai reçu une lettre de Reventos.
26 APRIL	LEO STEIN TO NINA AUZIAS. I am here (Genoa) and practically on the way [...] I hope to return from America better in all ways and more worthy of you, and perhaps of myself also [...].
4 MAY	GERTRUDE STEIN TO CARL VAN VECHTEN. GRAND HÔTEL, PALMA DE MALLORCA I guess we will be staying on here several months.
26 MAY	GERTRUDE STEIN TO CARL VAN VECHTEN. GRAND HÔTEL, PALMA DE MALLORCA We are staying on here another two months I imagine.
9 JUNE	MILDRED ALDRICH. LA CRESTE, HUIRY [...] a few of the letters will appear in the July, August and Septembers Atlantic. The book comes out in September.
27 JUNE	MILDRED ALDRICH. LA CRESTE, HUIRY So you have taken a house there. I suppose that means that it will be a long time before I see you.

- 10 AUGUST **GERTRUDE STEIN TO CARL VAN VECHTEN. 45 CALLE DEL DOS DE MAYO, TERRENO, PALMA DE MALLORCA**
 Anyway we have taken this little house for a few months and have imported our french servant who remains critical of the blue of the Mediterranean. It isn't water color she says. We don't know how long we are going to stay. A few months anyway. We have just been to Valencia for a week and saw all that there is to see of bull-fighting, Gallo, Gallito, and Belmonte. [...] It's the only thing that can make you forget the war that is it's the only thing that's made me forget the war.
- 14 AUGUST **GERTRUDE STEIN TO HENRY McBRIDE. 45 CALLE DEL DOS DE MAYO, TERRENO**
 I was looking forward to seeing you and if you had come in time you would have gone to Valencia with where we saw five days of wonder that is bull-fighting. Gallo Gallito and Belmonte. [...] I have not been working this last month have been kind of low in my mind about this damned war all xcept the Valencia week. By the way did Vollard give you his book and what did he say. I did a little skit on him. [...] Its name is M. Vollard et Cézanne.
- 19 AUGUST **MILDRED ALDRICH. LA CRESTE, HUIRY**
 So nice of you to like the 'stuff'. I am sending the August number thinking perhaps it will not be easy for you to get so far away.
- 23 AUGUST **GERTRUDE STEIN TO HENRY McBRIDE. [PALMA]**
 Its getting a little damp here so we are going back to Paris awhile so address there if you write.
 [Letter postmarked in New York on 7 September 1915]
- 23 AUGUST **GERTRUDE STEIN TO CARL VAN VECHTEN. 45 CALLE DEL DOS DE MAYO, TERRENO**
 It's getting a little damp here now that the sun isn't hot so we will probably be going to Paris for a bit and then somewhere in Spain.
- 4 SEPTEMBER **MAUD CRUTTWELL. 46 RUE DE L'UNIVERSITÉ, PARIS**
 I was so delighted to get your letters, but very disappointed to know that you have settled in Spain & not talking of coming back.
- 8 SEPTEMBER **GERTRUDE STEIN TO HENRY McBRIDE. PALMA**
 Very likely I will be back in Paris in six weeks or so so continue to address there and I'll get it alright. The play that I am doing now is inspired by the Mallorcans a very foolish lot of decayed pirates with an awful language. It has begun well.
- 13 OCTOBER **MILDRED ALDRICH. LA CRESTE, HUIRY**
 So you are not bringing Polybe back to Paris?
- 22 OCTOBER **MAUD CRUTTWELL. 46 RUE DE L'UNIVERSITÉ, PARIS**
 I wish you were here now. I used to so much enjoy those afternoons in your studio & I look forward to December with impatience.
- 20 NOVEMBER **MILDRED ALDRICH. LA CRESTE, HUIRY**
 [...] the book was sent to you Nov 6 [...].

[23] NOVEMBER **GERTRUDE STEIN TO HENRY McBRIDE. 45 CALLE DEL DOS DE MAYO, TERRENO**

After all we are staying the winter here. It's nice and warm spring vegetables are coming in and our landlord has made us a chimney where we burn olive wood after the sun sets. For a while I didn't work but now I am working a lot. I have done a number of short things and a play and now I am doing some longer things and another play. These last things the best.

[Letter received at the New York Sun on 7 December 1915. My date of postal is deduced from another letter postmarked in New York on 7 September 1915, postmarked in Palma on 23 August 1915.]

5 DECEMBER **MILDRED ALDRICH. LA CRESTE, HUIRY**

So glad you really liked the book. It may amuse you to know that it had its third printing Oct 28 - twelve days after it appeared. [...] I am glad that you have learned to love the country.

9 DECEMBER **PABLO PICASSO. 5 BIS RUE SCHOELCHER, PARIS**

Je viens de recevoir votre mot - Ne vous etonnez pas si je ne vous ai [?word] écrit depuis que vous etes partie. Mais ma vie est un enfer. Eva a ete toujours malade et chaque jour plus et maintenant elle est dans une maison de sante déjà depuis un mois. [...] J'ai meme demandé a Beffa quand je le rencontrai de vos nouvelles.

25 DECEMBER **MILDRED ALDRICH. LA CRESTE, HUIRY**

I return your envelopes that you may see that the Censor reads all your letters - mustn't he have a nice time?

25 DECEMBER **WILLIAM COOK. 15 QUAI CONTI, PARIS**

Its nice to be in Paris again but I don't know that you will miss much by waiting for the Spring, and the vie is somewhat chere. [...] I go every morning at seven o'clock to an ecole de chauffeurs, have been going ever since we got here, and am getting to be quite 'save' in the metier.

1916 - VISIT TO MALLORCA

Having decided to stay in Mallorca over the winter of 1915-16, Stein's correspondence records a domestic life at Calle Dos de Mayo, 45. When the weather became too hot in the summer of 1916, she prepared to leave the island. By 1 May 1916, she was in Barcelona. By 17 June 1916, she had returned to Paris.

1 JANUARY **HARRY PHELAN GIBB. WHITEWAY COLONY, NR STROUD**

How tremendously good of you to send me that 'cheque' I thank you enormously it was quite a 'Godsend' [...] I am glad you have been doing some good work I wish I could drop into your studio now & have a fine talk & laugh like old times.

8 JANUARY

PABLO PICASSO. 5 BIS RUE SCHOELCHER, PARIS

Ma pauvre Eva est morte dans le premiers jours de Decembre. [...] Moi aussi je serais bien content de vous voir depuis si longtemps que nous sommes separez je serais été bien content de parler à une amie comme vous.

13 JANUARY

GERTRUDE STEIN TO HENRY McBRIDE. [PALMA]

We are having a delightful winter here as to work and climate. I have done two more plays and am doing another and a monologue and a dialogue. Get kind of sad and restless every now and then because I can't be published. [...] We go back in April.

25 JANUARY

MAUD CRUTTWELL. 46 RUE DE L'UNIVERSITÉ, PARIS

In your last letter you said you would come in Dec & now we are at the end of January. Do write me a line to tell me that you mean to come before long. Though why anyone who can avoid it should come back to this gloom I dont know!

27 JANUARY

MILDRED ALDRICH. LA CRESTE, HUIRY

The English censor cut out all the names in the book and suppressed the index to the map. [...] I am glad Gertrude loves the country.

8 FEBRUARY

MABEL WEEKS. BARNARD COLLEGE, NEW YORK

It was so good to get again one of your delightful postcards. It makes me hope that I may get a letter some day after all these years of silence. [...] Leo is here just now [...].

15 FEBRUARY

LEO STEIN TO GERTRUDE STEIN. 401 WEST END AVENUE, NEW YORK

I have broken into authorship of late to the extent of a couple of articles in a new review, one on Cézanne and one a criticism of a book. They want me to write regularly for them, and I am trying to get into the habit. [...] I'm getting to be a real literary at last.

7 MARCH

WILLIAM COOK. 15 QUAI CONTI, PARIS

When do you think of coming by the way? It is a bit cold and the weather a bit uncertain as yet, there has been a lot of snow lately, but in another month it ought to commence to be rather nice. Naturally I shall expect to meet you at the station with an auto and conduct you chez you [...].

10 MARCH

MILDRED ALDRICH. LA CRESTE, HUIRY

But you must have had a letter from me soon after you mailed yours of the 4th which came yesterday.

21 MARCH

EVELYN WHITEHEAD. 12 ELM PARK GARDENS, CHELSEA

[...] I long to see you both are you never coming to us? I am sending this to you in Paris? [...] We have to sell Lockeridge rather horrid 'mais c'est la guerre' [...].

22 MARCH

WILLIAM COOK. 15 QUAI CONTI, PARIS

Do come back before the price of living gets so high you wont be able to stay. [...] Am sure you will be glad to get back. We may be having peace on us any minute now and you dont want to miss that.

- 10 APRIL **GERTRUDE STEIN TO CARL VAN VECHTEN. 45 CALLE DEL DOS DE MAYO, TERRENO**
We are leaving our island with some sorrow. It has been an xtremely nice island and we have gotten so that we really know its gossip. [...] We are leaving now in a few weeks and we will go to Madrid etc and get back to Paris sometime in June.
- 22 APRIL **WILLIAM COOK. 15 QUAI CONTI, PARIS**
Have a couple Atlantic Monthlys for you but when shall I send them to Barcelona? am sending this letter there as it will probably not arrive in Palma before you leave. [...] Has Jeanne already come up to Paris? and how long before you all are coming?
- 25 APRIL **MILDRED ALDRICH. LA CRESTE, HUIRY**
I have not written for two reasons: first I thought you had already gone to Barcelona. [...] I suppose you are sorry to leave your island, and Paris is not gay though it is very beautiful - and living is costly.
- 1 MAY **MIKE STEIN. CANNES. ADDRESSED TO GRAND HOTEL QUATRO NACIONES, RAMBLA, BARCELONA**
I sent a cheque to Mudie's and the 200 to Jeanne Poule.
- 19 MAY **JAMES LINDO WEBB. [BRITISH VICE-CONSUL] PALMA**
Red Cross is going right well; it must be due to your so prettily bestowed parting blessing. [...] I am thinking of giving up any rather farcical pretence of consul business and devoting the time to the Red Cross work, wh. would be of more value than helping other people to be lazy wh. is what I am doing now.

1916 - AFTER THE VISIT TO MALLORCA

When Stein returned to Paris in June 1916, she applied to different war relief organizations. She began to raise money for a Ford car in which she could distribute medical supplies.

- 17 JUNE **MIKE STEIN. CANNES. ADDRESSED TO 27 RUE DE FLEURUS, PARIS**
So you are back again.
- 20 JUNE **MILDRED ALDRICH. LA CRESTE, HUIRY**
So you are back at last, and I am afraid that you are finding it pretty cold. I'd love to see you, but I am afraid it will be some weeks yet. Of course Jeanne told you that I was in Paris a fortnight ago, and cannot go again for several weeks.
- 29 JUNE **LINA [MME. GEORGES] MARCHAND. TERRENO. MALLORCA**
J'ai été si contente de recevoir votre si aimable lettre et je vous en remercie beaucoup. [...] Les chers moustiques sont toujours les mêmes, les gens de Palma aussi, rien n'est changé ... [...].

29 JULY

EMILY DAWSON. HOLMCROFT, BUDE

It was a nice surprise to get your card a few days ago & to see you were back in Paris. [...] Now do send me an account of yourself, your work & Alice hers - is it still socks & why did she never answer my queries about wool?

6 AUGUST

MIKE STEIN. CANNES

The picture of you as a 'chuffer' I keep before me to drive away dull care.

10 AUGUST

BIRD GANS. 150 FIELD POINT ROAD, GREENWICH, CONNECTICUT

We received your letter a couple of days ago and Howard got busy about it at once. He is off for the Plattsburg Military Camp for four weeks. He left last night. So Fred is going to take charge of the results of his efforts. He gave one hundred dollars and received fifty the first day and then he wrote six or seven letters to wealthy friends and will probably raise the sum before long.

20 AUGUST

MILDRED ALDRICH. LA CRESTE, HUIRY

Yes I think you could knit in a car, once you were off the pavements. [...] When Gertrude gets a job are you going to ride beside her while she chaufs?

28 AUGUST

MRS. NINA LARREY DURYEA. THE DURYEA COMMITTEE OF AMERICAN WAR RELIEF

Miss Wharton tells me of your kind suggestion as to helping with our delivery motor. I only returned from a trip of inspection but would be most happy to see you.

31 AUGUST

MISS FRANCIS WHARTON. 11 RUE LOUIS-LE-GRAND, PARIS. THE DURYEA COMMITTEE OF AMERICAN WAR RELIEF

Mr Ryan will be here tomorrow, Friday, at half past ten and will be very glad to take you with him and show you about delivering the soldiers' packets.

1 SEPTEMBER

Un Certificat de Capacité Pour La Conduite Des Voitures À Pétrole. Paris. Le Prefet De Police.

1 SEPTEMBER

MRS. NINA LARREY DURYEA. THE DURYEA COMMITTEE OF AMERICAN WAR RELIEF

It was so good of you to offer to help us. I thought it was all fixed, but it has come to me that the nice fellow who drives for us now will do all that is necessary for the present and would feel affronted to have part of his volunteer duties relegated to a new-comer.

14 SEPTEMBER

HOWARD GANS. WOOLWORTH BUILDING, NEW YORK

Your letter to Bird, in which you asked us to try to collect funds for a Ford motor van, reached us just as I was about to go to a military training camp at Plattsburg [...] Before leaving I had time only to write letters to the more available of my friends, from whom I hoped to get the \$450.00 necessary to supplement the \$100. I was contributing myself, to cover the cost of delivering the

car to you. On my return from Plattsburg, however, I find that the total collected is just half the necessary amount, and I shall have to do some more soliciting.

19 SEPTEMBER **CLAIRE ELIASCO. ATELIER DE L'HÔPITAL LELEGARD À SAINT-CLOUD**

Mrs Ford of the American Red Cross thought you might be willing to drive for the Society 'L'Atelier du Blessé'.

8 NOVEMBER **C.F. FARAN. FRENCH WOUNDED EMERGENCY FUND. BASTION 55, PORTE DAUPHINE, PARIS**

We do not feel certain that we could offer you [?word] car work - as we are often unable to find vacancies for people who have been on our list for some time - Still - if, to get your car over it is necessary to say you belong to a definite Fund - I might ask my London Cttee to allow me to do this - on the understanding that if we could employ you we would - [...].

17 NOVEMBER **HOWARD GANS. WOOLWORTH BUILDING, NEW YORK**

Immediately upon receipt of your cable I got Fred, who has charged himself with the purchase and shipment of the car, to communicate with the secretary of the Committee for the relief of French wounded.

[Letter from Howard Gans 28 September 1916 requested 'the exact title under which the Committee with which you are associated conducts its activities' for the French Custom House.]

18 DECEMBER **HOWARD GANS. WOOLWORTH BUILDING, NEW YORK**
[...] I learned only today that it went forward on the 'ESPAGNE' on December 9th. In all probability it will, therefore, have reached the American Committee for the Relief of French Wounded before you get this letter.

1917 - WAR RELIEF WORK IN PERPIGNAN AND IN NÎMES

In the spring of 1917, Stein began two years of war relief work with the American Fund for French Wounded (AFFW). She drove to Perpignan about 18 March 1917. She had arrived by 25 March 1917. This post lasted until 6 August 1917. After two months in Paris, Stein took up a second assignment in Nîmes. By 12 October 1917, she had left for Nîmes.

13 JANUARY **HOWARD GANS. WOOLWORTH BUILDING, NEW YORK**

I got your recent letter telling me that the money for the body had arrived. Did the chassis to fit the body finally come to hand?

17 JANUARY **HARRY PHELAN GIBB. 3 CHELSEA MANOR STUDIOS, FLOOD STREET, CHELSEA, LONDON**

Mrs Whitehead told me she had heard from you recently & that you were very busy with War work. [...] You must have seen Roger [Fry] recently. judging from the articles he has been writing in the Burlington magazine?

- 18 JANUARY **MILDRED ALDRICH. LA CRESTE, HUIRY**
I am terribly excited over your car and shall want to know all about it [...].
- 23 JANUARY **EVELYN WHITEHEAD. 12 ELM PARK GARDENS, CHELSEA**
[...] we are all longing to see you both won't you come this year, do this large house could put you up with freedom.
- 16 FEBRUARY **MILDRED ALDRICH. LA CRESTE, HUIRY**
I suppose when you get really started on your work that I cannot hope to hear often so write before you start.
- 23 FEBRUARY **GERTRUDE STEIN TO CARL VAN VECHTEN. 27 RUE DE FLEURUS, PARIS**
I am at present engaged in good works which includes running a little Ford into the country for the American relief committee and am enjoying it. Otherwise I am working. [...] Some day I want to do a volume of Spanish things [...].
- 8 MARCH **SOUS-SECRETARIAT D'ETAT DU SERVICE DE SANTÉ MILITAIRE, 1ere DIVISION TECHNIQUE**
Certificat Pour Le Ravitaillement En Essence D'Une Voiture Automobile.
- 18 MARCH **GERTRUDE STEIN TO HENRY McBRIDE. 27 RUE DE FLEURUS, PARIS**
Inclosed am I in my new occupation and it's good fun I like driving and anyway it makes the war less brought home to me. [...] we are off for Perpignan.
- 25 MARCH **EMILY DAWSON. [No address]**
[Postcard sent to 27 rue de Fleurus re-addressed to Hotel du Nord, Perpignan.]
- 1 APRIL **MILDRED ALDRICH. LA CRESTE, HUIRY**
Well I am proud of you. Think of you two rushing through the passes in a snow-storm !!
- 7 APRIL **WILLIAM COOK. 15 QUAI CONTI, PARIS**
We shudder several times every day thinking of your 65 inches of snow.
- 12 APRIL **MIKE STEIN. GUÉTHARY, BASS. PYR**
Just recd your letter from Perpignan.
[Letter gives full address: Hotel du Nord et de Petit Paris, Perpignan, Pyrènees Orientales.]
- 20 APRIL **MAUD CRUTTWELL. HOTEL TARELLI, NICE**
I'm sorry to say I've had such bad luck that I have to stop playing. [...] It must be so amusing rushing about with your car especially in this weather.
- 24 APRIL **LETTIE LINDO WEBB. CONQUISTADOR 28, PALMA**
How glad you must be to be doing things of use. [...] Madame Marchand was in yesterday - & we talked much of you both. She had just received your second letter. oh. yes. do come back - [...].
- 4 JUNE **GERTRUDE STEIN TO HENRY McBRIDE. [PERPIGNAN]**
We are wonderfully active these days and I like it. I am working quite a little too but I will write you a letter soon. We will be back in Paris the end of the month.

- 18 JUNE **HOWARD GANS. WOOLWORTH BUILDING, NEW YORK**
 Your very welcome picture card representing ^the^ 'Aunt Pauline' with you in the background served to add an additional prick to my conscience, which has become tender over my failure to answer a postal received from you some months ago exhibiting you in the unfilial proceeding of sitting on Aunt Pauline.
- 23 JUNE **MIKE STEIN. HOTEL TERMINUS, BORDEAUX**
 [Last letter from Mike Stein to Gertrude Stein until 25 October 1917. This 23 June 1917 letter is addressed: Hotel de Petit Paris, Perpignan, Pyrènees Orientales.]
- 6 AUGUST **GERTRUDE STEIN TO HENRY McBRIDE. 27 RUE DE FLEURUS, PARIS**
 I can't tell you how pleased I was when I got home and found the Vanity Fairs and the cheque and everything. I do so love to be printed. Even the war has not made me less fond of that.
- 6 OCTOBER **MILDRED ALDRICH. 2 RUE MAUVEPAS, VERSAILLES**
 [...] I shall look in on you for a few minutes [...].
 [Letter addressed to 27 rue de Fleurus.]
- 12 OCTOBER **MILDRED ALDRICH. LA CRESTE, HUIRY**
 I do hope that you ran little Aunty Pauline right out of this weather. [...] I was so glad that I risked that late call on Monday.
- 18 OCTOBER **PABLO PICASSO. [No address]**
 Etes vous à Paris - [...].
 [Letter sent to 27 rue de Fleurus, re-addressed to Hotel Maniret, Nîmes, Gard.]
- 6 NOVEMBER **MILDRED ALDRICH. LA CRESTE, HUIRY**
 I am glad that you are comfortably fixed, and among pleasant people.
- 8 DECEMBER **MIKE STEIN. [No address]**
 [First letter addressed to Hotel du Luxembourg, Nîmes, Gard.]

1918 - WAR RELIEF WORK IN NÎMES

Stein's assignment with the AFFW in Nîmes lasted over a year. She had arrived in Nîmes by 12 October 1917. She was still there on 14 November 1918. By 16 December 1918, she had returned to Paris.

- 20 JANUARY **MILDRED ALDRICH. LA CRESTE, HUIRY**
 How much longer are you to stay at Nimes? [...] Why don't you write a book - a war book? - or are you too near to things to get any perspective at all?
- 26 JANUARY **GERTRUDE STEIN TO HENRY McBRIDE. HOTEL DU LUXEMBOURG, NÎMES**
 We are deep in the enjoyment of Nimes life, we work very hard and we like the local life.

- 11 FEBRUARY **MILDRED ALDRICH. LA CRESTE, HUIRY**
Tell Gertrude I have her card, and I do wish I knew just where you are. It seems such a roundabout way via 27 to Alsace.
- 14 FEBRUARY **GERTRUDE STEIN TO HENRY McBRIDE. HOTEL DU LUXEMBOURG, NÎMES**
We were awfully busy I liked being awfully busy and was very occupied with it and so I didn't get any cards off. [...] I would like some volumes done some time perhaps we will. Portraits and Plays, that would be nice [...].
- 18 MARCH **JESSIE WHITEHEAD. 97 COLEKUME COURT, SW5, LONDON**
Eric has been missing since the 13th.
- 24 MARCH **GERTRUDE STEIN TO CARL VAN VECHTEN. HOTEL DU LUXEMBOURG. NÎMES**
We are most active these days and in between I make little poems.
- 25 MARCH **MILDRED ALDRICH. LA CRESTE, HUIRY**
I rejoice that you are at Nimes - don't come back.
- 7 MAY **PABLO PICASSO. [No address]**
Envoyez moi un mot.
[Letter addressed to Hotel du Luxembourg, Nîmes, Gard.]
- 14 NOVEMBER **PABLO PICASSO. [No address]**
[Letter addressed to Hotel du Luxembourg, Nîmes, Gard.]
- 16 DECEMBER **JESSIE WHITEHEAD. HOTEL MAJESTIC, PLACE DE L'ETOILE, PARIS**
I have had the luck to be stuck on the staff of the British Delegation to the Congress & I should so like it if you would let me come & see you sometime.

1919 - WAR RELIEF WORK IN MULHOUSE

Stein spent the winter of 1918-19 in Paris. Between 3 February 1919 and 4 March 1919, she left for Mulhouse, Alsace. This was to be her last assignment with the AFFW. By 19 June 1919, she had returned to Paris.

- 12 JANUARY **MILDRED ALDRICH. LA CRESTE, HUIRY**
I can't tell you how lovely it was to see you both again.
- 22 JANUARY **JESSIE WHITEHEAD. HOTEL MAJESTIC, PARIS**
I think Mummy's by way of writing a letter, for she asked me for your address in a letter I got yesterday. [...] Daddy is publishing a book on the foundations of Natural Knowledge.
- 3 FEBRUARY **PABLO PICASSO. [No address]**
[Postcard addressed to Banque d'Alsace et Lorraine, Mulhouse.]
- 18 FEBRUARY **H.C. FORD. AMERICAN RED CROSS. 2 PLACE DE RIVOLI, PARIS**
We have been referred to you by MR. WILLIAM EDWARD COOK who wishes to enter the service of the American Red Cross. Will you be so very good as to give us a

- recommendation as to his loyalty, character, ability for our office files.
- 4 MARCH **GERTRUDE STEIN TO HENRY McBRIDE. [MULHOUSE]**
We are in Alsace now and it's nice but in summer we will be in Paris.
- 4 MARCH **GERTRUDE STEIN TO CARL VAN VECHTEN. [MULHOUSE]**
We are enjoying Alsace. It's almost too story-book to write about and besides we're busy but will write just the same.
- 18 MARCH **MAUD CRUTTWELL. HOTEL METROPOLE, GENEVA**
I wonder if you ever have news of Mrs Dodge - I should so like to know what has become of her & whether she has come over to France. I have no news of anyone not even the Berensons.
[Postcard addressed to 8 rue de l'Arsenal, Mulhouse.]
- 17 APRIL **MIKE STEIN. 248 BD. RASPAIL, PARIS**
I guess you all will be coming back soon as I see by the papers that the A.F.F.W. goes out of business in May.
- 14 MAY **WILLIAM COOK. [PARIS]**
The Spanish exhibition of Goyas at the Petite Palais is beautiful. Am sorry if you wont be back to see it.
- 19 JUNE **JESSIE WHITEHEAD. BRITISH DELEGATION, PARIS**
Are you back for good, I hope so, I have missed you so much.
- 23 JULY **MILDRED ALDRICH. LA CRESTE, HUIRY**
Come early tomorrow, so as to have a nice restful afternoon.
- 24 SEPTEMBER **LEO STEIN TO NINA AUZIAS.**
I have a ticket for November 11 and after two weeks I shall be at Genoa.
- 17 NOVEMBER **GERTRUDE STEIN TO HARRY PHELAN GIBB. [PARIS]**
[...] we were so awfully busy in Alsace [...] Here we are at last peace upon us and nothing particular to do.
- 14 DECEMBER **LEO STEIN TO GERTRUDE STEIN. [SETTIGNANO]**
I sent you a note from New York before I left as I found that the antagonism that had grown up some years ago had gotten dissipated and that I felt quite amiable, rather more so even than I used to feel before that strain developed. [...] The fact that I was coming to Europe had nothing to do with it, as I was thinking of writing anyway.
- 18 DECEMBER **ROGER FRY. HOTEL DE LONDRES, 3 RUE BONAPARTE, PARIS**
I hear you are back in Paris. It would be delightful to see you again. May I call on you with O'Conor whom you saw with Clive Bell on Sat. afternoon.

1920-22 - PUBLICATION OF *GEOGRAPHY AND PLAYS*

After her years of service with the AFFW had ended in 1919, Stein began to seek publishers for a collection of her work. It is relevant to record the negotiations for the eventual publication, *Geography and Plays*, because Stein chose to include each of the eight Mallorcan plays. Correspondence dated 1920-22 shows her attempts to interest different publishers in her compositions, and it documents the progress of this self-financed book.

1920

- 16 MARCH **GERTRUDE STEIN TO HENRY McBRIDE. 27 RUE DE FLEURUS, PARIS**
It has been suggested and I think it is a nice suggestion that I do a book of selected things ranging through all my periods and make it a subscription edition.
- ND **GERTRUDE STEIN TO JOHN LANE. [DRAFT OF A LETTER]**
Now that war and relief work over and we have all won at last, I am remembering my works. I wonder if you would care to do a small volume of some things now I have done short sketches about the war and I have also a number of small portraits of all sorts.
- 12 AUGUST **JOHN LANE. THE BODLEY HEAD**
This [*Three Lives*] will be published here early in September [...] With regard to 'Geography and Plays', I cannot undertake to publish this until I see how 'Three Lives' is going to sell.
- 17 AUGUST **GERTRUDE STEIN TO HARRY PHELAN GIBB. [PARIS]**
John Lane brings out *Three Lives* in September. That's all he will say yet.
- 6 SEPTEMBER **JOHN LANE. THE BODLEY HEAD**
Next week I am publishing your 'THREE LIVES'.

1921

- ND **GERTRUDE STEIN TO MABEL WEEKS. 27 RUE DE FLEURUS, PARIS**
I have just come back from London and have seen John Lane. Things look very promising, he is pleased with the progress of *Three Lives* said he was right to have taken it against the advice of his readers and he expects to do *Geography and Plays* in the autumn so I guess you'd better call May and McBride off.

8 AUGUST **JAMES LINDO WEBB. BRITISH VICE CONSULATE,
PALMA**

Its very good to hear that you really think of coming this way again. Mrs Webb and I are cheered with the prospect of seeing you and Miss Toklas once more.

16 AUGUST **DIRECTOR OF THE BODLEY HEAD IN JOHN LANE'S
ABSENCE**

I am afraid that it will not be possible to come to a decision in his absence as on the face of the sales of the previous books, we should not be justified, from the commercial point of view, in taking up any more.

7 NOVEMBER **JAMES LINDO WEBB. BRITISH VICE CONSULATE,
PALMA**

Mrs Webb & I shall be happy to welcome you & Miss Toklas when you come. Please give me a line when you are arriving.

9 NOVEMBER **FOUR SEAS COMPANY PUBLISHERS. 168 DARTMOUTH
STREET, BOSTON**

I have received safely the manuscript of your book, 'Geography and Plays,' and shall write you about it in a few days.

1922

24 JANUARY **GERTRUDE STEIN TO MR. BROWN OF FOUR SEAS
COMPANY**

It looks from your letter as though we are going to publish a book together and the few changes I wish to suggest ^in the contract^ are minor, as in the main I find it quite satisfactory.

11 MAY **GERTRUDE STEIN TO MR. BROWN OF FOUR SEAS
COMPANY**

Thanks very much for sending me the proofs according to date and I am returning them corrected to you under separate cover. [...] The corrections I have made concern themselves with omissions and mistakes in meaning and in letters. These errors are small but the correction of them is very important. I have very carefully noted all of them and I am sure that you will see to the corrections of each one of them and that none of them are overlooked. As we both want the book to be completely satisfactory it will be necessary for me to have final proofs before you proceed to printing.

10 JULY **GERTRUDE STEIN TO MR. BROWN OF FOUR SEAS
COMPANY**

I am sending you back the proofs by to-days mail completely corrected. There were a few mistakes to correct which I have carefully marked and beside I am inclosing you a list of the mistakes corrected. [...] I am having sent to you from San Francisco the second check for a thousand dollars. Will you send me a receipt for this payment and a receipt for the first payment. I must have these receipts on account of income tax returns.

3 AUGUST

FOUR SEAS COMPANY PUBLISHERS. BOSTON

We received a few days ago the package of proofs [...] I have had the proofs carefully revised according to the corrections you made.

23 OCTOBER

GERTRUDE STEIN TO MR. BROWN OF FOUR SEAS COMPANY

Would you please suggest to your English representative that from the interest expressed by several Irish people there will be a sale for 'Geography and Plays' in Dublin.

2 NOVEMBER

GERTRUDE STEIN TO ETTA CONE. HOTEL DE PROVENCE, ST REMY, BOUCHES DU RHONE

The book is coming out shortly, I will be sending you a copy and some notices have apparently already come out [...].

APPENDIX 4

NAMES IN GERTRUDE STEIN'S WRITINGS: 1914-16

A distinctive aspect of the voice-montage is that Stein incorporated the names of her acquaintances within her compositions. Many of these names can be identified, and many recur throughout the work of 1914-16.

Names listed in this Appendix appear in the texts from *Crete* (1914) to *The King or Something* (1917). Thus, it begins with the first voice-montage texts composed in England during the summer of 1914. It ends with the first texts dated to the return to Paris in 1916 (dated 1917 in BTS Volume 15, and in the HG catalogue). I have included only Part I of *Lifting Belly*, the section which was composed in Mallorca.

This list indicates Stein's variation upon names. For example, it becomes easy to see the play on the male and the female names: Fred/Frederica; Henry/Henrietta. Other interesting features emerge. Stein's extensive use of William Cook's name in the Mallorcan writings contrasts with the scarcity of Spanish names.

By setting these names together, one can trace a change in Stein's approach. She had moved away from her method of concealing names in the 1908-12 portraits. For instance, *Two Women* has a private note, not incorporated into the text, stating that the subjects are Claribel Cone and Etta Cone. Also, *A Man* has a note which indicates that it concerns David Edstrom. Each of these three names is written without alteration into the voice-montage compositions.

It is not my purpose to provide an explanation of every name in Stein's writings of 1914-16. When a name gives insights into a work under discussion, it has been identified at the appropriate point within the chapters. My intention in this Appendix is to allow the names to create their own patterns. I have indexed the titles, and the page numbers, so that the context of each name can be found.

- ABBIE *One Sentence* (1914) AFAM p.95
ADELAIDE *Letters and Parcels and Wool* (1916) AFAM p.169
ADOLPH *Possessive Case* (1915) AFAM p.113
ALBERT *All Sunday* (1916) A&B p.104
ALBERT *Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* (1916) G&P p.216
ALFRED *Independent Embroidery* (1915) PL p.83
ALFRED *How Could They Marry Her* (1915) ROAB pp.29-30
ALFRED *No* (1915) AFAM p.41
ALFRED *All Sunday* (1916) A&B p.101
ALFY *Pink Melon Joy* (1915) G&P p.369
ALICE *Possessive Case* (1915) AFAM p.151
ALICE *Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* (1916) G&P p.265
ALLAN *All Sunday* (1916) A&B p.110
ALLAN *Mexico. A Play* (1916) G&P p.307
AMOS, MRS *Mexico. A Play* (1916) G&P p.327
ANDREW *Turkey and Bones and Eating and We Liked It. A Play* (1916) G&P p.249
ANNE *A New Happiness* (1914) PL p.155

ANTONIA *Advertisements* (1916) G&P p.341
ANTHONY *Turkey and Bones and Eating and We Liked It. A Play* (1916) G&P p.239
ANTHONY *Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* (1916) G&P p.217
ANTHONY AND CLEOPATRA *Turkey and Bones and Eating and We Liked It. A Play* (1916) G&P p.244
ANTONIO *Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* (1916) G&P p.218
APPOLONIA *David Daisy and Appolonia* (1915) P&P p.226
ARTHUR *Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* (1916) G&P p.215
ARTHUR *Letters and Parcels and Wool* (1916) AFAM p.169
ARTHUR, HENRY *Letters and Parcels and Wool* (1916) AFAM p.167
AUGUSTINE *Letters and Parcels and Wool* (1916) AFAM p.168
AUGUSTINE *Mexico. A Play* (1916) G&P p.311
AUGUSTINE *Ladies' Voices. Curtain Raiser* (1916) G&P p.204

BAKER, MRS & HERBERT *Letters and Parcels and Wool* (1916) AFAM pp.170-71
BALDWIN, MARK *Mexico. A Play* (1916) G&P p.324
BARTHOLOMEW *I Must Try To Write The History Of Belmonte* (1916) G&P p.72
BARTHOLOMEW *Universe or Hand-Reading* (1916) PL p.271
BARTHOLOMEW *Captain William Edwards* (1916) PL p.272
BARTHOLOMEW *All Sunday* (1916) A&B p.100
BARTHOLOMEW *Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* (1916) G&P p.224
BEDDLINGTON *Lifting Belly* (1917) BTV p.85
BEE, MISS JOSEPHINE *Crete* (1914) BTV p.173
BEEDE, JOHN *Mexico. A Play* (1916) G&P p.320
BEEF, FREDERICK & HARRIET *For The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters* (1916) G&P p.229
BEFFA *A New Happiness* (1914) PL p.151, p.152
BEFFA, MR *Possessive Case* (1915) AFAM p.125
BEFFA, MRS *The King or Something* (1917) G&P p.130
BELL, MR COLIN *For The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters* (1916) G&P p.229
BELL, MR HENRY *Mexico. A Play* (1916) G&P p.323
BELL, LINDO *Mexico. A Play* (1916) G&P p.324
BELL, MR PAUL COLES *Mexico. A Play* (1916) G&P p.323
BELLA *If You Had Three Husbands* (1915) G&P p.384
BELLE *If You Had Three Husbands* (1915) G&P p.384
BELMONTE *I Must Try To Write The History Of Belmonte* (1916) G&P p.70
BELMONTE *What Does Cook Want To Do* (1916) PL p.32
BERENSON, MR *Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* (1916) G&P p.263
BERNY, COUNT *Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* (1916) G&P p.262
BERTHA *Mrs. Emerson* (1914) ROAB p.45, p.46, p.47
BERTHA *All Sunday* (1916) A&B p.114
BERTIE *Johnny Grey* (1915) G&P p.173
BERTIE *Possessive Case* (1915) AFAM p.151
BERTIE *Not Sightly. A Play* (1915) G&P p.293
BESSIE *Mrs. Emerson* (1914) ROAB p.45, p.46, p.47
BING, MR & MRS *Mexico. A Play* (1916) G&P p.322
BIRD *Mexico. A Play* (1916) G&P p.309

BIRTHDAY, CONSTANCE G *Letters and Parcels and Wool* (1916) AFAM p.163
BLACKWELL, MR *One Sentence* (1914) AFAM p.104
BLAKE, MR & MRS HENRY *One Sentence* (1914) AFAM p.104
BLANCHE *Crete* (1914) BTV p.172
BLANCHE *No* (1915) AFAM p.41
BOBBIE *Do Let Us Go Away. A Play* (1916) G&P p.220
BOBBY *Possessive Case* (1915) AFAM p.125
BONET, MR *Independent Embroidery* (1915) PL p.81
BONNET, ALFRED *Look At Us* (1916) PL p.266
BONNET, ALFRED *For The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters* (1916) G&P p.230
BONNETS *For The Country Entirely. A Play in Letters* (1916) G&P p.230
BONNETT, ROSE *Water Pipe* (1916) ROAB p.31
BOURNVILLE, MR *Turkey and Bones and Eating and We Liked It. A Play* (1916) G&P p.252
BOWERS, MARQUISE OF *Please Do Not Suffer. A Play* (1916) G&P p.262
BOYD *Independent Embroidery* (1915) PL p.81
BOYD, MR & MRS *One Sentence* (1914) AFAM p.104
BRACKETT, HARRY *Advertisements* (1916) G&P p.343
BREWSTER, CAMILLA *Possessive Case* (1915) AFAM p.148
BROOK, HERBERT *Letters and Parcels and Wool* (1916) AFAM p.165
BRUCES, THE *Not Sightly. A Play* (1915) G&P p.301
BRUMMER *Possessive Case* (1915) AFAM p.150
BRYAN *Look At Us* (1916) PL p.261
BRYCE *Crete* (1914) BTV p.172
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In the year October 1989 to October 1990, I made a thorough examination of Stein's manuscripts dated 1874-75 to 1913. This period of extensive reading allowed me to place Stein's writing of 1914-16 within a context of her previous work.

This is a complete list of the manuscript notebooks, and loose leaves, which I studied: Radcliffe Themes (1874-75); Q.E.D.; Three Lives (HG 1); A Man (HG 3); Five or Six Men (HG 4); Two Women (HG 5); Italians (HG 6); Orta or One Dancing (HG 7); Four Protégés (HG 8); Men (HG 9); Elise Surville (HG 10); A Kind of Women (HG 11); A Family of Perhaps Three (HG 12); Ada (HG 13); Julia Marlowe (HG 14); Frost (HG 15); Purmann (HG 16); Russell (HG 17); Pach (HG 18); Chalfin (HG 19); Harriet Fear (HG 20); Hessel (HG 21); Roché (HG 22); Constance Fletcher (HG 23); Rue de Rennes (HG 24); Bon-Marché Weather (HG 25); Flirting at the Bon-Marché (HG 26); Miss Furr and Miss Skeene (HG 27); Matisse (HG 28); Picasso (HG 29); A Painter (HG 30); Playing (HG 31); A Long Gay Book (HG 32); Many Many Women (HG 33); Harriet Making Plans (HG 34); Two. Gertrude Stein and her Brother (HG 35); Tender Buttons (HG 36); Nadelman (HG 37); Four Dishonest Ones (HG 38); Storyette H.M. (HG 39); Galleries Lafayette (HG 40); Portrait of Mabel Dodge at the Villa Curonia (HG 41); G.M.P. (HG 42); Jenny, Helen, Hannah, Paul and Peter (HG 43); Mi-Careme (HG 44); Monsieur Vollard et Cezanne (HG 45); Portrait of Gibb (HG 46); Scenes in Relation (HG 47); Publishers (HG 48); Portrait of F.B. (HG 49); Portrait of Prince B.D. (HG 50); England (HG 51); What Happened. A Play (HG 52); One (Van Vechten) Almost A Play (HG 53).

After this detailed analysis of Stein's manuscripts, my time at the Beinecke Library began to run out. I then made a selection of the final works dated 1913: White Wines. A Play (HG 55); Braque (HG 56); Susie Asado (HG 59); A Curtain Raiser (HG 61); A Sweet Tail (HG 66); Americans (HG 69); In the Grass. On Spain (HG 71); France (HG 74); Bee Time Vine (HG 76); Sacred Emily (HG 81).

My research during 1989-90 included a detailed study of *The Making of Americans*. I read the first draft (ZaStein. MOA Box 2 (1st draft) Vols. 1-95), and the second draft (ZaStein. MOA Box 2 (Final MS.) Vols. 1-27). Also, I examined the early notebooks for the composition of *The Making of Americans* (ZaStein. MOA Early Notebooks. Box 1 and Box 2), and the incomplete typescript (ZaStein. MOA 2. Typescript). During this study, I was guided by the transcriptions which Leon Katz made of the Early Notebooks (ZaStein. Transcriptions by Leon Katz. Box 3). This reference material enabled me to check words in Stein's handwriting which I could not decipher on my own. By reading each of the stages of *The Making of Americans*, I was able to trace the manuscript draft of *Fernhurst*. It is not catalogued in the Beinecke Library, but the notebook is Volume 26 of the first draft of *The Making of Americans*.

During the summer of 1991, I read each of Stein's manuscripts at YCAL dated between 1914 and 1916. These works are listed from *Meal One* (1914 HG 82) to *All Sunday* (1916 HG 151). To complete my chronological study, I read several works

dated 1917 (which I believe were written on Stein's return to Paris in late 1916). This included works from *Lifting Belly* (1917 HG 152) to *Marry Nettie* (1917 HG 155). The manuscripts which I read throughout the summer are listed in Appendix 1.

In addition, I consulted the Bound Typescripts Volume 6 (which is the first extant BTS, and which contains only *Jenny, Helen, Hannah, Paul and Peter* 1912 HG 43) to Volume 15 (which begins with *Lifting Belly* 1917 HG 152, and which ends with *Land Rising* 1920 HG 227). YCAL holds the Bound Typescripts up to Volume 19 (which is the last extant BTS, and which ends with *Pavelik Tchelitcheff or Adrian Arthur* 1926 HG 343). However, I concentrated my attention upon the BTS Volumes 6-15.

I studied the contents of each of the Miscellaneous Boxes A - G. At this time, I examined the contents of a file entitled: 'Tender Buttons. Miscellaneous Autograph Notes' (YCAL HG 36). I have concluded that these fragmentary notes do not refer to the composition of *Tender Buttons*. Most of the notes are preliminary drafts for texts dated to the Parisian winter 1914-15.

In the summer of 1991, I compared each of the manuscripts dated 1914-16 with the Bound Typescript Volumes 12-15. I made an exact note of every discrepancy between the manuscript, the bound typescript and the published version.

Letters sent to Gertrude Stein are catalogued under the surname of the correspondent. If there is only one letter, or if the correspondent is not a well-known figure, these letters are gathered into folders under the letter of the surname: from Aa-Az to Za-Zz. I examined every document in each of these boxes of Miscellaneous Letters because they provided a wealth of relevant information.

When more than one letter was written to Gertrude Stein, they are gathered in individual folders under the surname of the correspondent.

I have read the letters sent to Gertrude Stein (and to Alice Toklas) from the following people: Mildred Aldrich; Beffa; Clive Bell; Bernard Berenson; Gerald Hugh Berners; Christopher Blake; Jacques Emile Blanche; Madeleine Elise Boyd; Ada Brackett; Edward Bruce; Emily Chadbourne; Norma Chambers; Rebecca Chambers; Claribel Cone; Etta Cone; Jeanne [Moallic] Cook; William Cook; Maud Cruttwell; Emily Dawson; David Edstrom; Constance Fletcher; Four Seas Company; Bird Gans; Howard Gans; Harriet Phelan Gibb; Harry Phelan Gibb; Oliver St. John Gogarty; Grafton Press; Duncan Grant; Robert Graves; Emily Griggs; Walter Badenoch Hardy; Henry Russell Hitchcock; William James; Georgiana Goddard King; Ellen La Motte; John Lane; Lena Lebender; Ulysses Grant Lee; Harriet Lane Levy; Lloyd Lewis; Grace Lounsbery; Henry McBride; André Jean Marchand; Lina Marchand; Mme. Marin; Henri Matisse; Alfred Henry Maurer; E.L. Mirrlees; Hope Mirrlees; Anna Moore; Frank Palmer; Elliot Harold Paul; Mr. Penfold; Eva Picasso; Pablo Picasso; Grace Hecht Rothschild; Alys Russell; Morgan Russell; Alice Dew Smith; Logan Pearsall Smith; Michael Stein; Esther Murphy Strachey; Eugene Paul Ullman; Ambroise Vollard; Irving Waldberg; Lettie Lindo Webb; James Lindo Webb; Mabel Foote Weeks; Alfred North Whitehead; Eric Whitehead; Evelyn Whitehead; Jessie Whitehead; B. Armstrong Whitney; Marian Walker Williams; Alice Woods.

I checked each of the names listed in Appendix 4 against the card catalogue in the Beinecke Library. Many of the names noted above match the surnames which Stein used in the writings of 1914-16. However, many are probably coincidentally the same, because the correspondence is dated to the years after 1914-16.

In addition, I read the letters written by Gertrude Stein to various correspondents. These letters were addressed to: Gerald Hugh Berners; Alvin Langdon Coburn; Etta

Cone; Jeanne [Moallic] Cook; William Cook; Harry Phelan Gibb; Grafton Press; Henry McBride; Grant Richards; Alfred Stieglitz; Mabel Foote Weeks.

There are miscellaneous letters collected under general headings. I read each of the letters in the box entitled: 'Miscellaneous letters to G. Stein from galleries, museums & publishers.' Also, I read each of the letters in the box entitled: 'Miscellaneous Letters: unsigned fragments, undecipherable or with first or "pet" names only.' Another valuable source of information, which I examined, was the box entitled: 'Miscellaneous Letters, MSS. & Memorabilia'. I scanned a box of uncatalogued material named 'Stein, Gertrude: Notebooks' (YCAL ZaStein. Area II, Range 61, Section 11, Shelf 4). This later box contained material from the 1920s.

Other materials which I consulted at the Beinecke Library are listed as follows: a letter from Alfred Stieglitz to Marion Hendrie; a typescript of an article by Georgiana Goddard King (published in *International* June 1913); a copy of 'Roy Howard. A Conversation Piece' by Mabel Dodge Luhan; a typescript copy of 'An Essay on the work *Three Lives* by Gertrude Stein' by Raymond Schwab; The Bobbs-Merrill Co. correspondence to Mabel Weeks dated 1907; *The Atlantic Monthly* Vols.35 & 36 1875 (YCAL Za/ZAT 64); *the transatlantic review* Vol I Nos.4,5 & 6. Vol II Nos. 1,2,5 & 6: April 1924 - December 1924 (YCAL Za/St6/2 Boxes).

PRIMARY SOURCES HELD AT OTHER LIBRARIES

In the Cambridge University Library, I consulted the *Cambridge Chronicle* for the months June 1914 to September 1914. This local newspaper gave information about events at Cambridge University. There was no newspaper or magazine which was published by the university during this period. I hoped to find a reference to the luncheon at Newnham College between Gertrude Stein and Jane Harrison. There were no reports of this meeting.

The Newnham College Library in Cambridge holds the Jane Ellen Harrison Collection. I read each of the letters in the uncatalogued boxes: No.4 (Typescript of Letters of J.E.H 1913-16); Box 9 (Folder 3. Letters from J.E.H to Hope Mirrlees). In addition, I consulted the 'Newnham College Letter 1914' which was printed for private circulation by the Newnham College Club. *The Newnham College Register (1871-1971)* provided information about students at the College who were acquainted with Gertrude Stein during 1914-16: Hope Mirrlees; Jessie Whitehead; Karin Costelloe (Vol. I 1871-1923. Cambridge: Newnham College, 1979).

At the Guia Biblioteca Municipal de Palma, I read *La Almudaina* newspaper for the months April 1915 to June 1916. This was a local newspaper, and it provided the sources of many references which occur in Stein's Mallorcan writings.

Mr. Peter Cross, the British Consul in Palma de Mallorca, gave me access to his files on previous diplomats to Palma. I read these lists, and I found the dates during which James Lindo Webb was the British Vice-Consul in Palma. This information allowed me to make specific inquiries at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office in London.

At the York University Library, I read the *Times* newspaper for the months June 1914 to October 1914. This gave me insights into the material which Stein might have been reading during her visit to Cambridge, Lockeridge and London.

FIRST EDITIONS CONSULTED IN THE BEINECKE RARE BOOK AND
MANUSCRIPT LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

During my period of research at the Beinecke Library, I consulted the First Editions of many works. This enabled me to check the names of those people who had provided blurbs for the 1909 First American Edition of *Three Lives*. Their words are printed on the dust-jacket. Extensive resources at the Beinecke Library allowed me to examine the First Editions of Henry James' works: *Roderick Hudson*, *What Maisie Knew* and *The Wings of The Dove*. My purpose was to establish the texts from which Stein had copied quotations in the fragments catalogued as: 'Q.E.D.. Notes to Drafts'. I was able to check the versions in the magazine publications, in the American First Editions and in the English First Editions.

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