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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,  
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*Advertising, Affect, and the Avant-Garde: The Aesthetics of Interruption and Identity Formation in  
American Fiction of the 1920s*

DISSERTATION

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements  
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in English

by

Miguel Ramón

Dissertation Committee:  
Professor Richard Godden, Chair  
Professor Daniel Gross  
Professor Cécile Whiting

2021



## **DEDICATION**

For Melissa, Calliope and Miguel—the muses of my life.

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## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

*Advertising, Affect, and the Avant-Garde: The Aesthetics of Interruption and Identity Formation in American Fiction of the 1920s*

Miguel Ramón

Doctor of Philosophy in English

University of California, Irvine, 2021

Professor Richard Godden, Chair

My dissertation, *Advertising, Affect, and the Avant-Garde: The Aesthetics of Interruption and Identity Formation in American Fiction of the 1920s*, details the connection between advertising, identity, and magazine fiction production. The promissory nature of 20<sup>th</sup> century photographic advertising—experienced as the reader decodes the commercial images that create and sustain feelings—is a powerful albeit ephemeral force in commodity aesthetics, a force that eventually extends beyond the ads to influence the authors of the stories published alongside them. This dissertation traces the movement of this promised feeling—the affect of being—an emotional state that reassures each person of a sense of identity at the moment in time in which the anxieties experienced at work and home seemingly demand a new way to understand the concept of self. My project traces the influence of labor practices of Taylorism and Fordism, cultural products produced for national magazines, and individual identity experienced as a feeling that shapes fiction production critical to magazine production. Print adverts tap into affect, or frequently but briefly experienced semi-conscious moments of feeling, because it increasingly mediates the relationship between work, lifestyle, and a sense of self. Advertising exists in the cross current of these social forces.

This study rethinks the relationship between Madison Avenue and Modernism by tracing how the evolution of photographic adverts fashioned for magazines like the *Saturday Evening Post* revolutionized a visual-based rhetoric to shape cultural desires. I analyze the advertising archive and short stories produced for national publications to detail how the commodity aesthetic invokes emotion. Thus, the avant-garde does not influence popular culture, but rather commodified culture creates the readership for the auteur. My analysis focuses on tracing literary texts that begin in magazine publication, including short stories by F. Scott Fitzgerald and Willa Cather. Adopting the visual rhetoric of the advert and its translation into literary fragmentation allows me to map moments of the quotidian, pinning down the reality of lived experience. By naming the structure of feeling for the 1920s, I explain how the abstract ideological analysis moves from the factory into an individual's consciousness, allowing personal feelings to be understood in their cumulative social role. The affect of being explains how Fordism's war on space and Taylorism's assault on time became inculcated without being made explicit. For Fordist-Taylorist thought to emerge as a cultural dominant, ideology is transmitted through an expressive medium: the affective register expressed in photographic advertising.

## INTRODUCTION

The promissory nature of early 20<sup>th</sup> photographic advertising—experienced as the reader decodes the commercial images that create and sustain feelings—is a powerful albeit ephemeral force in commodity aesthetics, a force that eventually extends beyond the ads to influence the authors of the stories published alongside them. This dissertation traces the movement of this promised feeling—the affect of being—an emotive state that reassures each reader in his or her “new” modern identity at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The reader welcomes the reassurance, occurring at a moment in which the anxieties experienced at work and home seemingly demand a new way to understand the concept of self. The billion-dollar 1920s advertising industry help construct this self, having developed techniques that foster identity-building through images and their attendant feelings, emotions experienced as thoughts that speak to these modern anxieties (Mangum 12). More than simply the emergence of branding, adverts abandoned pitching facts about a particular product and instead worked by producing and channeling feelings of this new “good life” into commoditized ameliorants. First, ads from cars to clothes to collars drove national magazine production. Eventually, these aesthetics moves from adverts to the stories in magazines and newspaper supplements—applying an emotional salve to the disjointed psyches of the rapidly changing reality, a reality that alters the way an individual experiences time as a result of the second industrial revolution.

Before detailing this sense of being, one most frequently directed by the gaze of a smart girl (glamorous model) and demonstrating how it influenced the great American novel and avant-garde fiction of the 1920s, I want to explain why mapping the elusive feelings of daily life reflected in the fiction of national periodical matters. The affect of

being explains how an emotive condition experienced in the quotidian—the advertisement—becomes an important site in which to express the dominant cultural logic of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and how this logic becomes diffused and disseminated. Abstract concepts like Taylorism—or the rationalizing of time to make workers more efficient and Fordism—or rationalizing space to make workers more efficient, are bottom-up ideologies. These forces and their corresponding logic begin to fill the spaces and places of daily life, experienced as Americans move from the country to the city, and embrace the changes to how they work and consume. Advertisements play a critical albeit liminal role in generating the feelings and thoughts that sustain the Fordist Taylorist changes to the economy.

An essential feeling that speaks to the new Fordist-Taylor mindset is the affect of being, which helps glamorize the good life promoted in modern advertising. Generated first as a formal response to visual and linguistic techniques, the reader experiences the affect as a perception; however, it moves from the page of the national magazines to become experienced as a sensation—an internal process to produce identity as a way of feeling. "This is where affect enters the picture for ideological analysis" Massumi argues, "the structure of ideas must be inculcated without making it explicit. The reigning rationality must be transmitted, but occulted, hidden, distorted" because "to do this, it must pass through another medium: it must be translated onto an affective register." Massumi details how the intensity of affect works emotively in transforming a perceived image of an advert (and eventually literature itself) into a processual feeling. The ideology of the age, to be examined, cannot occur at the level of ideology; it requires an understanding of the "affective register" of the lived experience of the hurry-up of Taylorism and stay-put of the

Fordist assembly line. As workers adjust to the new rigors of labor, the converse feelings of slowing down and getting away from the same fixed workstation begin to have emotional inertia.

Massumi's defense of affect and emotions concludes that the "dominated" class be "duped into affectively investing in the mechanisms of power that oppress them, without ever noticing the contradiction." I quibble with the term duping; ideology as emotion seduces its audience. The advert does not function like a barnstorming B.T. Barnum style salesman, but a way to channel real angst and disquietude into authentic feelings, as F. Scott Fitzgerald would describe in *The Great Gatsby*, feelings that are "material without being real." The affect of being allured the 20s reader into consuming short bursts of the sensation of slowed-time, a metaphysical moment relived in each extended gaze on an advert and became an essential site to build an identity. I do agree with Massumi, however, that affective techniques permit "ways of feeling and acting that align with the power structure of society into the habitual fabric of everyday life, where they go on working unexamined. Ideology works best when its structure of ideas is lived – acted out in every day, without being thought out (as in Bourdieu's 'habitus')." To pin down the unexamined daily life forces, this dissertation focuses on the adverts in national periodicals. The viewing of adverts becomes a brief but repeated feeling that promotes identity emotions like the affect of being. Examining the adverts themselves exposes the new way identity is influenced at the ground floor of identity itself.

This way of understanding the emotions not simply as reactionary feelings and instead situated inside broader cultural practices uses the Bordieuan concept in order to

synthesize the unique “inner” experiences of emotion with their “outer” or cultural expressions. Monique Scheer, in “Are Emotions a Kind of Practice” helps explain how emotions as practice can both situate feelings, like the affect of being, to a specific historical context with limiting them as simply deterministic. She states that “emotions also follow this practical logic embedded in social relations. Like all practices, they are simultaneously spontaneous and conventional. The habitus specifies what is “feelable” in a specific setting, orients the mind/ body in a certain direction without making the outcome fully predictable. Emotions can thus be viewed as acts executed by a mindful body, as cultural practices” (205). The affect of being then, both names the feelable moment from the point of view of lived experience while also naming the interconnected nature of social practices that situate feeling into the specific laboring practices ushered in by Fordist/Taylorist practices, which themselves help structure other non-laboring cultural practices like the leisure reading habits of a period.

While understanding how affect and feeling work as a foundation for the logic of society to shape the identity of its members, the magazine provides both the where and the when for emotion production. Circulation in American newspapers went from 36 million in 1890 to 57 million in 1905. At the same time, the magazine market explodes in both circulation and variety, tripling circulation and producing over 400 periodicals by 1925 (Norris 24). The explosion of the magazine, best exemplified by *The Saturday Evening Post*, explains why periodical historians consider the 1920's magazine to be the “first national mass media” (Schneirov 6). And just as today's social media is the bulwark of a commercialized identity-building, so too were the national periodicals in the 1920s. Magazine editor and social activist W. E. B. Du Bois describes Americans as “magazine

mad—a magazine-devouring nation" (5). For Du Bois, the popularity of the magazine motivated him to adopt the form toward social justice. But their popularity impacted most writers in some form or another: from Fitzgerald's role as celebrity author for the *Post* to Cather's role as editor and writer for several magazines. Periodical studies have moved this once-neglected material into a new and exciting avenue of investigation to understand the variety of ways Americans went mad for magazines.

F. Scott's Fitzgerald's "This is a Magazine," published in *Vanity Fair* in 1920, exemplifies just how magazine crazy America had become. The short story describes the coming together of the magazine as if the magazine is a play, each genre element becomes one of the characters on stage: "THE EDITH WHARTON STORY" as prima donna critiques the dark, brooding "ROBERT CHAMBERS STORY, snickering, "You seemed well content to flirt with that sentimental little piece, behind the advertisements." Meanwhile, the "British Serial" complains about being tangled up in two soap advertisements. "Look! There's my Synopsis of Preceding Chapters all tangled up again [with adverts]." The passage demonstrates that the magazine had become so popular that the reading audience could understand the genre's themselves as characters, characters who understand the influence of the advertisements that fund their production. The very existence of "This Is a Magazine," argues Donal Harris, with "its surprising weirdness," "evinces how magazines could spark literary innovations among the many who took them seriously, even for a moment, and even when not being paid directly for the product of such works" (14).

The story's conclusion highlights the increased tension authors feel from the growing power of adverts and the "innovative" aesthetic they will produce. The "play"

concludes as the reader arrives, and the Table of Contents brings order from the chaos. The Table of Contents calls out: " 'Places! A Reader!' A hush falls; everyone scurries back into position, just as a thick and impenetrable dark descends upon the stage through which emerge, as an emanation from limbo, the large glossy eyes of the cover girl, on horseback in five colours." The starlet on the cover—the smart girl—has become her own powerful element in advertising the magazine with the "large glossy eyes" gazing upon the reader. The reader as THE VOICE responds, " 'Wonder if there's anything in this worth readin'. Sure is some queen on the cover!'" The smart girl channels the readers' desire in an affective register. The reading of the stories occurs on account of her alluring gaze. Finally, the story ends, "The lights go on to show that the curtain is now down. In front of it sits a reader, alone stagehand. He wears an expression of tremendous and triumphant boredom. He is reading the magazine" (12). The tremendous yet triumphant boredom of the reader, hinting at the anxiety of working and consuming the modern way, is cured, in part by the interpolating gaze of the "queen" on the cover. The smart girl not only attracts the reader but becomes an organizing force for the "characters" inside the magazine. Her ability to slow down the reader serves two interconnected forces. One, she provides the adverts the eyeballs to make sure consumers of stories become consumers of commodities. Two, she simultaneously provides emotion-invoking breaks to the boredom produced through Fordist-Taylorist labor. The need to hurry up for efficiency of Taylorism produces a compulsive impulse to slow down, while the remaining fixed in one location for efficiency of Fordism produces a desire to live the good life in an exotic or relaxing locale. Fitzgerald's queen on the cover—his smart girl—channels these desires that coalesce in advertising and eventually its sponsored fictions.

The affect of being is the union of these two emotional urges. Adverts are the first to speak in this affective register, using images and the creation of visual-rhetorical dream space in the advert to slow down the reader. Once the reader slows down, the ad provides an image that transports the viewer into the "good life" that provides a narcotic life rush through vicarious imagining inspired by the parties or trips or intimate evenings glamorized by promotion. The smart girl on the covers is a conduit to an intimate emotional experience of fashioning self. Because of the advert's commercial nature, the slowdown provides the metaphysical space in the reader's consciousness to imagine how the commodity might transform the worker into a being made whole. The power of the feeling comes from its genuine creation in the reader's consciousness, real feelings created by the imagined things and the sense of being they provide. Frequently, the smart girl's gaze becomes synonymous with the sentiment as she channels this feeling for the readership. This emotion push-pull is the logic of Fordist-Taylorist thinking at the micro-level of the modern worker as they enjoy the new national media as a "leisure" reading. This aesthetic impulse will lead Fitzgerald and Cather to produce Donal's "literary innovations," derived from reaching a new and growing audience of urban workers. America's transformation from the second industrial revolution featured the largest migration in American history. Within a generation, Americans' rural life had given way to the towns and cities, drastically restructuring the relationship between work and identity. In less than forty years, the urban population quadrupled, growing much faster than the rural population. In 1900, an American was twenty times more likely to move from the farm to the city than vice-versa. The 1920 census declared that most Americans lived in the city ("From the Countryside to the City").

The new American—citified and industrialized—becomes targeted by adverts, which eventually influence the aesthetics of the cultural products of its time. Exploring the periodical archive allows a visual history of important feelings, like the affect of being, to be discovered in the archives of print advertising inside these publications. Perhaps no scholar has done more work to pin down the unique emotions of a particular period than Raymond Williams and his concept of "the structure of feeling." At the same time, William's definition fluctuates in his scholarship, a clear description of the structure as the "deepest feelings in the real experience of the time" (87). The affect of being named the specific feeling that emerges in the 1900s and evolves into the structure of feeling for America during the 1920s. In *The Long Revolution*, William details the structure of feeling as "not feeling against thought, but thought as felt and feeling as thought" to describe the agency of lived emotion, emphasizing how feeling has as a "practical consciousness," fostered by and permeating through the literary and cultural products of the era (132). Williams describes a class phenomenon that explains the social-historical investments made by "readers," revealing how ideology functions at the level of emotion to map how formal structures in literary texts invoke and sustain a normative identity for an audience.

The dissertation's methodology will analyze both the adverts and stories that appear in national periodicals to demonstrate how visual-emotive rhetoric moves from advertising images into literary translations of image-scenes in the fiction of Fitzgerald and Cather. Both authors develop aesthetics that interrupt the reader, a slowed moment in their narrative to produce an identity that, in William's terms, is "feeling as thought." My dissertation traces this movement of emotion; my methodology must take a holistic view of the magazine and its material page to complete this mapping. As George Bornstein argues

in *Material Modernism: The Politics of the Page*, "The literary text consists not only of words (its linguistic code) but also of the semantic features of its material instantiation (its bibliographic code). Such bibliographic codes might include cover design, page layout, or spacing among other factors" (6). What a great word "instantiations." It's great because it describes the nature of the semantic features of individual instances in terms of their collective power. The bibliographic code allows for a way to describe the total effect of graphic and visual glosses inside a magazine. The national periodicals of the 1920s demonstrate this growing power in magazine production. The mixture of bibliographic and linguistic code will allow for the literal translation of visual techniques of 1920s literati.

Moreover, my methodologies feature what periodical studies call a holistic approach. What scholar Penny Tinkler describes as "engaging with the different types of content within a magazine and how they are presented, particularly the relationship between text, images, and design features" (30). My reading of Fitzgerald's and Cather's short stories considers the more considerable influence that holistic features can produce on aesthetics. Textual and visual methods, such as semiotics can be incorporated into this approach. Tinkler argues that the approach is "useful because magazines are 'composite,' 'hybrid' or 'heterogeneous' in form; they are composed of different types of content: fiction, features, editorials, advertisements, pictures, and so on. This composite form is integrated according to editorial policies and objectives, and it is managed through design practices which include layout, the positioning and style of captions and the use of images and colour" (31). Fitzgerald engaged with this form as he collaborated with an artist to produce illustrations for scores of his short stories. Moreover, Fitzgerald's "This Is a

Magazine" demonstrates how the composite form of the magazine could not help but influence the stories produced for these publications. In addition, Cather's letters to friends about her editing demonstrate how Cather attempted to mitigate the effects of magazine production on her fiction.

The benefit of this approach is that I explore the spaces in the magazine most ripe for interaction between what Tinkler calls the "mediated competing objectives" of "providing satisfaction yet generating need" produced in the magazine through the labor of "publishers, editors, readers, and advertisers." The cover, the ads, the graphics used in the adverts, and the stories. The aesthetics of interruption develops from the "contradiction and tension" inherent in the national periodical production. One of the innovations made by advertising, the smart girl, plays a prominent role in the social media of the 1920s. "Their [magazines] constructions of femininity maintain continuity, but they also respond to social and cultural change" (Tinkler 31). The evolution of the smart girl is in part documented in this dissertation and featured in chapter one. My analysis of the "Kodak as You Go" advertising campaign characterizes the evolution of the smart girl: from the Gibson Girl of the 1890s to the rise of the iconic Kodak girl of the 1920s. The photographic technology developed by Kodak plays an essential part in deepening the reader's gaze by leveraging the essentially new way the photographic advert could tap into feelings through the assured reality of the image. Chapter one analyzes how the photograph does two things: it produces a sense of nostalgia of place for the viewer while also providing a needed sense of the real for the reader. Kodak pioneers the use of the medium to produce a visual space central to their adverts—what I have termed 'the dream space.' The campaign celebrates moments on the go, usually highlighting a car and a smart girl against a

glorifying-nature backdrop. The dream space interrupts the viewer through its visual rhetoric during the image's decoding to produce a pause in which feelings can be understood as thoughts for the reader. The close reading of the campaign is coupled with a firsthand account of Taylorized and Fordized workers. Through firsthand accounts of workers experiencing the second industrial revolution, I detail the emerging way in which feelings generated in work—the annihilation of space coupled with the increasingly fragmented experience of time—found amelioration outside of work. The chapter enables a clear connection between the emotional vacuum created by Fordism and Taylorism to be understood. With workers' anxieties named and detailed, it becomes clear how the smart girl so effectively fills, in part, the emotional deficiencies produced by the new labor. As the logic of the factory floor spread into the offices of Madison Avenue and the broader culture at large, Kodak's advertising demonstrates the uptake of Fordist-Taylorist logic to produce an advertising revolution, one featuring dramatic changes in the relationship between arresting photographic images, commercial products and the nature of identity among workers recast as consumers.

Chapter two documents how commodity aesthetics and the affect of being, as feeling, move from commodified adverts into fictional texts. I trace the advertising origins of the character of Jordan Baker in *The Great Gatsby*, a flapper debutante named after two (then famous) car companies as part of Fitzgerald's translating the advertising rhetoric into a literary aesthetic. Fitzgerald's characterization of Jordan Baker plays an essential role in the novel by channeling the affect of being through Jordan Baker to validate, for the reader, the transubstantiation of roughneck Jimmy Gatz into old sport Jay Gatsby. The chapter closely analyzes the advertising campaigns of both Baker Electric car company and Jordan

Automotive and their use of smart girls and cars in the dream space to associate the flappers appeal with their sexuality and electricity of their autos. The fame of these cars advertises in the 1920s and the ubiquity of the smart girl allow Fitzgerald to prefabricate the character of Jordan Baker. In doing so, the reader taps into the same feelings generated by adverts to use the dream space to conceive of the transformation of Gatsby. Fitzgerald translates the visual rhetoric of the advert into a literal translation that features dramatic stops that are graphically depicted with colons and double dashes and visualized dream spaces signified with ellipses. The punctuation coordinates with other techniques, as the reader experiences Gatsby as an aesthetic technique that leverages the emotion distribution network produced by advertising.

Chapter three demonstrates how national periodicals fueled by advertising permit Fitzgerald the literary space to master the use of the smart girl as a conduit for emotions that turn identity into thoughts. Proto-Daisy is developed through Fitzgerald's publications in national periodicals. Often decried as pulp, Fitzgerald's fiction published in national magazines does more than make Fitzgerald the most famous and highest-paid celebrity author of the decade (Mangum 11). These advertising fueled and aesthetically influenced short stories led to the perfection of the character of Daisy in *The Great Gatsby*. Daisy, in coordination with Jordan, produces the affect of being for the reader. The effect is that Daisy's gaze yields the expressive power of establishing identity. Her brief gaze permits Gatsby to rise from the ashes of the "dark republic" and seem real, despite the possible murky origins from the "swamps of Louisiana." A holistic reading of 1922's *Metropolitan Magazine*, which highlighted flapper Judy Jones in "Winter Dreams" and 1924's *Liberty Magazine*, which featured Jonquil Cary in "The Sensible Thing," allows me

to trace Fitzgerald's development of a smart girl aesthetic which produces interruption to channel emotion and solidify a spongy identity. Cather, in "On Fiction," published the same year as Fitzgerald's "This Is a Magazine," appeared in *Vanity Fair*, argues that a successful story "must have in it the strength of a dozen fairly good stories that have been sacrificed to it." Fitzgerald sacrifice, in the form of short story production, yields a boon: Daisy's "incarnation," or fleshless, production of Jay Gatsby.

I conclude by detailing national periodicals and advertising's influence on Willa Cather in the production of McClure Magazine's "Paul's Case: A Study in Temperament." Published in 1908, the story demonstrates the early emergence of the affect of being and the aesthetics of interruption which produce it. Cather's life in Pittsburg provides the perfect forge in which to help translate economic forces into literary aesthetics. Her role in the newly Fordized education system while also working in the Taylorized world of writing and editing a woman's national magazine, provides the aesthetic push to explore the "temperament" that leads to Paul's suicide. By using the aesthetics of interruption and the image of the furnace, Cather allows the reader to feel the heteronormative pressure to shape identity. My work helps complete the mapping of important feelings of the 1920s: the affect of being. In doing so, the lived feelings of daily life emerge, allowing this affects influence in the life world of the readers and on the aesthetics of the authors writing to be understood. My dissertation, then, is, in part, part of Lathom and Scholes call the "rise of periodicals studies."

## CHAPTER ONE

### **“Smart Girls, Affect, and Identity: Taylorized Time and Fordized Space in the ‘Kodak as You Go’ Marketing Campaign”**

By 1925 Madison Avenue had become a billion-dollar industry spurred on by national periodicals whose growth sponsored an aesthetic revolution in commercialized promotions (Marchand). These new adverts featured the photographic image with minimal copy that targeted emotions by celebrating moments of the increasingly desired, leisurely “good life.” The nation’s showcase for advertising, the *Saturday Evening Post*, featured dozens of full-page photographic adverts that on the turn of the page developed special strategies to induce a pause in its reader. The interruption, not triggered by clever copy, but because the rhetoric of the photographic image, arrested time from the viewer. The slower decoding time allows images to tap into and create feelings and produce a sensation of slowed time, a prolonging of the experience of the moment in which the reader-viewer feels a virtual sense of being. The product which enjoys this promissory-packing gaze in the advert now enjoys an association of being, often posed with a glamorous model or “smart” girl. The *Post* was one of 400 national periodicals which utilized this new aesthetic—one that targeted the anxieties of its audience by design: the staged natural setting and photographic layout, the symbolism of its mass-produced objects and its use of the soon to be iconic smart girl interrupted the reader by intervening in the image decoding process adopted by viewers as the photograph became essential to American life. A Smart girl, or model staged like a Hollywood starlet, produced a gaze that

focused and channeled desire of its audience to temporarily combat the temporal-spatial anxiety produced by labor and create a new emotive brand of advertising.

In 1913, Kodak pioneered this aesthetic in its “Kodak as You Go” campaign. Kodak’s strategic advantage in the photographic technologies permitted it to become the first national advertiser to speak to its audience through affect and emotion and develop the now iconic Kodak girl. The most famous of the smart girls, the Kodak girl exemplifies how the smart girl’s gaze is critical in the creating an arrest in which to channel desire. To demonstrate how this aesthetic works, I will analyze several adverts of the “Kodak As You Go” campaign to map how the composition of the advert speaks through the affective register for the Taylorized audience. My analysis of the campaign helps make concrete the broader significance of the cultural transformation engineered by Fordist-Taylorist innovations—the increased importance of feeling to understand identity. The great speed up of best practices pioneered by Taylor and the great centralization innovated by Ford eventually become what Jameson terms a “cultural dominant,” a logic that Kodak learned to speak to become one the most successful corporations of the Modern era, a success because of its pioneering of affect role’s in easing the anxiety during the restructuring of identity by capital.

More importantly, the advertising campaign serves as a vital moment in which the ephemerality of the 1920s can be made permanent, allowing an analysis of feeling’s role in identity formation during the rise of the American System to be made clear. The affect of being, a brief emotional current activated by the reading of a photographic advert, triggers a surge in the viewer to encourage the reader to ponder more than merely owning the

advertised commodity, but to imagine the life being depicted as her own, and in so doing, generating authentic feelings from a virtual experience. The repeated surge permits the reader to carve out the needed metaphysical space in which to envision her identity as consumer. This emotional cathexis was critical to the ideological adoption of what Harvey, in detailing how capitalism impacts culture, described as “time’s annihilation of space.” As society underwent a restructuring of work, leisure and lifestyle reflect eventually incorporate temporal rationality and special efficiency. The consumer that these industrial practices create will eventually produce what economist Juliet Schor termed the “work-to-spend” cycle, originating for Schor in the 1920s. Specific images from the campaign will be analyzed contextually to understand Kodak advertising. Advertising director at Kodak, Manager Jones, described their advertising as the “witchery of Kodakery,” a spell in which aesthetically charged adverts produce genuine emotions (Jones 34). These adverts detail how a specific emotion—the affect of being—can be elicited rhetorically and serve as an ameliorant to the anxieties produced by the second industrial revolution. Three characteristics mark how the photograph produced this affect: the icon of the smart girl, the symbolism of the car and the virtuality of natural space. After mapping how the campaign integrates these elements to produce the affect of being in its audience, I will trace the origins of the affect and its converse relationship to the temporal-spatial angst created by Fordist-Taylorist labor through first-hand accounts of Fordized and Taylorized workers and image-based cultural products like adverts and silent films. Automotive workers, the first to experience this restructuring, provide critical insight in what, by its nature, remains difficult to pin down: semi-conscious emotional conditions that by its amalgamation play a critical role in the lifeworld of workers turned consumers to sustain

new labor practices. The totalizing effect of this labor predisposed its workers to normalize and then expect to experience time and space affectively. Or put another way, the advert functions metonymically, embodying the semi-conscious, imagistic emotive states that emerge as a result of the new social practices surrounding the “embougement of the worker” (Jameson 154). Workers channel anxieties produced through labor practices to recast their identity as a consumer, needing a repeated-yet-brief moment from the viewing of promotions like that of the Kodak campaign. Adverts become a microcosm—the metaphysical space where the push and pull of a Fordist-Taylorist life gets suturing: one which graphs a virtual identity onto the reader as a needed cathexis from the anxieties of being forced to speed up production while being anchored in front of an assembly line. This paper details how advertising’s early role as a mover and shaker in the aesthetics of cultural products serves a critical role in creating the virtual, emotive space that helps fashion what Adorno and Horkheimer would term the culture industry.

### **Emotions, Things and Smart Girls**

The “Kodak As You Go” national campaign ran from 1913 to 1929 and featured billboard, poster and most importantly magazine adverts that glamorized the camera’s ability to stage reality through the photograph. Produced through a photographic reproduction process, these adverts were intended to demonstrate how the camera made moments of the past remain vivid and powerful, invoking instant nostalgia in the viewer. To understand how Kodak’s campaign changed the aesthetic and introduced the beginning of demographic targeting in promotion, I will compare two different Kodak adverts. Figure 1, 1888’s “you press the button, we do the rest” ran in several national periodicals. It

features a 19<sup>th</sup> century aesthetic: a small, hand-drawn graphic placed where the reader's eye would fall in hopes that the camera's depiction would be able to prompt the reading of the advertising copy. "You press the button, we do the rest" speaks to the ease of operating the camera but does not arrest the viewer-reader or channel a desire. Instead, it relies on



figure 1



figure 2

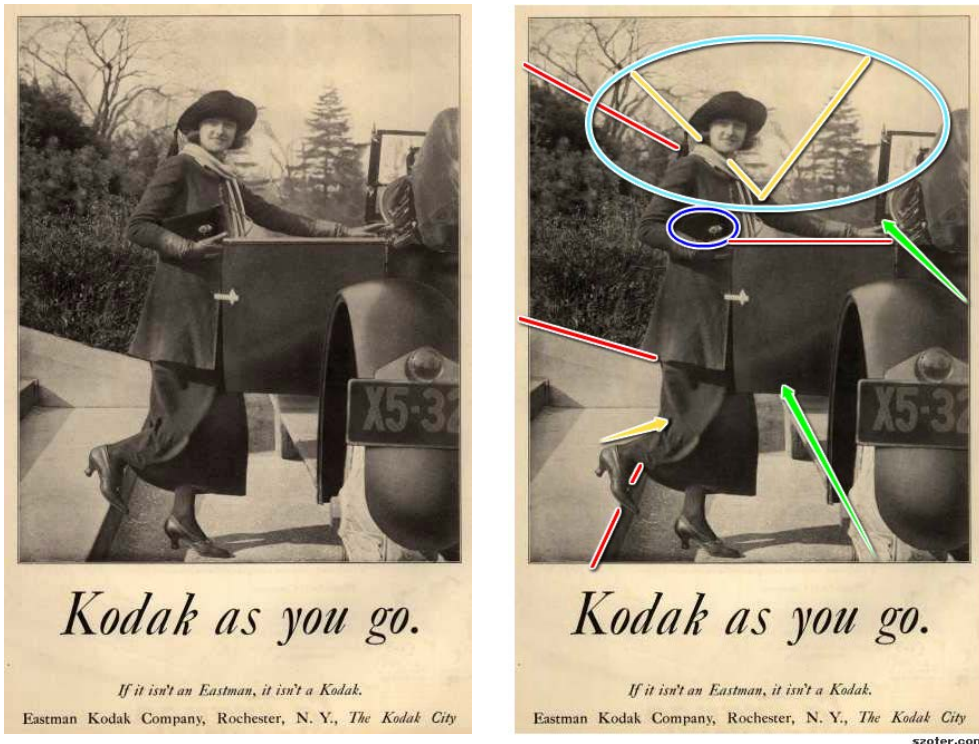
the reader's interest for the camera to persuade the reader to purchase a brownie. In 1888 the camera and the photographic image had not transformed how Americans viewed reality (West). But by 1920, when figure 2's "Kodak as You Go" ad ran in *The Ladies Home Journal*, the culture had undergone a transformation in which the snapshot used its claim on reality to arrest a moment of time and produce a feeling through the process of arrest. The aftershocks of the innovations in labor have shaken up the culture and now uses that destabilized ground in which to plant the virtual seeds of a new identity. Each image viewing and moment of arrest waters this new identity while extending logic of Fordism-Taylorism. As the logic becomes part of the feeling of identity

for the reader, that logic seems to "naturally" extend into non-labor spaces. From school reforms that centralize school districts and to Ladies magazines that transform the housewife into the home floor manager, marshalling time and best practices to transform the home, a transformation advertised in this new aesthetic.

In contrast to the "press the button" rational appeal in figure 1, the Kodak girl in figure 2 activates a sense of motion. Her staging is one that the Taylorized audience is now

primed to feel. The reader like the kodak girl—one on the go—can now experience the noun Kodak, a thing, as an action, a process Bewes’ terms as “thingification.” In this add, the camera becomes the essential thing to enable the paradoxical lifestyle of active leisure. The camera’s mechanical body channeling this power through the woman’s body and its gaze that now arrests the viewer. The emotive power—one triggered by the clean industrial lines of the car finds its rest in the seemingly endless, virtual space of the woods that frame the image. Before tracing the Fordist-Taylor origins of this emotional identity building, I want to detail how ads like figure 2 work on their intended demographic: Americans who have their daily lives restructured by Fordist-Taylor innovations.

Figure 3 uses color and lines to express how the photographic ad arrests time from the viewer.



Barthes analysis of photographic adverts allow the three intersecting elements of the advertisement to be understood: the photo offers “three messages: a linguistic message, a coded iconic message, and a non-coded iconic message” (36). I am going to hold off on the linguistic message and discuss the two iconic messages that the photo simultaneously conveys. The above advert presents the following non-coded (perceptual) indexical message: the convertible, the young woman and camera, the stairs and the forest in the background frozen in the exact relationship to each other at one specific moment. The act of perceiving these things, for Barthes, both starts and finishes the reading process of the advert (36).

Moreover, Barthes holds sensory knowledge as subtly valuable because its “knowledge” that “is not nil, for we need to know what an image is (children only learn this at about the age of four) and what a tomato, a string-bag, a packet of pasta are, but it is a matter of an almost anthropological knowledge” (36). The spectator of our advert does not see the discrete Italian food items of Barthes’ advert, but instead sees relationally, as required by the image: a material car accelerates the gaze of the viewer, framing a material woman and camera entering from material steps in front of a material forest. Barthes understands that our interpretation will start and end in the assuredness of the reality of these things. And ultimately that physical perception plays an important role in decoding the message; how the advert leverages the “reading” process of an image to authenticate the other messages the advert communicates.

Returning to the advert, the realities of the car, the woman, and the camera fashion a perceptual, physical space within the photograph, carving out a representation of three-dimensional space through intersecting lines. For example, the steps (the red lines of my analyzed photo) together with the open car door, frame the young woman, compelling her to intersect with the car (the green arrows). The car's lines (green) move the spectator's gaze up into an open space, an intersection (the orange lines of my analysis) in which time can now stop as the spectator's gaze advances into the visual field. With no linear guide, space forces the perceptual act to pause and offers a sensation of slowing. This dream space allows the magic of the moment—the identity realized by the camera (circled in purple) to capture the moment of a good life consumed. The car and the trees help frame a moment of being that the smart girl can channel through the dream space to the reader. The visual decoding will eventually couple with other messages, but it's the real relationality, the car's 'car-ness' in relation to the forest's 'forest-ness,' for example, that the denoted image provides in tones of absolute truth, declaring the realness of the car. The visual representations create an echo of motion, motion that is at the center of the Taylorist project. Because the feeling the smart girl generates occurs at the level of decoding through the mechanics of perception, the feelings created are genuine or "real."

The power to generate real feeling from images and their residual associations is the unnamed power of the photograph. "The force of a photograph" Sontag argues, "is that it keeps open to scrutiny instants which the normal flow of time immediately replaces. This freezing of time—the insolent, poignant stasis of each photograph—has produced new and more inclusive canons of beauty" (52). Sontag, while not discerning labor's underlying origin, speaks the language of time to argue that the popularity of the photographic image

lies in its capacity to manipulate emotive states, as our smart girl demonstrates in figure 3. Despite being staged, the 'poignancy' of the photographic ad, as a site of lost time, fosters anxiety, whose ultimate and generative source lies in the relations of production. The stasis calls to the viewer through the increasingly dominant language of life lived by repetitive bursts of efficiency that spread first from the factory floors of Dearborn to the white-collar offices of Manhattan. By the end of the campaign, the audience lives in Taylorized spaces and Fordized places, of which the advert emblematically represents.

Cultural historian Nancy West goes further in describing the way the photograph works to produce feelings through representations of frozen time. Locating the experience of slowed time—the affect of being—as essential to photograph's aura, West argues that "Snapshot photographs" are "unlike most other commodities." Snapshots "thus manage to have it both ways: they veil the history of their production while at the same time maintaining the illusion that they, and the meanings they represent, are produced by us. Thus, they represent the ultimate commodity: the embodiment of infinite reproducibility with the aura of the unique," (9). As I explain *how* the car, girl and camera help the advert create West's aura—purporting to be an authentic moment of leisure, she reminds us it derives from a double erasure: first, of the labor of the photographic processing (which seemingly allows an infinite amount of simulacra); second, of the formal devices that secure the arrested moment of Barthesian realness. I would suggest a third layer of forgetting: the erasure of the labor practices that teach the temporal language so structurally central to the new genre of the advert, as exemplified by the "Kodak as you go" campaign.

The photographic advert moves from mechanical encoding to the culturally constructed iconic message. The residues of motion in the image and its associations with the great speed up allow the symbolic power of the image to redirect that initial realization. The move all but erases the direct knowledge of work while achieving what Michael Schudson calls a “capitalist realism.” The car carries two significations: representing both the labor and consumer experience of time-space compression. A product of both Fordist and Taylorist practices, the vehicle becomes a hieroglyph for dozens of social relations experienced as the spatialization of time and the temporalization of space. It’s an icon of the new temporal-spatial reality. The vehicle iconizes new experience of time and space, inducing what Umberto Eco terms a “perceptual cramp.” The cars repeated use in the Kodak as you go campaign permits the car to activate time-based anxieties despite its seeming stillness in the ads. Ironically, the car’s power as a representation of leisure—a small space in which to escape the altered sensation of time—stems from the occluded method of its production. The car’s image promises the exhilaration of space crammed into the driving consumer’s sensation of time. One of the most advertised commodities of the 1920s, the automobile becomes a shorthand representation of accelerated time, an icon proposing the benefits of new labor and a new lifestyle.

The car’s speed arises from the forest behind the car and woman, a background that represents a new site of leisure: the codification and expansion nature. The National Park System produced in the National Parks Act of 1916 centralized the creation and organization of the parks, one the car made reachable. The parks aided in the transformation of sites of labor into sites of leisure, extending the forgetting function of the photographic advert that features cars. By 1920, each of America’s then twenty-two parks

had over a million visitors. Stephen Mayer, the first Director of the National Park Service, states that the “automobile has been the open sesame.” Mayer even proposed a park-to-park highway system to sustain the new craze of “auto-camping.”

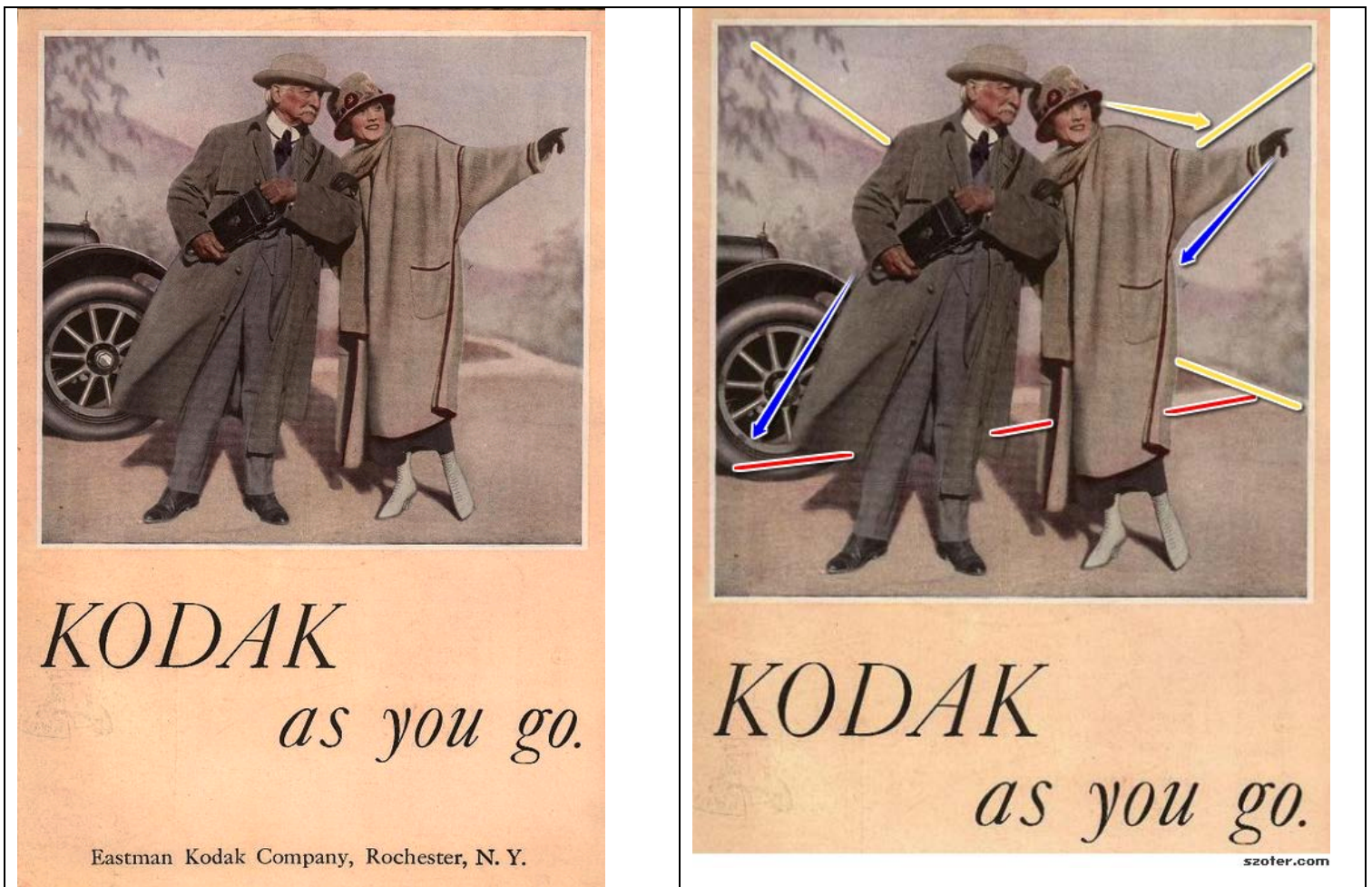
Keeping in mind the iconic power of the car during the period, the woman’s head as she boards her car and enters the forest carries more than merely her body and camera into the car, but a growing desire to experience the cessation of time. Her returning gaze, a gaze which enters the forested, non-linear space features a void, one that requires a slowing down to process, permitting a brief but intense luxuriant: a moment of stopped time—the sensation of being. The young woman herself becomes both fantasy object and proof, that buying a Kodak validates (through the photograph) the reality of the good life that it depicts and displaces. The spectator associates the woman with the effect the picture produces, letting her take the spectator on the leisure-rich country ride. Long before for the photograph, commodities employed female sexuality. But “the smart girl’s iconic value rests beyond the image producing a straight line to libidinal pleasures. Instead, her essential smart girl-ness, affirms for the laborer casted as consumer the value of the new labor by constructed visually the very feelings denied during labor—a pause in which to be. Thus, the laboring consumer affirms his being in the world in the reading of the photographic image. Her gaze authenticates for the spectator the feelings associated with the lifestyle and completes the iconic message: consumption of a camera (things) affords a good life, a life in which consumables provide a brief but intense cessation of time. The iconic message, what Barthes terms “prestige of denotation,” piggybacks on the denoted image. In the case of the Kodak photographic advert and the campaign built around it. The photo makes the lifestyle, the country ride, and the country tryst, as real as

the woman's gaze and smile because, "the connotation is now experienced only as the natural resonance of the fundamental denotation" (26).

The last message, the linguistic content of the image, can be reduced to a few words because of the power through which the image alone affirms reality by way of affect generation. The affective energy—produced by the totality of the image reading process—works in a sui-generis manner across the genre; effectively, therefore, it does not sell a particular product, but taps into the growing visual metalanguage increasingly developed by the work-to-spend laborer. "Kodak as you go" readied the spectator for active future of consumption. Engineering historian Eugene S. Ferguson marks the increased role the image played because of its fundamental centrality in 20<sup>th</sup>-century industrial advancement. A necessary precondition for Fordist-Taylorist episteme, "thinking in pictures" and non-verbal thought, for Ferguson, enable the "great speed up." The "Kodak as you go" campaign through these non-verbal images, providing a counterbalance to the new efficiencies experienced in labor, disciplining the laborer into an efficient consumer by piggy-backing on the increased emotive states that entail the reality of the worker. The tagline "anchors" an emotive message to the icon, setting the spectator into movement, the "go," a movement that paradoxically fosters more "kodakable" moments, each involving an experience of 'slowed' time. Kodak became a predicate, an action, that enabled more photographs just like this advert that affirm the reality of the lifestyle that Fordism advertised. The linguistic and the coded iconic messages—each reinforcing the other—allowed the discontinuous world of symbols" a plunge "into the story of the denoted scene as though into a lustral bath of innocence" (Barthes 51). The "lustral bath of innocence," posits an innocence that

transfers the reality of things into an affect experienced through the image of those things, allowing cultural and linguistic signifiers to share in its privileged status.

The 1920 advertisement below, another in the “Kodak as you go” campaign, exemplifies the power of the “lustral bath” latent within the photographic image. At first glance, the image seems to be a picture of a retired couple enjoying the great American outdoors.



But upon closer inspection, the couple emerges as the only “real” element in the photographic advert. The illustrations of the car and country road in the background appear materially real, the cropping out and editing in of the couple, who never actually

took this road trip, offer up the “prestige of denotation” to the car and the idyllic green space. “From an aesthetic point of view,” Barthes states, “the denoted image can appear as a kind of Edenic state of the image” (54). The couple’s absolute reality “realizes” an Eden from the painted frame. The car’s iconic message, as in the previous ad, overcomes the apparent artifice, helping the spectator to understand the couple's purpose: sightseeing. The car, the most frequent commodity besides the camera itself in the advertising campaign, also provides visual energy, moving the “reading” of the image (the red line) towards an intersection with the illustrated road (the yellow lines) that created the open space that fosters an affective response. But the extended arm, a motion and an image that signifies Taylorized efficiency, also emotively triggers movement insofar as an extended arm visualizes a second motion—a push forward and a pullback: the pullback prompted by the left arm of the male companion. The viewer, aided by the gentlemen’s coat blown unusually out (blue arrows) that reinforce the push/pull of the woman’s extended arm, intuitively understands this action. The arm, coupled with the visual energy of the car, adds to the intensity of the pause within the open space (the intersecting orange lines), a pause that affords the couple and now the reader of the advert, an occasion of “being” in nature. The pattern of placing the heads of the people into an engineered open space recurs consistently in “Kodak as you go” campaign. The photo makes this space, a dream space, one in which a staged form of reality comes to validate a ‘real’ feeling in the spectator. The smartly dressed couple with the car and camera, provide for the spectator a good life, a life emerging as a consumable lifestyle, once associated exclusively with economic privilege. Finally, the capitalized KODAK emphasized the campaign’s power to brand itself. The name, selected in part because of its unique euphonic qualities, becomes associated with

the affect of being its commodity form increasingly depicted: vacations that slow the cessation of time. This couple's good life, evidenced by the photograph, will increasingly resemble the participation in viral marketing strategies like the *Kodakery* magazine. The recurring tagline continues the emotive associations that visual images help initially create.

These taglines help establish the branding power of Kodak as a form of false nostalgia. For West, Kodak's early marketing success stems from transforming snapshots into "objects of nostalgia," whereby photography encourages an easy way to erase the "unpleasant" or "painful" realities of life. By "controlling the unprecedented abundance of photographs," West argues that Kodak supplied "a new set of codes and images aimed at celebrating the nostalgic pursuit of beauty, pleasure, and innocence. And finally, by embodying nostalgia, the snapshot charged representations with desire. Kodak, in other words, taught us how to see and use photographs as sites of longing," (5). The nostalgia named by West tempts the critic to locate the origin of the longing in a 'past' reality, one associated during the modern age with craftsmanship, agrarian labor and a slower more 'natural' pace of production. The critic, and perhaps the reader of the adverts themselves, might romanticize an imagined past in which an individual experienced a slower sensation of time because the adverts themselves create a slower feeling which produces a sense of being and happiness. The there-then of the photograph, first experienced by consumers as a personal snapshot (1885-1900), and later (1900-1920) as both snapshot and as the centerpiece to a photographic advert, encouraged the misplacement on account of its dual nature. After all, the personal snapshot does turn a moment from the past into a readily experienced moment of being in the now for the viewer. The act of looking at these

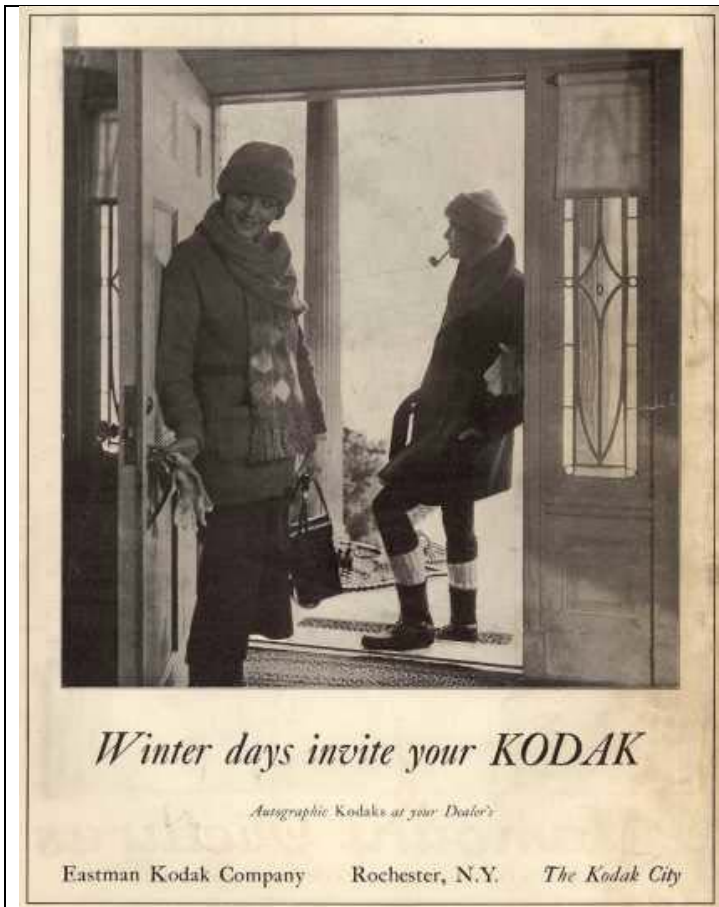
memories—first snapshots then adverts, spoke to a hope for future moments of stopped time and the increased role of the affect of being.

The literary texts, for example, that appeared in the diverse array of magazines next to this campaign, translated the affect of being into thematic and stylistic expressions. An entire trope of American literary history during the Taylorist-Fordist episteme attempted to tap into the anxiety around time and the great speed up. F. Scott Fitzgerald, in a letter to his editor Max Perkins, satirizes the frequency in which American authors invoked a longing for America's agricultural past and the slowed experience of time that allowed the characters to feel connected to the soil. Fitzgerald describes three ages of Western authors "discovering" the farmer and his attachment to the soil in the "History of the Simple Inarticulate Farmer and his Hired Man Christy: both guaranteed to be utterly full of the feel of the soil" (Fitzgerald 299). Fitzgerald describes "the second period" of this "discovery," between 1914 and 1922, with Robert Frost discovering him in New England, Sherwood Anderson discovering him in Ohio and Willa Cather turning him Swede as she discovered him in Nebraska. Fitzgerald objects to this trope, despite the quality of the prose from these authors, because "as a matter of fact the American peasant as "real" material scarcely exists. He is scarcely 10% of the population, isn't bound to the soil at all as the English + Russian peasants were—and, if he has any sense whatsoever (except a most sentimental conception of himself, which our writers persistently shut their eyes to) he is in the towns before he's twenty" (303). The literary history of the period reflects the nostalgia for non-existent but visually depicted past. Fitzgerald objected to the trope because it hid the reality of the American laborer, one not in the country but found in the towns and cities that increasingly adopted Fordist-Taylorist labor principles. But the affect of being's

increased role in literature suggested that labor practices lead to marketing strategies that influence the style of cultural products. Kodak's "new sets of codes and images" influenced more than the consumption of their product but reflected the larger cultural phenomenon of stunted image-based thinking that featured emotive semi-consciousness. The would-be glorification of an imagined past effectively hid the source of the "go," obscuring its role as the essential emotive condition fostered by Taylorist-Fordist labor practices. Kodak's "go" embodies the feeling and experience of a rushed now, despite the subject of a person's photograph or an advert being a past moment. The new visual language uses an image, through recall, to produce a similar feeling of slowed time. The emotive bursts produced by personal snapshots and eventually photographic-based adverts that increasingly define reality during the Fordist-Taylorist episteme can falsely yet easily be mapped onto a previous mode of accumulation: the farmer and his hired man Christy. The loss of the immediacy of the labor practices that produce this feeling now seems hidden to the critic and the reader, despite the daily speed up of the autoworker on the factory under the constant scrutiny of time-men. As the cultural logic increasingly emerged as the economic operating principles of the episteme, the "there-then" of the photograph and its latent affect obscured the consequences of a labor form that demanded a high frequency of focused and repeatable actions. The worker experienced a semi-conscious state while working; the work fosters awareness through brief moments of emotive bursts. Or put another way, the nature of repeated labor focused on time's efficiency produces a less than conscious yet not completely unconscious state, which is the origin of what I term the dream space. The "Kodak as you go" campaign tapped into this semi-conscious state produced by this labor; many cultural products that followed would feature a double movement—an activation of

labor-produced, time-experienced anxieties and a pivot to an image that visually slows the experience of time—that erases the source of the aesthetic power of the cultural product.

Kodak employed the double movement to establish one of the first modern brands. Branding requires more than merely one advert. To help move an effective advert into a feeling associated with the brand itself, the location of the “KODAK” that anchors each advert moves locations in tagline during the campaign. The 1922 advert below moves KODAK from the subject to object, from the command form of a verb, “KODAK as you go,” to the nominative, “Winter days invite your KODAK.” The name becomes the object of the sentence and now associated with the scene the camera captures as the unseen third guest enjoying this winter holiday. The scene possesses the essentials of the new genre: the foreground features gaze of the smart girl, this specific girl hugged in winter fashions while holding a Kodak camera; the background features an icon of time, in this case, the snow itself. From country tryst to couples sightseeing to now a winter escape, Kodak brands leisure time—slowed experience of time—as Kodak time. The same pattern of



visual space triggers the requisite emotive conditions (my orange lines), suggesting the good life can become an affect experienced not through doing but by seeing and decoding the advert. The limited success of this transfer is critical the way photograph adverts work: the feeling is briefly experienced but not entirely consciously understood. The denoted images create a pause; the pause becomes a visualized experience of engineered space, space through which the slowed-experience of time legitimates the symbolic message and affords it status as reality. In this case, the camera the smart girl holds becomes essential to creating the affect of being. The camera in the advert, located at the origin of this ad's dream space, helps Kodak brand the feeling the advert generates. The woman's accessories, the gloves, the camera and the snow gear coupled with the man's pipe (blue

ovals) suggest how things become essential in the production of 'lifestyle.' But unlike the previous adverts that employ the car as an icon, signifying acceleration, the snow accentuates deceleration. The man's perfectly casual posture and pause enable the dream space to form while his gaze projects cessation of time within the white haze (blue arrows). The image hails its recipient to stop and be.

As early as 1922 the campaign's design came, in part, from demography, creating adverts that completed the branding process. The 1925 advert below, like many others, eventually published, originated initially from submission to *Kodakery*. Since 1907, Kodak offered annual prize money of \$1000 for the winning selection. The company received tens of thousands of entries each year. Advertising Manager Lewis Jones called these snapshots "indispensable" in that customer entries to the competition sourced the most effective marketing techniques developed by Kodak: demographic research. By 1925, Kodak categorized hundreds of thousands of snapshots received annually and based future advertising on the categories that most directly responded to customers desires. In *Making the Modern*, Terry Smith argues for an "iconology of modernity" that emerged during the proliferation of photographic images in the 1920s that reduces the seeming diversity created by the explosion of images. Four image-groups helped to reimagine sites of labor as sites of leisure: the industrial factory and the worker; the agricultural site and the farm worker; the vertical city and the crowd, and the stylized product and the consumer (2). Kodak's photo contests transformed the leisure activity itself into performative labor, where the staging of leisure—often part of Smith's iconology of modernity—functioned as another kind of work generated by the increased anxiety over the sensation of time and its passage.

Kodak understood the increased anxiety of time during labor provided a new, structural way to keep workers consuming. To maintain market share and ensure brand power, the snapshots created in the advertising campaign developed what West calls “sophisticated naivete” in their marketing campaigns. But as my analysis suggests, these photographic adverts were specifically constructed based on the consumer's habits. *Kodakery* then is not a simple magazine, but what Daniel Boorstin calls a “pseudo-event,” staging an implied frame within which people perform leisure to be photographed as spontaneously captured moments of lived experienced. This 1925 advert features continue to leverage the force of visual lines, essential to the campaign and its “sophisticated naiveté.” The large and slow-moving pleasure steamer, instead of the accelerating car, form the lines of the photograph that will simultaneously create and



affirm the visual cessation of time and its accompanying affect of being. The steamer, photographed from a 45-degree perspective, creates a visual angle that stretches out the deck of the ship as its bulkhead (wall) serves as the background to the relaxing, multi-generational gathering. Mother and Father's legs, the awning above the proud son, whose arm accentuates these lines, coupled with the negative space of the passageway, create a linear rush for the viewer, pushing the viewer

into the dream space and the slowed enjoyment of time. The pause, for the viewer of the advert, extends itself as the dream space occupies the privileged lower third of the photograph. The Kodak girl, who serves as the creator of, and framer for the dream space,

increasingly becomes associated with the overall effect of the advertisement campaign: the affect of being. The movement of Taylorist-Fordist efficiencies into the home transform the role of women in the family. Now the “time-man” that produces the efficiency for the family, it’s a role that included documenting leisure time. Indeed, time-men based their efficiencies on the stop motion photography (see “Taylor’s Time-Man”). Our Kodak smart girl does the same in this advert, but her presence helps channel time anxiety into the desired benefit. A film like Buster Keaton’s 1920 *One Week*, for example, witnesses a newlywed couple putting together their dream home—from a Taylorized do-it-yourself kit. Buster Keaton’s character attempts to follow the directions and complete a home in an astounding week, while the wife functions as foreman to ensure the house’s proper presentation for their wedding party. Despite Keaton’s antics, the change in how the family manages and views time reveals the broader cultural implications of Taylorism.

Just as his wife monitors Buster in *One Week*, our Kodak girl has managed the family’s schedule and now, through the Kodak camera, provides a blessing for this moment of leisure for the proud son. Our smart girl’s head, resting just below the machinery of efficiency of the steamer, which includes a horn and engine ventilation system known as a dorade box. At the risk of reading too much into her placement beneath them, the Kodak girl very much embodies both functions. As a cruise manager, she keeps her family on task to maximize the leisure time. The horns on the ship, like our smart girl, would help increase the efficiencies of passengers and crew. Also, the dorade box, an effective way to circulate spent air with fresh air, and with it, alters the feeling of working and being below deck, is an erasure similar to the Kodak’s dual function, an erasure essential to the smart girl. The ad exemplifies the campaign’s use of the Kodak girl to embody two significances: either

directly or indirectly the taker of the photograph while remaining the subject of the advert. Such doubling—whereby the Kodak ‘girl’ occupies both the subject and object positions—revealed the mapping of the affect of being onto the emerging icon of the Kodak girl. In analyzing this feature of an emerging commodity aesthetics, John Berger in *Ways of Seeing* states: “This unequal relationship (the double position of the female nude) is so deeply embedded in our culture that it still structures the consciousness of many women. They do to themselves what men do to them. They survey, like men, their own femininity” (63). Certainly, the Kodak girl leveraged through a visual depiction of space possessed an association with the arresting of time. The returning female gaze creates the feeling of cathexis for the “spectator-owner,” the presumed male viewer of the advert (Berger 56). The campaign helped established the iconicity of the Kodak girl, an icon signaling the moment of time-arrest. The commodities that accompany her, including but not limited to the camera and the automobile, carry associations of the leisure-driven good life. Her continued ubiquity will prompt the cultural adoption of the smart girl ad as visual shorthand, deployed by advertising in print to help discipline consuming efficiencies. The smart girl signifying time arrest through Eco’s “cultural cramping.” Thus, eventually, depictions need no longer manufacture rhetorically temporal arrest. The Kodak girl, appearing in thousands of adverts, usually draped in a blue and white vertical striped dress, becomes “thingified” as the essential commodity of the good life by activating the affect of being. Eastman himself insisted on multiple representations of the Kodak girl: no one model or type image would come to represent the Kodak girl; instead, a bevy of young women take on the larger, socially constructed representation of arresting of time, of being

in the world. To ensure this fluid association, Kodak girls never entered into speaking engagements and usually worked on only one, three-year contract (West and Connor).

### **Advertising and the Emergence of Affect through Image**

The Kodak campaign arises in the early days of psychology's exploration of how to sell. In 1908, Walter Dill Scott, in *Psychology of Advertising*, offered one of the first demographic-based analyses of advertising practices. By analyzing respondents' reactions and pause times on advertising pages, Scott concluded that "the intensity of the impression" which an advertisement makes depends upon the response time "which it secures from the readers" (14). Scott seemed troubled by the way in which the new magazine audience read: they skimmed. National magazines exploded in number, over 400 by 1925, and page length, each averaging over 100 pages. Scott stated, "they turn the pages rapidly, and the individual advertisement makes so little impression that it is not remembered by them as having been seen at all" (144). Scott intended his description as a warning that advertisers should make adverts more arresting, but his account reveals an underlying shift in how consumers came "to know" during the Fordist/Taylorist episteme. The new consumers experienced time and conceptualized space in innovative ways. The adverts themselves did not cause the skimming, rather their readers "read" them through a sense of time modified by their working experience. The photograph becomes the way in which adverts will speak to this new mode of time, seeing and knowing in the world. Scott also noted that advertising had intuitively gravitated toward using image-based metalanguage, stating advertisers were correct "in inferring that the difference lay in the display of the illustration and text matter," successful adverts, he concluded, feature

“illustrations that provide a resting place for the eye” and a clear “point or line of orientation” (151). The speed at which the magazine reader processes the advert required a feeling of slowing down, not through the actual cessation of time, but an emotive sensation via an arrest of attention effected through images that produced non-linear spaces requiring slower processing time. These images required a visual space in which the lines of the images push the eye to a “point or line of orientation.” Drawn to the image of rest, the eye delays on the photographic image even if the actual time spent on the advert remained brief. Scott determined the successful ad should become image-based: he and understood that the ads don’t logically convince the purchaser to buy, but rather they function as a device that produces an “intensity” a feeling about themselves that these new images produced.

Scott’s, in at least a nascent sense, identified the photograph’s ability to speak an emotive language. By 1911, researchers like Barnard’s Professor Harry L. Hollingsworth explored the depth and power of emotive appeals. As Hollingsworth in *Advertising and Selling: Principles of Appeal and Response* stated, “the display advertisement” works because it evidences an “emotional selling talk which does not argue but attempts to work on strong feeling, instinct or ideal. The range of such special appeals is exceedingly wide, for there are many objects in our experience toward which we all react by this feeling circuit, without stopping to ask why we so respond” (28). The wide range of “emotional selling talk” worked by activating an emotive state, a “feeling circuit.”

Moreover, the state occurred too quickly for it to be conscious: the reader of the print ads felt before she thought about the cause of that feeling. Because photograph

seemingly captures reality, the truth of this feeling is experienced without question. Furthermore, this emotive state typified a range of experiences in other social relations: Hollingworth's phrasing "for there are many objects in our experience" would suggest the increasing centrality of "commodity" to the lifework of the new century. He posited "thing" and the emotive state attached to "thing" as essential to both work and play, emotions developed in response to the images of things that now establishes an identity. Lastly, Hollingsworth word choice reflects the emerging industrial practices that produce this rapid emotive state; *Advertising and Selling* deploys sustained mechanical analogies—adverts have "pulling power" or an ability to drive a "short circuit appeal." Hollingsworth tied the ads to the rapidly changing labor practices, without making that connection explicit. By speaking of the adverts in terms appropriate to innovative labor practice, Hollingsworth intuits, if not thoroughly discerns, the underlying forces that shaped the new industrial worker's experience of time and space.

### **Creating the New for Smart Girl in a Dream Space: Fordist-Taylorist Labor Practices**

Fordist and Taylorist labor practices plainly modified the manner in which the laborer experiences time and space and advertising during that period expresses this new lived reality. The Fordist mode of production emerged between 1900 and 1920, tripling the percentage of industrial jobs compared to the previous period and became the fastest growing sector of the American economy (US Bureau of Labor Statistics). The Fordist/Taylorist rationalizations refer to a constellation of labor practices that "spatialize time" by increasing efficiency through "best practices" to maximize profit and "temporalize space" by centralizing mass production to minimize cost. (Harvey 196). I use the term

constellation because, in addition to Fordism's transformation of production, the term addresses its repercussions into the lifeworld of labor, spiraling out of the the immediate experience of work, extending to consumer credit and corporate-based healthcare. David Harvey describes the diverse economic processes as involving the "perpetual search to annihilate space through time:" as society subsumed this mode, the result was what Stephen Meyer describes as "the degradation, speedup, and elimination of labor" (5).

The anthropologist Bernard Doray, in *From Taylorism to Fordism: A Rational Madness* (1988) cataloged Western workers account of these labor practices. Interviewing an electrician from a machine tool plant, Doray reveals how far efficiencies in production extend beyond the productive process itself:

My working life certainly does not correspond to the life I would like to lead. It corresponds to something I accept, that's all. You have to be here at 7:15 in the morning, not 7:30. You have to be here 1:00, not 1:15, so I put up with it...

What I really mean is that my professional life is one thing, and that my personal life another (17).

Since Fordism seeks to manage not merely production, but distribution and consumption, its efficiencies necessarily extended beyond the factory and into the lifeworld and cultural forms of workers shift their identity from laboring to consuming in attempt to stabilize the anxieties produced from the labor at the start of the twentieth century. The strict adherence to time, an essential component of Fordist/Taylorist management, signaled a larger surrendering of how workers constitute reality in its temporal dimensions. The surrender of all social relations to a primary social relation—one's identity as formed

through labor—reveals the emotive space in which identity and a concept of self-in-reality established itself. Marx describes this awareness as man’s “coming-to-be” through his labor itself as a commodity (24). Marx asserts that labor is “life-engendering”: by this, he means more than simply labor as subsistence (30). As an essential characteristic of the species, Marx considers labor the foundational quality of human society—a first-order concern—one that forms the consciousness of man. If labor’s “species-character” forms consciousness through work, labor, therefore enables “life itself,” even as it becomes a “*means to live*” (31).

The Fordist/Taylorist episteme featured transformations of the worker that alienate the laborer, inhibiting his capacity to form a meaningful identity at work—forcing the electrician, and others like him, to establish an identity outside of labor. Scientific management had its industrial inceptions in the mid-nineteenth century with America’s first industrial revolution; but it did not, however, become a general factor of lifework until the second industrial revolution. Sewing factories, for example, adopted the use of bells to extend working time outside of the factory and into the lifeworld of the community at large. The factory had series of “bell schedules and fines for tardiness” to discipline the worker to the new form of labor. The example, one of many efficiencies, signaled the larger cultural practice of extending a rushed experience of time into the lifeworld of the worker. By the time Ford established a factory “designed from the union of time and space,” a factory system famously celebrated by the photography Charles Sheeler, the general adoption of Fordist principles ensured that the transformation of raw ore into a car in less than a week (UAW). The resulting labor practices that this “speed-up” required extended altering time far beyond the ringing of bells. For maximized speed to take advantage of centralized

space, a series of deskilled, repetitive jobs, interconnected through the labor product's movement in time, became critical to the valorization of profit as factory space itself was dramatically redesigned to increase speed consistently. The result: a drastic change in the experience of time itself. A local Detroit reporter, celebrating the creation of jobs at a new auto factory reported a "post-World War I speed-up" that featured "no speech among the men" because "they haven't time for it. Each is keyed every moment to the necessity of keeping pace with the relentless onward march of the conveyor" (quoted by Meyer).

The first generation to experience this new form of labor rebelled. The economic historian Ballaban captured labor's initial response to Ford's production of the Model T, "there was no seasonal turnover; the company was in a constant state of mass exodus [of labor]" (14). One could argue that such constant turnover simply reflected difficult labor. But the scale of mass exodus revealed a more systemic problem than simply adapting to a new more challenging form of work. The repetitive and anchored-in-place reshaped reality itself for the laborer. To deal in part with worker attrition rates, Ford created a "Sociology Department" with the purpose of extending the reach of the corporation into "assisting" the worker "prosper" inside his factories. Ford hired hundreds of sociologists over a decade to investigate and instruct his workforce on proper living, including lessons on "proper time management at home" (Smith 25). The department, eventually closed when Ford deemed it too "paternalistic." But the department's existence helped stabilize the workforce until managed-time had established a new reality through the innovative form of labor (Smith 34). But initially, the intensity associated with Ford's revision of temporal experience resulted in acute anxiety for the worker and consequently the high turnover of labor. The fundamentally different experience of time, which develops into a prolonged emotive

experience of stress for the worker, demanded Ford's interventions to entice and sustain labor. For example, Ford's famous \$5 a day wage, a doubling of the average daily income, worked in tandem with his offering of consumer credit to maintain workers. These interventions amounted to a stopgap measure—set in place until a disciplining of time extended beyond the industrial line and towards a cultural norm. This historic moment—the first generation conditioned by Fordist/Taylorist practices—provides insight into the process of reimagining the role of emotion in identity formation during the rebranding of work time and space.

The following examples provide a variety of first-hand accounts to not only establish the effects of time-discipline but to describe the process in which the way an audience knows time and space created by time management become *modus operandi* for the culture at large. This process began at work itself. A Ford production supervisor W. C. Klann commented on the reality of maintaining speed at a monotonously repetitive task. "It was nothing to call a man a dirty name and tell him to keep on going. We used to have every man learn how to say 'hurry up.' It was *putch-putch* in Polish; *presto*, Italian; *mach schnell*, German; and *hurry up* in English. That was all a fellow knew, just drive, drive, drive," (qtd by \_\_\_\_\_ 20). Language itself, rather than just immigrants that serve to stabilize Ford's labor model, became part of the car laborer's reality, one built on "drive, drive, drive." One cannot overstate the celebrated interchangeability of the jobs—jobs made interchangeable by Ford's time-and-motion-men—coerced the laborers to accept the keen awareness of time as the new normal. Laborers, made ever aware of their own imagined substitutionality, has this temporal magnitude heightened because of the fixedness of place. As David Hounshell in *From the American System to Mass Production 1800-1932* states,

“these practices on the part of the companies gave rise to working practices to defend their wages and keep their speed low. Workers frequently attempted to deceive the time-study men. Once a rate was set, the workers often agreed informally on what production should be and informed any newcomers of their agreed-upon pace” (32). Even as they resisted, the need to adjust to the episteme’s construction of time shaped men’s social relations.

Furthermore, time functioned as the medium in which the reality of labor becomes negotiated. Pieceworker Tracy Doll recalled the system at Ford’s Hudson plant: “The slow man, the man who was not as adaptable, could not keep up, so he was creating a considerable amount of turmoil because the fast man made more money and, of course, he was working himself to death, but the slower man was always dissatisfied,” (qtd by Meyer 41). The speed of the workers on the assembly line impacted the larger social group of laborers because the rate and efficiency of others hovered in the air as a near tangible concern for each worker. Time is altered, as a social relationship, and not just by the task itself—the job as a remorseless repetition of limited motions in limited time. Time becomes a multivalent, compressed source of anxiety for the worker; emotions that would reach consciousness in time remain submerged, lingering as brief emotive moments felt but not reflected or processed, priming the pump for advertising to reach this developing demographic by speaking through images that produce an arresting of time.

Time at work changed the experience of time more broadly. Chaplin’s iconic mocking in *Modern Times* of a bathroom-observing foreman and a lunch machine that tortures the worker in a speedup of the lunch break and thereby keeps the employee “on the line” to “increase efficiency” are humorous because they tapped into the genuine and

growing anxiety over time itself, experienced in faster, repetitive bursts. As a Ford worker commented, "To transfer this [pointing to his lunch] to the stomach in fifteen minutes without choking, and still have time to wipe the crumbs from one's mouth before the production bell sounds again, is an exact science made possible only by the application of Ford production principles," (51). Chaplin's satire on working conditions exemplifies a rapid change extending from labor practices. Within a generation, the idea of 'lunch,' as a real and sustained break from labor requiring a return home to a shared meal, became a quickly packed meal from home to be consumed at work.

This new experience of reality creates a labor crisis, a crisis solved by advertising and the photographic image. Perhaps no study documents the change to cultural norms caused by labor than the Lynd's study of Middletown during the 1920s. A town that defines the "average" American experience fully in the grips of the logic of Fordism and Taylorism. This logic migrates into the pre-existing forms of labor and other cultural spaces. The Lynd's observe that "the speed of the iron man has brought new health hazards all its own- nerve strain due to noise and speed, new types of localized ailments due to specialization of activity curtailing movement (42). If the laborers inside a glass production plant in a small Ohio town find themselves in duress from the centrality and efficiency of Fordism and Taylorism, the economic mode emerges in 20s America in what Jameson calls a "culture dominant." The Lynds' report that two under-officials in the packing room of a large glass plant agreed in saying that "there have been several nervous breakdowns since the installation of the belt conveyor bringing the jars to the women packers. This system may be good for the plant, but it certainly isn't good for the girls" (43).

I have argued that the Kodak and Jones' success through the "Kodak as you go" campaign, stemmed from their earlier realization and future utilization of the role of affect in the lifeworld of the worker. Despite understanding how Kodak deployed emotive power, West argues that Kodak's success stemmed from a happy historical accident: "however ingenious the advertising strategies of Jones and the employees who worked under him, the company also owed much of its advertising success to sheer timing." West adds "those early years of Kodak marketing coincided with the professionalization of American advertising. When Eastman patented his Kodak products in 1888, he entered a field dramatically different from what it had been only a few decades before. The self-legitimizing apparatus of professional advertising copywriters, art directors, account executives, marketing experts, brand names, labels, packaging-had just begun to be formed" (73). The idea that Kodak's success "coincides" with the development of advertising fails to consider the economic forces that underpin the most massive migration in American history: from the country to the city. The rapidity built into Fordism/Taylorism becomes a social engine, one that eventually marks the human consciousness by altering the experience of time and space. Autoworkers, on the frontline of this transformation, experienced the first wave of altered time and space. The increased role of affect—emotive conditions that never reach full consciousness but instead become felt, persisted like emotive splinters in an individual's mind—played an increased presence in the lifeworld of these Fordist/Taylorist workers. Kodak specifically tapped into the affect of being. The transformation of advertising, as demonstrated by Kodak's conscious rhetorical manipulations of the photographic image, color and the wish-fulfillment coupled with *Kodakery* as the unofficial arm of the research department, are not mere coincident.

They signal the emergence of a new mode of being and mark the beginning of the movement from formal to real subsumption within the Fordist/Taylorist episteme. The “Kodak as you go” campaign models the deployment of epistemic knowledge that became a cultural dominant by the start of the Second World War: the increasing role of affect in modern American life.

## CHAPTER TWO

### **"Cool, insolent smiles" that "satisfy hard jaunty bodies:" Jordan Baker, Fitzgerald's 'Smart Girl,' Automotive Advertising and the Prefabrication of Character"**

F. Scott Fitzgerald's fabrication of Jordan Baker reveals an immense efficiency in characterization. Jordan's impact in the novel arises despite the character's seeming ancillary role as the owner of "golden arms" which accompany Nick while he "saunters" into Gatsby's parties, or whose past helps validate the beauty in establishing Daisy's "white girlhood" in Tennessee (*TGG*). In fact, Jordan Baker plays a critical role in generating and channeling emotions for the reader, which persuades the reader to substantiate James Gatz as Jay Gatsby. In several scenes staged like advertisements, Jordan's narrative voice demonstrates how Jordan functions like one of the many 1920's "smart-girls." These smart girls, or models staged in glamorized party scenes for advertisements, channel the feeling of the commodity-based good life through what Raymond William calls "the magic system" of advertising (44). By channeling the resonances inherent in the advertising of the Jordan and Baker automotive companies, Jordan the character uses prefabricated channels of feeling to offer the reader more than a description of the good-life and an affect—a burst of emotion that reveals how advertising taps into a feeling of being. Fitzgerald deploys this feeling of being in a similar way many advertisements do—helping the American public embrace the industrialized good life—as this anxiety in response to these new labor practices burst through the experience of daily life during the 1920s. This momentary but repeated sensation of being, a reaffirmation of American meritocracy in the form of a feeling, plays an increasingly important role in daily American life during the second

industrial revolution and the formation of the American system. But just how can images from a magazine affect the way readers understand a literary character? How do the smart girls in the Jordan and Baker automotive companies allow the character of Jordan Baker to tap into an affective register and confirm a feeling of identity achieved, a feeling of being specific to American identity and located in the novel in the social transformation of James Gatz into Jay Gatsby?

### **Advertising and Cultural Change in the 1920s**

The questions about Fitzgerald and the shaping of Jordan Baker in *The Great Gatsby* highlight advertising discourse and its influence on modern aesthetics. Cultural theorist Fredric Jameson in *Postmodernism or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* describes the relationship between changes in labor practices and their impact on the culture at large. Jameson argues that economic revolutions would feature influence beyond the factory floor and become what he terms a "cultural dominant." Therefore, Ford's assembly line and its centralization of space and Taylor's efficiencies of time that take hold of the American culture during the 1920s would eventually find expression in the aesthetics of mainstream culture. In fact, these economic practices would first lead to other financial innovations, like the flourishing of advertising, which would influence leisure practices, like the *Saturday Evening Post's* production and reception. David Harvey goes further than Jameson to emphasize advertising's role in the relationship between capital and cultural change. Harvey argues that modernism witnesses "the deployment of advertising as 'the official art of capitalism' and subsumption of advertising strategies into art and art into advertising strategies (63).

As early as 1910, analysis of advertisements in magazines like *Good House Keeping* reveals the promotion of industrial ideas to determine social practices, as adverts promote the house as the factory for family happiness (Tichi 19). Moreover, the ubiquity of this message increased. Madison Avenue emerges as a billion-dollar industry in the 1920s, selling the mass-produced products created by these new labor practices by transforming print media by adopting their drive for efficiency. The Fordist-Taylorist logic transforms advertising, as increases in industrial efficiency produces more revenue. This revenue increase leads to a more generous advertising budget and is reinvested into advertising and the development of commodity aesthetics. In turn, innovations in advertising fund the rapid explosion of over 400 national periodicals by 1929 (Norris 25). These economic and aesthetic crosscurrents create the emotive power of smart girls and profoundly impact identity and desire for writers like Fitzgerald. Advertising creates this efficiency through the now mass-produced photographic advert, increasing consumption of the commodities the images glamorize. Cultural historian and advertising documentarian Jackson Lears in *Fables of Abundance: The Cultural History of Advertising in America* describes how advertising innovations during the 1920s shape the leisure reader's identity and produce a "normative self." For Lears, advertising played a vital role in "the construction of the modern subject—a normative self that suited the emerging corporate structure of power relations in the early-twentieth-century United States" (12).

The photographic advert at the center of advertising's normative practices took advantage of the photograph's unique characteristics, traits that Jordan Baker the character utilizes in a similar fashion in the novel. Kodak scholar Nancy West, exploring how the photo influences feeling and identity, locates identity mediating images as inherent to the

snapshot's development at the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. West expresses the uniqueness of the photograph—one image that represents two bodies—in the following terms: "snapshot photographs" are unlike most other commodities because snapshots "manage to have it both ways: they veil the history of their production, while at the same time maintaining the illusion that they, and the meanings they represent, are produced by its viewer/reader. Thus, they represent the ultimate commodity: the embodiment of infinite reproducibility with the aura of the unique" (55). Advertising emphasized one of these two bodies—the "here-now" experienced during the decoding of the good life photographic advert while presenting latently in the image the second body—the "there-then" of the image's commercial production through the framing of the golden arms of the smart-girl (Barthes). These female models in staged good-life scenes enhance the advertising photographs' ability to respond to new labor practices' emotional needs. Jordan Baker will tap into this latent energy—one represented in the novel by the valley of ashes—to change the reader's feelings toward Jay Gatsby. The smart girls achieve this feeling by constructing a visual dream space that invites the viewer to pause while viewing the image, creating the extra few moments that produce a sense of being. Jordan Baker performs this role, constructing a dream space for the reader to view and feel the good life of Jay Gatsby. The photographic advert framed smart girls—from the Gibson girl to the Kodak girl, promises an identity that will heal the wounded bodies of workers, mitigating the second industrial revolution's stressors. As *Gatsby* scholar Lawrence Dessen documented, "Fitzgerald shows us that photography is not merely a means of entertainment, professional or domestic, and a method of documentation, but a way people who are not self-conscious philosophers reinforce their assumptions about the nature of reality and time" (79). Jordan Baker will

take advantage of these assumptions about reality and time as Fitzgerald translated the photograph's powers to create moments of slowed time for the reader. James Gatz can become Jay Gatsby in the hearts of the novel's audience. Laura Barrett goes further, arguing that Fitzgerald exploits "the popularity and ubiquity of photographs," a move that establishes a "technological parallel" of the photograph's power during "the Jazz Age" (542). Barrett asserts that the effect of this aesthetic is that "Nick creates his nation through a series of arresting, seemingly timeless images, which remain for the reader long after the novel is finished" (553).

### **Advertising's Influence and the problem of Jordan Baker**

Both this theoretical foundation and the historical conditions it analyzes provide an illuminating framework for an interpretation of Jordan Baker in *The Great Gatsby*. Perhaps no character better embodies the origin and expression of the emotive advert's cultural logic more clearly than the golfing flapper. When taken out of the context of advertising, traditional *Gatsby* scholarship has struggled to understand the role of Jordan Baker. As Veronica Makowsky asks in "Jordan and Bad Driving," "How did such a relatively young woman become—or is she really—already 'wan' (*Gatsby* 15, 53, 85), 'contemptuous' (*Gatsby* 15, 23, 46), 'bored' (*Gatsby* 62), and 'incurably dishonest' (*Gatsby* 63) as Nick describes her?" (28). A disjunction between epithets may vanish when Jordan's character is set within the affective register required of a smart girl during an advertising photoshoot. The production team would need that their model poses with different faces yielding a range of expressions from which the most emotion-inducing gaze might be selected; a choice based on catching and slowing the reader's eye. Jordan's incongruent

faces may become apparent if imagined as half a dozen shots on a roll of film. Certainly, her name is designed to invoke the smart girls featured in advertisements produced from such photoshoots. A failure to associate Jordan with the commercial images from which she derives leads to scholarly critiques such as, "Fitzgerald does not really develop Jordan's character beyond its utility as a handy narrative technique or even a supplementary example of moral turpitude" (Makowsky 28). This reading of Jordan misrecognizes prefabrication as underdeveloped. Fitzgerald relies on the prefabricated power of the character to deliver one of the novel's essential feelings of being about American identity, the "the orgasmic future that year by year recedes before us" (*GG*).

Moreover, the adverts' power to alter the experience of time, a power critical to channeling emotions to the reader to facilitate Gatsby's transubstantiation, leads some scholars to criticize Fitzgerald's editing of the novel. In *I'm Sorry About the Clock: Chronology, Composition, and Narrative Technique in the Great Gatsby*, Thomas Pendleton argues that Fitzgerald's editing leaves narratological inconsistencies that undercut the novel. Jordan Baker's selection as a conduit for the reader to meet Jay Gatsby (and not cheap sharper James Gatz) is a prime example of this problem. "Still, Gatsby's selection of Jordan rather than Nick is merely part of the larger problem of his selecting Jordan at all: to choose her as an intermediary to Nick has, at this point in time, very little narrative coherence" (Pendleton 49). On the contrary, the reader's knowledge of the Jordan and Baker advertising campaigns and its use of smart girls allows Fitzgerald an emotional coherence designed to suppress an awareness of labors' facts in favor of the emotional longings needed to sustain the rigors of industrialized life. To demonstrate how the adverts map out the aesthetic manipulations of time and feeling, let's examine in detail the

advertising campaigns that precede the character of Jordan Baker, campaigns that model how she channels desire.

### The Adverts that Shape Jordan Baker

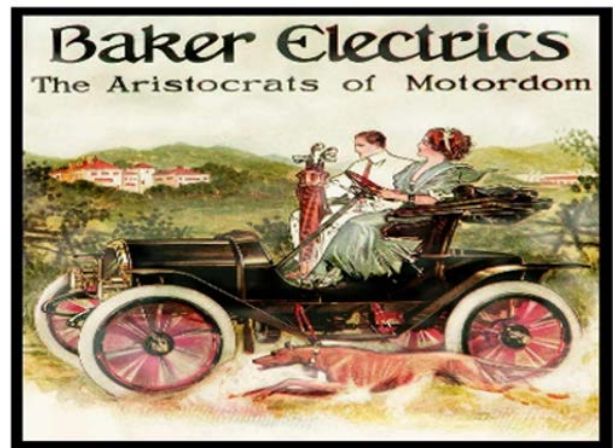
For contemporary readers, the surname Baker reads as a nondescript American last name. However, the 1920s readers would associate the name with electric car production



“The Social Prestige of Baker Electric” (figure 1)

and distribution. Baker Electric, founded in 1897, advertised itself by 1912 as "the oldest and largest manufacturer of electric motor cars in the world." With advertising copy that emphasized "The Social Prestige of the Baker Electric," the Baker emerged as the electric car of choice for Thomas Edison and the wife of President Taft (Figure 1; Norbury). Mrs. Baker lives this prestige in the novel, belonging to a class of people who "played polo and were rich together"

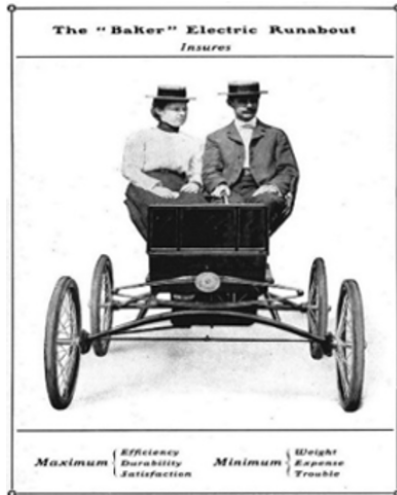
(GG). Moreover, the reader would associate the Baker smart girl with the attainment of class status through the repeated exposure to illustrations and photographic adverts like the ones in figures 1-3. Featured in magazines like *Cosmopolitan*, *Scribner's*, or *Harper's*, they targeted women aspiring to privileged leisure time. The character of Baker taps into this prestige through the seemingly random moments in the novel that mirror the campaign. On several occasions, Nick mentions Jordan and her only relation, a blue-



“The Aristocrats of Motordom” (figure 2)

blooded aunt. These references encourage the reader to see Jordan and her aunt like the two women in figure 1: embodying their class's decorum. Mrs. Baker's social prestige is not a static quality, but an electric one that moves through the character in much the same way the Baker electric moves in the advert "The Aristocrats of Motordom." Figure 2 evidences the branding of liberating social prestige: the modern woman, interpreted as "flapper" by the reader, drives with golf clubs in her companion's hands, transforming the beau into a caddy. Fitzgerald first recalls Mrs. Baker from the cover of "sporting magazines" to invoke Jordan's story that caused a "row." Nick reflects, "At her first big golf tournament there was a row that nearly reached the newspapers—a suggestion that she had moved her ball from a bad lie in the semi-final round. The thing approached the proportions of a scandal—then died away. A caddy retracted his statement, and the only other witness admitted that he might have been mistaken. The incident and the name had remained together in my mind" (GG). The incident, one in which Mrs. Baker demonstrates her prestige by first causing a scandal and then by enforcing her privilege which requires her caddy to "retract" his statement that she cheated, helps the reader associate the prestige of the electric Baker with the prestige of the character Baker. The motif—one of the earliest examples of pseudo-feminism—taps the psychographic empowerment afforded by the car to the targeted female leisure class. Like an aristocratic smart girl, Mrs. Baker invoked an association of privilege that Fitzgerald will rely on to establish Gatsby's would-be aristocracy. In Fitzgerald's own terms, the character of Jordan Baker's seemingly benign actions mimic the quality of the adverts; thus, feelings from the advertisement can become *real without being material*. Mrs. Baker's character channels these real feelings through the scenes that she frames. The magazine that Nick associates with Jordan several times in the

novel serves as a vital reminder to the reader to think of the adverts that would fill these magazines.

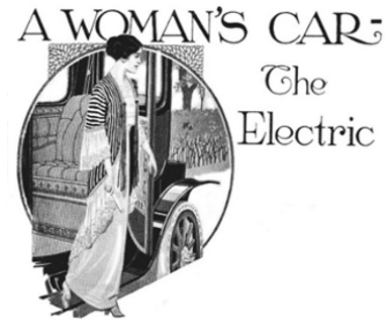


“The “Baker” Electric Runabout” (figure 3)

The Baker smart girl's influence goes beyond association, as the 1920s reader would have experienced the photographic efficiency of the "The 'Baker' Electric Runabout advertisement. Figure 3 leverages the claim on reality inherent in the photograph to make the image of leisured aristocracy feel real for the viewer. One of the earliest photographic reproductions of a car in advertising, the realism achieved in figure 3, allows the advert to

demonstrate a restrained version of figure 2's message. The Runabout confers its class privilege stoically by foregrounding cleanliness and ease of use. The aspirational couple wears their Sunday's best, unconcerned with the mess of gasoline or the stain of grime and its labor associations. In addition, the car moves directly towards the viewer, enhancing the capacity of the car to speed class transformation, something delivered by the push of a starter button or the turn of a reader's page. The advert speaks to the audience clamoring for affirmation that their hard work has been realized and their identity transformed. The advert achieves this feeling of privileged realization by associating its good life scene with the tagline of figure 3, "Maximum: efficiency, durability, satisfaction. Minimum: weight, expense, trouble." The tagline features an interruption to the traditional sentence structure. The breaking away from conventional aesthetics allows emotions to be invoked in an audience while limiting the consciousness by which the audience understands how these feelings become invoked. Jordan will function similarly to the identity of Gatsby. For

example, during Jordan and Nick's first party at Gatsby's, Mrs. Baker maximizes Gatsby's identity with minimum effort. Nick describes the table conversation: "The two girls and Jordan leaned together confidentially. 'Somebody told me they thought he killed a man once.' A thrill passed over all of us." An affect-based message, the thrill in just a few words, realizes its emotive power. In this case, Gatsby's identity becomes glamorized by Jordan's discussion of it. The efficiency of the scene—like the goodlife glamorized by the Baker smart girl--enabled Mrs. Baker's



"A WOMAN'S CAR-The Electric" (figure 4)

character with two other nameless smart girls to advertise Gatsby's prestige. The smart girls' presence channels the emotion so that the seemingly innocuous conversation is not a sincere attempt to develop Gatsby's mysterious past. Instead, it is an efficient way to generate Gatsby's feeling through Jordan's narrative voice, a literary translation of the smart girl's visual gaze. This form of advertising, the dynamic image anchored by terse verbiage, foreshadows Mrs. Baker's appearance and quick wit to sell Gatsby's prestige to the reader in just a few lines in the novel.

Finally, the character of Jordan Baker's body and its similarity to the Baker smart girl's image highlights how Fitzgerald builds from the growing body of semantic knowledge consumers of national periodicals. Nick establishes her Baker body in the first chapter of the novel. The Baker smart girl in "A WOMAN'S CAR- The Electric" (figure 4) bares obvious and important physical similarities to Jordan Baker. Nick's account of Jordan derives from, even as it modifies, the affective charge delivered by the Baker campaign's iconographic series. Nick describes Jordan as a "slender, small-breasted girl, with an erect carriage, which she accentuated by throwing her body backward at the shoulders like a young cadet.

Her gray sun-strained eyes looked back at me with polite reciprocal curiosity out of a wan, charming, discontented face" (*GG* 14). Her body's carriage invokes the carriage of the Baker car, a seat from which prestige is understood as an emotion. The disinterested face of both Bakers expresses the already fulfilled desire that describes prestige. The repeated references to cars and Mrs. Baker only reinforce what this initial introduction suggests: Jordan's very body is a carriage, firmly seated in a dream space in which proximity to this body permits a transfer of prestige through association. Note that in "A WOMAN'S CAR-The Electric" (figure 4) stands all but circumscribed by an oval frame that might double as a mirror in a hand-held compact or a dressing table. The viewing reader tacitly sees him or herself through the Baker body-work, as it fuses smart girl and car, so that she may step from the frame into the recipient's emotional lifeworld.

The surname Baker is not the only semiotic inspiration for the character; her first name develops an association that allows Fitzgerald to take advantage of the prefabricated Jordan smart girl. In fact, it's the union of both the Jordan and Baker smart girls that affords the character of Jordan Baker her power: a mixture of social prestige and sexual energy that permits the character to activate the channels of desire already established in the reader by the smart girl automotive advertising. The sexual component of this prefabrication could not be escaped by the 1920s readers, as the Jordan Automotive car company created a thrill by being the first sexually provocative car adverts. Ned Jordan, the founder of The Jordan Motor Car Company, a trained journalist and marketing professional, described his advertising as the company's essential component. "We never were automobile manufacturers, we were pioneers of a new technique in assembly production, custom style sales, and advertising" (Jordan 12). One of the earliest forms of

objectification in advertising, the technique he pioneered, marries sexual freedom and the car. Corrigan’s reading of the Jordan Automotive’s famous ad, “West of Laramie,” documents Fitzgerald’s awareness of the advert’s popularity and its publication in the *Saturday Evening Post*. “The advertising for the Jordan was so aggressive and flashy that no contemporary reader of magazines, much less one who frequently published in them, could very well have overlooked it” (Corrigan 76).

Below are two images that, through their contrast, reveal the sensuality delivered by Jordan’s character because of its resonances with Jordan automotive smart girl. Both adverts were important car ads that first ran in *The Saturday Evening Post*. In figure 5, the 1908 Ford ad establishes cars as privileged commodities that required national markets



figure 5



figure 6

and extended advertising campaigns to ensure sustained consumption. The two-dimensional ad uses typical 19<sup>th</sup>-century devices: an ornate decorative frame (emphatically static) and simple graphic iconography trapping the car in immobility. Literally at a standstill, the vehicle rests on detail-based language that presents its purchase as a reasonable choice. But this economic Touring Car provides no movement toward or vision of the good life that will help actualize. Indeed, its verbal message

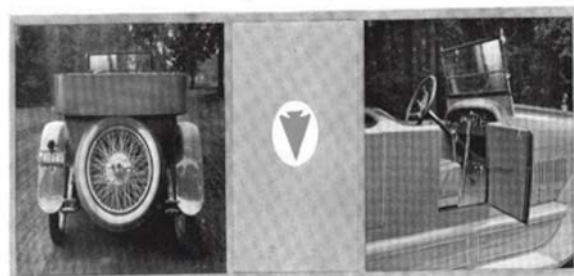
hinders the effect of its imagery. Figure 6, the 1921 Jordan advertisement that revolutionized car advertising ‘stands,’ or more accurately ‘speeds’ in absolute contradistinction to its predecessor. Neither the car’s image nor that of the “bronco busting girl” west of Laramie comes into literal focus for the reader. The speeding motion created by the impression generates a pause, sustained, or better, required by the physical

invocation of horsepower comes purely from the image of the bronco that the girl tames, that power declared visually as a feeling, rather than stated as a fact about the engine's capacity. The copy runs as follows, "the truth is, the Playboy was built for her. Built for the lass whose face is brown with the sun when the day is done of revel romp and race. She loves the cross of the wild and the tame"—prose that transubstantiates "horse-power" as factory engineered and commercially generated feeling. The ad targets an audience needing advertising to speak a language of affect and offer a brief emotive experience, both of which quickly became the lingua franca of the lived emotional reality of the newly consuming worker's lifework. Jordan Baker's character uses this sexual energy to help frame Gatsby's story for both Nick and the reader, as sexuality and its associations of intimacy provide the perfect emotional channel for exchanging emotion.

The character of Jordan Baker recreates the innuendo-invoking scenes by recreating moments from the Jordan campaign. "JORDAN MOTOR CAR COMPANY" (figure 7)

prefigures Jordan's development in the novel: the ad creates motion by having the car move away from the viewer. The auto's implied movement creates a pause, generating some of the Jordan's iconic energy. Finally, the open door allows the viewer to linger, entering the dream

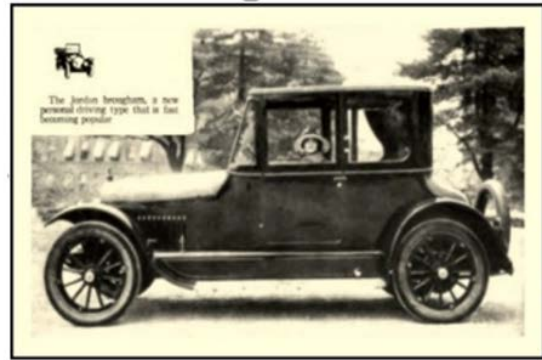
JORDAN MOTOR CAR COMPANY *Cleveland, Ohio*



"JORDAN MOTOR CAR COMPANY (figure 7)

space of the cabin. The visual pause involves a new aesthetic—the dream space made real through the experience of decoding a photograph—one that fosters identity formation via a repeated but momentary feeling. For example, in the novel, Jordan taps into this libidinal energy, much like the flapper in figure 8. When Nick and Jordan attend Gatsby's first party,

Jordan says, “Let’s get out,” because this Gatsby’s party had somehow [lead to a] wasteful and inappropriate half-hour. “This is much too polite for me.” Jordan gets out to the great outdoors and provides the romantic surge of emotion in which the dream spaces Jordan advertising frequently depicted. Jordan wants Nick to join in challenging the “polite” norms of the age. Figure 8 inserts the smart girl into the dream space, almost as though she were accompanying the new coupe: her gaze back from the seat of time-space compression—the cabin of the car—comprehends the open space of the great outdoors enabled by the



“Playboy in the Woods” (figure 8)

car’s motion. Jordan’s pulling Nick into the woods reminds the reader where the Jordan “Playboy” is supposed to go—the visually inviting space of a smart girl in the clearing in the woods. A similar dream space, one carved by Jordan Baker’s narration, will be crucial for the reader to invoke the same feeling patterns associated with the advert and transfer those feelings to the character.

The character of Jordan Baker inhabits a complex and aestheticized commodity dream space. These adverts' amalgamation constructs the identity-influencing space by conditioning feelings experienced due to these brief surges. When taken together, the Jordan and Baker advertising campaign prefabricate a channel of desire that contemporary readers would channel in their understanding of Gatsby’s self-transformation. Jordan’s lass-ness married to the economic privilege of her Baker-ness grants her character an unusual ability; she becomes coded not merely as a character, but as a prefabricated smart girl, inserted into a narrative to deliver for the worker-turned-consumer a new structure of

feeling. She emotively transfers her ability to generate affect, establishing a linguistically re-corporeal dream space in which the reader constructs the transformation of James Gatz into Jay Gatsby. Nick's reflection on Jordan in chapter one seeks to establish this emotive narrative efficiency with Jordan Baker. Nick reveals, "I knew now why her face was familiar—its pleasing contemptuous expression had looked out at me from many rotogravure pictures of the sporting life at Asheville and Hot Springs and Palm Beach (GG 22). With the reader's semantic knowledge highlighted by these sample Jordan and Baker adverts, Jordan Baker's face appears on the cover of magazines, just like her antecedents in automotive advertising. The contradiction of "pleasing" yet "contemptuous" details how the smart girl must remind the reader of dissatisfaction while channeling that subconscious feeling right past awareness and into satisfaction. The familiarity of Jordan Baker for the reader has become more than merely a pretty face in which to look. Her image initiates a circuit of feeling that generates the viewer's sense of identity in the world. The adverts that influence the character reveal a crosscurrent of literary and photographic imagery, capturing the perfect semiotic palate from which advertising stylization might leap from the advert into the story.

### **Prefabricated Smart Girl and The Dream Space for James Gatz**

If Jordan is to function as a literary smart girl taking her cues from the aesthetic of interruption outlined by automotive smart girls, she needs to activate labor-based temporal anxiety while redirecting its energy into an imagined moment of being. Such an instance occurs in Chapter I as Daisy struggles to charm Nick into ignoring Myrtle's phone calls interrupting dinner. Given that she calls from a garage in the valley of the ashes,

Myrtle's voice introduces work-based anxieties: the ringtone and disembodied voice threaten the reader's sense of the goodlife associated with the leisured meal. Fitzgerald has Jordan read aloud the *Saturday Evening Post* so that his readers will associate her as a creature taken from, and conditioned by, the reading habits by the prized leisure act of reading *The Post*. Jordan's reading spotlights the more extensive cultural process of identity shift, a change Jameson describes as "the transformation of both bourgeois and worker into that new grey organization person known as consumer" (844). Jordan's ability to reach this new grey organization," the consumer, works because of the prefabricated power of the automotive smart girl in *The Post*.

In effect, Fitzgerald translates the smart girl's capacity to interrupt or gather pauses to herself from the visual to the textual field. I shall 'read' Jordan reading in order to establish how, and to what affect, Fitzgerald designs her capacity to arrest and so modify time within the space of reading in the passage below:

Inside, the crimson room bloomed with light.

Tom and Miss Baker sat at either end of the long couch and she read aloud to him from the Saturday Evening Post — the words, murmurous and uninflected, running together in a soothing tune. The lamp-light, bright on his boots and dull on the autumn-leaf yellow of her hair, glinted along the paper as she turned a page with a flutter of slender muscles in her arms.

When we came in she held us silent for a moment with a lifted hand.

“To be continued,” she said, tossing the magazine on the table, “in our very next issue.”

Her body asserted itself with a restless movement of her knee, and she stood up (GG 21).

Initially, after a lighting effect, a double-space creates a pause that might be likened to that occurring as a magazine’s page is turned; Nick depicts Jordan functioning just like a smart girl in an advert. His preposition, “inside” freezes the eye for the reader, to frame an interiority as the linguistic equivalent of the visual circle that forms a halo over the smart girl, an example of Barrett’s “technological parallel” of the photograph in print. Focused, the reader absorbs Jordan’s second body as all but an extension of the page that she turns: note that both her hair and the muscles of her arms exhibit qualities appropriate to highly glossed paper. The shared terms ‘leaf’ and ‘flutter’ render Jordan’s second body inextricable from the pages of *The Post*. The ‘bloom’ of light in the room prolongs the pause in the visual scene created by narration; the blooming shape function similarly to the V-shape, which framed the Jordan smart girl; now, a similar frame outlines the character Jordan’s head in the still of the scene. Jordan’s voice could be described as the voice of *The Post*, producing a “soothing tune.” Her magazine derived affect can and does interrupt the anxieties associated with the ringing phone. Still, it cannot erase the silent voice from the valley of the ashes—not least because structurally speaking, Jordan’s pauses take their ameliorate form from the product that subtends them.

Fitzgerald frames Jordan impressionistically in the passage, her “restless movement” like that of the bronco-busting lass full of the horsepower that keeps labor

latently present. The anxiety rendered incarnate as Myrtle, or the “fifth guest’s shrill, metallic urgency” from the valley of ashes, primes the circuit that Jordan now channels (*GG* 19). Here, with a single gesture, she holds the commodity-rich scene of the good life (bloom, boots, hair, magazine) as though in the palm of her hand, interrupting the musical accompaniment provided by her own voice to make a space with a gesture, “she held us silent for a moment with a lifted hand” before “tossing the magazine” from which the gesture derives onto the table. Note that Nick reiterates the pause that Jordan creates by momentarily breaking, as she doubtless breaks, her capturing utterance, “To be continued....in our very next issue.

The “Autumn-leaf yellow,” instead of merely blonde, continues introducing the prefabricated Jordan and her ability to channel emotions for the reader. The hair suggests that Nick taps into the open road images which the Jordan and Baker ads make central to their branding campaigns. Jordan will reinforce this image, not surprisingly, during the ride into town in Chapter VII, a drive that carries them away from the valley of ashes. Jordan and Nick have just witnessed Tom awkwardly handle Wilson, who discovered Myrtle’s affair and pleads with Tom finally to sell the Playboy coupe him. The car sale might allow Wilson to reshape his identity and perhaps recast the goodlife gone wrong by taking the advertised open road West. Jordan’s presence in the car redirects the energy from this meeting in the valley towards the advertising culture emerging from the city. First, Jordan loves the “cool” movies on Fiftieth Street—a street in 1920s New York that features a disembodied, electric face with hundreds of other billboard advertisements (*Brevda* 65). But she completes the double movement (the feelings generated by labor surging into a need to consume) by describing the following image: “I love New York on summer

afternoons when everyone's away. There's something so sensuous about it—overripe, as if all sorts of funny fruits were going to fall into your hands" (*GG* 133). As in the passage from chapter one, images convey how Jordan reshapes the energy from the valley for the reader manually, literally, and figuratively with her hand. Both scenes feature Jordan's hand managing a movement from labor to consumption, as though she were a conduit, connecting the daily work experience of Taylorism and Fordism to the stylized consumerism of the smart girl. Her hands extend to catch the "funny fruits" that her narration transforms into flapper-ized, sensual energy: a "sensuous" fruit delicately handled by an objectified woman may now be commonplace sexual iconography, but here, Jordan innovatively offers the image of ripe fruit as handled by a beautiful woman. It serves to "disquiet" the car, "the word 'sensuous' had the effect of disquieting Tom, but before he could invent a protest, the coupe came to a stop, and Daisy signaled us to draw up alongside" (*GG* 133). "Quiet" drawn from "disquiet," by "stop," frames the image of Jordan's fruit-laden hand in a necessary pause. Moreover, presenting Jordan is part of a recurring conceit: Jordan, cars and charged emotions in the valley of the ashes.

The valley of ashes serves as the dynamic source of labor anxiety that Jordan channels; nonetheless, the valley itself demonstrates the double movement, structurally central to an aesthetics of interruption, a movement that veils the primary role in the novel. Critics too busy discovering Eliot's influence on Fitzgerald miss what the assembly line image makes plain: by 1925, automotive labor practices had started a revolution that eventually altered the way workers conceived of their identity. Nick describes the valley as follows: "occasionally, a line of gray cars crawls along an invisible track, gives out a ghastly creak, and comes to rest, and immediately the ash-gray men swarm up with leaden spades

and stir up an impenetrable cloud, which screens their obscure operations from your sight” (GG 26). Automotive assembly and the assembly line more generally, underpin the novel’s image production because they draw towards visualization what the consumer image omits: the laboring body that produces the things consumed. The ‘invisibility’ of the track reveals its power, a power akin to Magritte’s *Treachery of the Image*, even in its absence, the assembly line, like his pipe, is present. This disappearing act emphasizes a deep cultural anxiety about the latent reality of mass consumption by veiling or “screen[ing]” the laboring bodies in ashes—ashes that themselves that symbolize the things consumed, as consumption itself temporarily and briefly “obscure” its



figure 9

sources. Figure 9, a 1923 image of Ford assembly line, catches something of the labor Carraway describes in the valley. Accounts by factory workers make explicit how the work generates those dissociative feelings that set the mood in the valley of the ashes. “Henry has reduced the complexity of life to a definite number of jerks, twists, and turns,” recounted one Ford employee, making it hard to sustain a “thought or emotion” (Meyer 44). Another worker described Fordized work in these terms, “He [Ford] kept me conscious enough to operate my body as a machine” (Quoted by Congdon 475). The image of labor, one Carraway describes by what it blocks, a “cloud,” explains how labor requires workers to remain in semi-conscious states for more extended periods during their work. In turn, this semi-conscious state produces workers who find identity through these same labor-developed feelings in their leisure time. An anonymous worker in 1929 described the feelings disconnected from traditional reflection and awareness, labeling working on

the factory line as a mental “coasting” “disengaged from the process” and, therefore, encouraged to “daydream” (Whiting 449).

*The Great Gatsby* veils the assembly line in the valley of the ashes in 1925. By 1936, Chaplin's *Modern Times* will highlight assembly thinking and feeling. The film endears millions to this lovable Tramp's struggle, a struggle to accept the cultural logic that keeps both the tramp and the Wilsons from experiencing anything but brief moments of un-anxiety about their identity. Jordan can channel this social anxiety into a desire to see Gatsby's identity emerge from the ash heap, which Fitzgerald describes as a “transcendent effort.” Eckleburg's brooding over this scene—advertising the normative power over the identity of workers living in Taylorized time and Fordized space—reveals advertising's broader societal role in redirecting the temporal anxiety now characteristic to the new modes of labor. In this manner, advertising is not unlike any other facet of corporate innovation, from Ford's “gold rush” of the five dollars a day to the “pay as you go” plan that introduced consumer credit (Detroit free press/Olney). In chapters I and VII, Jordan's hand becomes a conduit for the “restless energy,” recasting the jerks of the assembly line that Chaplin's tramp exaggerates for effect. Instead of humor, the cathexis of a new identity through consumption is mediated by the smart girl. The prefabricated elements of her character (Baker's electric social mobility and Jordan's sexually-charged impressionism) permit the reader's emotions to move through a semiotic circuit of feeling.

In his last revision, Fitzgerald retooled the novel to take advantage of the prefabrication's effect in redirecting readers' feelings. Fitzgerald moves Gatsby's back story forward (from chapter VIII) so that the reader discovers Gatsby's backstory through Jordan

“I’ve been having lunch with Mr. Gatsby.”  
I turned toward Mr. Gatsby, but he was no longer there.

One October day in nineteen-seventeen —

(said **Jordan** Baker that afternoon, sitting up very straight on a straight chair in the tea-garden at the Plaza Hotel)

— I was walking along from one place to another, half on the sidewalks and half on the lawns. I was happier on the lawns because I had on shoes from England with rubber nobs on the soles that bit into the soft ground. I had on a new plaid skirt also that blew a little in the wind, and whenever this happened the red, white, and blue banners in front of all the houses stretched out stiff and said *tut-tut-tut-tut*, in a disapproving way.

The largest of the banners and the largest of the lawns belonged to Daisy Fay’s house. She was just eighteen, two years older than me, and by far the most popular of all the young girls in Louisville. She dressed in white, and had a little white roadster, and all day long the telephone rang in her house and excited young officers from Camp Taylor demanded the privilege of monopolizing her that night. “Anyways, for an hour!”

Baker’s narrative voice  
(West). This essential  
revision turns Gatsby’s  
identity into a feeling  
deliverable by a smart girl,  
allowing Jordan to place  
Gatsby’s identity in a  
narrative dream space  
crafted by her storytelling.  
This revision supports

Fitzgerald’s overall concern with Gatsby’s identity for the reader. In a letter to his editor Max Perkins, for example, Fitzgerald advises Perkins to avoid any mention of Gatsby being a “parvenue” or “cheap sharper” (*Dear Scott, Dear Max* 102). Jordan’s emotional framing is key to this effect, helping the reader associate through her Baker-ness and Jordan-ness the needed affective register so that “real” love Gatsby has for Daisy anchors his would-be backstory. The critical passage in which Jordan functions in this manner is extracted as an image from the text to demonstrate the visuality in which Fitzgerald deploys Jordan and the aesthetics of interruption to validate Gatsby’s past love for Daisy. In doing so, he helps authenticate Jay Gatsby’s identity for the reader.

Gatsby’s immediate disappearance in the staged scene preceding his backstory leaves Gatsby’s impression of motion to linger in the reader’s mind. This movement is one of Gatsby’s brief images in the first half of the book that might be understood as characterization meant to induce a feeling associated with assembly-line life. In chapter I,

Gatsby's trembling and extended arm is the reader's first image of him. The next depiction, a herky-jerky balancing act on the car's running board (Chapter IV). These representations of Gatsby and motion set up the passage in which Jordan frames Gatsby's affect-laden romance with Daisy. Gatsby is introduced through the novelized version of a magazine page turn—the narrative features a dash skewer, one that further interrupts the interruption began with the double-space that introduces Jordan's flashback: "one October day in the nineteen-seventeen." The interruptions that announce Jordan create the pause needed in the reader to paint the goodlife image Jordan will use to channel the constant motion-Gatz into the ever-cool Gatsby.

The aesthetics work furiously to create for the reader linguistically what the Jordan girl's photographic rhetoric made through the image: the V-shape in which to deploy dream imagery in a paused moment of decoding. Nick, like a member of the production team that staged the smart girl, labors to situate Jordan in that pause his narration creates, shaping the scene by associating it with the famous Plaza hotel, doing so in its celebrated Palm Court. Nick and Jordan might have had tea anywhere, but Fitzgerald uses one image to enhance another. The move prolongs the moment of consumption—lengthening the feeling of the goodlife. Figure 11 shows the palm court of the Plaza Hotel, such images

featured in the Society and Celebrity section of newspapers and advertisements placed in national periodicals. Fitzgerald adds the Palm Court parenthetical framing only at his final



figure 11

revision (after the *Trilmachio* version of the novel (West), suggesting that he understood how Jordan's prefabrication would allow the reader to see Gatsby. The image to the left

taps into how the Baker and Jordan girls create associations with class privilege and sexual desire. Jordan's image adds glamor to Gatsby, setting him within the good life as actualized by the Plaza. Jordan narrates the Gatsby-building scene in the first person present, doing so even as she reconsiders the early Gatsby as soldier image. The effect allows his identity to take shape in the mind's eye of the reader in the here-now of the goodlife, a life unsoiled by the there-then wastelands of his Dakota origins, because of Jordan Gatsby basks in the commodified splendor of the palm court.

Those settings and scenes conditioned by Jordan's viewpoint borrow their design from the advertising playbook. In the flashback scene, the white roadster stars to remove the doubt of Gatsby's associations with his "olfactory" origins. Figure 12 below, a 1931 Pierce Arrow advert, is one of the thousands of car adverts that condition through association with cars and smart girls. Reception of the white roadster in figure 12 exemplifies the power of repetitive reading practices. The Arrow, like Daisy's white roadster, was purchased by a "prominent" society member conferring through it a feeling of being. The ad features the photograph of a New York banker (one Stephen Baker). In photographic and textual form, Baker's inclusion prompts several readerly moves designed to generate a particular affective register. The Banker's name, separated by a single letter from his profession (an absent 'n') and so from its monetary materials, care of the missing phoneme that bridges artisan and financier (from bread to money), thereby

member conferring through it a feeling of being. The ad features the photograph of a New York banker (one Stephen Baker). In photographic and textual form, Baker's inclusion prompts several readerly moves designed to generate a particular affective register. The Banker's name, separated by a single letter from his profession (an absent 'n') and so from its monetary materials, care of the missing phoneme that bridges artisan and financier (from bread to money), thereby



figure 12

prompting a fantasy of social transformation. Set in caps, the name encourages the reader's eye to drop from the real (a photograph) to the ideal (a Pierce-Arrow perfected graphically), and from the now (the Baker owned auto) to an anticipated then (the car as owned by bakers become bankers in a future perfect "good life." So black becomes white—a trick designed in part by way of Jordan's voice and name, and by her single mention of a "little white roadster" as she sits in the "tea garden at the Plaza hotel." But note how the tricks turn on a carefully engineered interpretation, being framed by dashes, themselves framing a parenthesis. By such means, Jordan's reconstructed scene taps into the image-reading experience of those accustomed to automotive adverts, effectively creating a dream space in which Jordan actualizes Gatsby's identity. Jordan elaborates that she was "happier" on the lawn. Her skirt, doubtless of flapper length, prompts banners (color and sound specified) to flap their disapproval (tut-tutting). The sound accompanies the smart-girl who embodies the goodlife aptly, as the sound invokes the machinery required to make the "imported" rubber tennis shoes. But Jordan channels the sound of labor into leisurely associations invoked by Kentucky grasses despite the tennis shoe only being possible by processing rubber automotive tires. So Jordan Baker by name, manner, and accessory, becomes the smart girl from the ads: Fitzgerald makes a type, generated by copywriting in advertising agencies, speak. Jordan not only sets a scene for Nick but for every reader well-versed in the commodity aesthetics of the 1920s. By such means, Gatz becomes Gatsby, and the Fordist reader accesses, for a paused moment and by way of real appearances, the good life as commodified identity available by way of purchase, by that is of Palm Courts, white roadsters, shortened skirts, and imported shoes.

Put another away: Jordan speaks what the advertising image visually depicts. As the smart girl, she creates an identity through her relation to imaged things. In this case, her things set her within her aristocracy as an “aristocrat of motordom.” But even as she establishes her smart girl-ness, by way of the provocative movement of her skirt in yet another posed image, the industrialized “tut-tut-tut-tut” creates an affect generating echo. The tut-tut-tut also recalls the jug-jug-splat of the police motorcycle, another embodiment of the speeding car, and a possible misidentification of Gatsby corrected by his car's image and the tagline advertising Gatsby as the new man. The tagline made private through the commissioner's card; its effect all the more potent by the actual name missing. The sound



figure 13

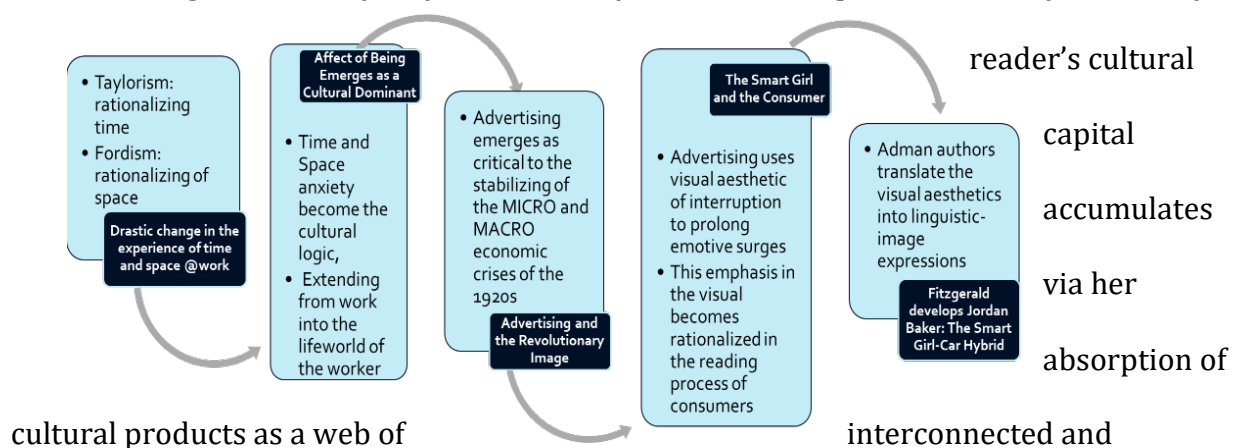
also activates an association with industrialized labor and the factory line. Figure 13 visualizes these sounds' origins: each worker producing a rapid-fire burst of mechanical sound on the 1914 Ford assembly line. The image also attests to the fixed location that motivates the power of the dream space that Jordan's walking creates. In effect, her leisure recalls labor to control the labor it recalls. The co-presence of leisured consumption and industrial production within the “tut” is confirmed by a second and singularly dense sound in the text. As Gatsby and Nick speed past the valley of the ashes and toward the Queensboro Bridge in Gatsby's extraordinary motor vehicle, “[with] fenders spread like wings ...scatter[ing] light through half, Astoria,” Nick hears the familiar “jug-jug-splat!” of an approaching motorcycle policeman (68). A vehicular “jug” anticipates the “tut,” even as it recalls T. S. Eliot's musical accompaniment to another scene of metamorphosis, that of Philomela pursued by Tereus into a nightingale. Eliot's “jug jug” to

“dirty cars,” familiar to Fitzgerald and re-sounded in Jordan’s “tut-tut,” fails entirely to take the ‘dirt’ out of the nightingale’s transposed song (jug-jug) even as Jordan’s “tut-tut” cannot erase mechanic sounds from a scene designed to facilitate fantasies of leisured consumption.

Jordan’s retelling of Daisy and Gatsby’s brief romance in 1917 helps the reader suppress the apparent truth that Gatsby’s sudden disappearance from lunch in 1922 suggests: his identity itself will break apart against Tom’s brutish reality and the class realities his body cruelly exposes. Jordan authenticates, with her Jordan lass-ness, the love between Gatsby and Daisy as new, exotic, and wild, infused with the emotive sentiments derived from commodity aesthetics as those aesthetics derive from labor rigors. Jordan, in a manner inextricable from branding, reveals that “the officer [from Camp David] looked at Daisy while she was speaking, in a way that every young girl wants to be looked at sometime, and because it seemed romantic to me I have remembered the incident ever since. His name was Jay Gatsby, and I didn’t lay eyes on him again for over four years — even after I’d met him on Long Island, I didn’t realize it was the same man” (*GG* 81). Jordan’s account realizes the best advertising copy’s wildest hope: in the flashback, two bodies—the body then (1917) and the body now (1922) are co-present. Since Jordan only recognizes the former when recast as the latter, her perceptions situate the reader within the logic of the commercial image, where all bodies are double bodies, and each body tends to a perfected and therefore saleable form. Gatsby’s smile is the key to the trick, “It faced — or seemed to face — the whole external world for an instant, and then concentrated on you with an irresistible prejudice in your favor” (*GG* 53). In this case, Jordan’s dream space allows the reader to flash forward and away from the vulgarity of Gatsby’s actions and the

clumsiness of his class-based faux pas earlier in the novel. Instead, she dismisses Gatz (body 1) in an “instant,” only to subsume his gaze within her longer gaze, stretching its “irresistible prejudice” in favor of Gatsby. Gatsby’s smile encapsulates the affect of being, synecdochically. His smile demonstrates how commercial identities form by way of a brief “impression of you that, at your best, you hoped to convey (*GG* 53). Jordan not only creates the virtual space for this affect, but with her details also enlivens it, permitting the reader to build Gatsby’s identity as the “impression” that he wished to convey. Jordan’s framing of Gatsby’s green uniform next to Daisy in the white roadster inscribes Gatsby’s dream space and exhibits the discursive power of commodities; in this case, of clothes depicted through an emotional lens intend on perfecting the transformation of Gatz into Gatsby.

Jordan, a hybrid of multiple automotive smart girls, permits Fitzgerald a quasi-Fordist efficiency in narrative production. Her ability to produce and channel emotion—specifically the affect of being—in order to construct Gatz as Gatsby for the reader. Through the development of advertising’s visual rhetoric in linguistic form, Jordan’s prefabrication models a broader trend in the relationship between commodity and literary aesthetics. To create compelling character requires active cultural knowledge on the parts of the reading audience, by way of which they maintain the ephemeral reality of identity. A



conditioned responses—those responses, once learned, sponsors the construction of literary identities (as charted in figure 21). Massumi describes the importance of affect and stresses the relationship between ideology and feeling. “The structure of ideas must be inculcated without making it explicit. The reigning rationality must be transmitted, but occulted, hidden, distorted. To do this, it must pass through another medium: it must be translated onto an affective register. The dominated classes must be induced to mistake their own interests for the mirage of the ‘general’ interest – and do so with passion” (86). My chart demonstrates just how that passion—channeled as affect—may passionately construct the virtual identities of literary ‘characters,’ among whom Gatsby remains “great.”

## CHAPTER THREE

### **The Smart Girl's Kiss: Magazines, Advertising, and Identity through the character of Daisy in Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby***

The efficiency in which Fitzgerald's Daisy encourages the reader of *The Great Gatsby* to feel James Gatz's transformation into Jay Gatsby is remarkable. Daisy's character takes advantage of the readers' own experiences with advertising to help facilitate an understanding of identity. Gatz's transubstantiation into Gatsby becomes one of the novel's essential experiences: Daisy makes a would-be shallow Gatsby feel real—and his transformation seems possible. Working in coordination with the automotive-advertising inspired Jordan Baker, Fitzgerald's rhetorical choices in the novel take advantage of advertising's smart girl's power to produce a rush of feeling and channel the desire of readers, readers who increasingly mediate their own lives through the images of commodity culture. This efficiency in Daisy's characterization and the lack of traditional character development lead some critics to describe Daisy as being full of "vicious emptiness" or as a character who is "essentially trivial" (Baker). In fact, Daisy's role in the novel is one of Fitzgerald's remarkable accomplishments in *The Great Gatsby*. Despite Fitzgerald's achievement in translating smart girls' visual emotive power—from the 1890s Gibson Girl to 1910s Kodak girl into 1920s silver idol Daisy—he seemingly downplayed Daisy's characterization. In a letter to H. L. Mencken, Fitzgerald declared, "There is a tremendous fault in the book—the lack of an emotional presentment of Daisy's attitude toward Gatsby after their reunion (and the subsequent lack of logic or importance in her throwing him over)" (Fitzgerald, *Letters* 480). This comment should not be overread. Fitzgerald had intentionally removed the dialogue between Daisy and Gatsby in the *Trimalchio* version of

the novel, dialogue that could be used to humanize Daisy in the readers' minds (West 24). However, Daisy's lack of an "emotional presentment" is essential for Daisy to serve as a conduit for the readers' feelings about James Gatz. Like the novel's typical reader, James Gatz is engaged in a new identity-building process that includes hoarding images and feelings created by advertising. The reader of the novel, like Nick, experiences the new advertising as more than providing information about a product, but part of a broader cultural process in which emotion becomes intertwined in the form of self-fashioning expressed as identity. Gatsby's transformation aided by smart girls Jordan Baker and Daisy Fay allows the reader, like Nick, to have his or her "incredulity submerged in fascination" about the identity of Gatz/Gatsby. The reader's identity, like Gatsby's, is now intertwined with "skimming hastily through a dozen magazines" (*GG* 44). In fact, advertising's use of image-based aesthetics encourages modern authors to translate the visual manipulations into an aesthetics of interruption that taps into the image-feeling-identity channel that advertising creates.

But advertising does more than influence Fitzgerald, causing him to develop an aesthetics that manipulates emotions through a linguistic translation of visually-based advertising imagery. The advertising revolution of the 1920s prefabricates the smart girl, and in doing so, allows advertising to fuel an explosion of national periodicals. By 1925, dozens of pages of adverts that need celebrity authors such as Fitzgerald to produce stories of flappers, whose outward gaze encourages the readers to keep turning the pages, fill over four hundred magazines (Norris 25). Sut Jhally argues that in the 1920s, "the fear of overproduction drove capitalism, under pain of death, to invent a new industry—advertising—to bring consumption and production into greater synchronicity" (12). The advertising images that emerge to fill these periodicals (as magazines receive 80% of their budgets from advertising revenue) do not

sell a product, but the feeling that consumerism of the commodity aims to provide. To compete in this market saturated with advertising, adverts placed in magazines like the *Saturday Evening Post* needed celebrity authors to help establish the value of their magazines so that the reader didn't merely view them as America's "advertising showcase" (Marchand 89). These magazines contracted these authors at record sums—Fitzgerald being the most well-paid short story writer of the decade, receiving up to \$4,000 a short story (\$60,000 value in today's dollar) (Mangum 92). Advertising revenue gave Fitzgerald an opportunity and prompted in him the need to provide an aesthetics that spoke to the growing desires of the mass audience for magazines. Writing for these publications prompted Fitzgerald to produce prose that mirrored the effect of the advertisement; his fiction features prolonged moments of emotional awareness in which the protagonists understand their identity through images and feelings. Fitzgerald's magazine-driven short story production enabled him to perfect an aesthetics of interruption, one that, in turn, enables Daisy—through her kiss—to channel Gatsby's identity as a feeling for the reader. Specifically, Daisy's kiss in chapter six delivers what the Kodak or Gibson also provides: a natural sense of 'being,' despite its generation by way of fictitious imagery.

Advertising revenue funds magazines, publications that contracted Fitzgerald to produce 24 short stories before the publication of *The Great Gatsby* (Brucocoli 34). Two short stories witness Fitzgerald's development of a fragmenting style that interrupts traditional narrative processes to prolong for the reader the surge in emotion associated with a kiss: 1922's Judy Jones in "Winter Dreams" published in *Metropolitan Magazine*, and 1924's Jonquil Cary in "The Sensible Thing" published in *Liberty Magazine*. Each kiss connects image-emotion-identity in a rags-to-riches story in which the protagonist seeks an identity that will be affirmed through his being next to a smart girl. First, I will closely read chapter six's closing scene in *The Great*

*Gatsby* to demonstrate how it uses the aesthetics of interruption and its smart girl kiss to substantiate Gatz's transformation into Gatsby for the reader. With Daisy's emotional channeling examined, I will trace how advertising's pulp fiction promoted Fitzgerald's aesthetic, allowing him to understand advertising's shaping of identity through print media.

### **The origins and effects of the aesthetics of interruption**

The aesthetics of interruption that characterize Fitzgerald's style consists, in part, of punctuation used in a non-semantic form to heighten a certain kind of time or temporal rhythm. This stylized punctuation helps transform an ellipsis or a dash into a type of hieroglyphics. The punctuation allows the reader to see the image behind the mark's usage. The use of the ellipsis, the dash, and the double dash—in addition to short paragraphing and atemporal sentence construction—change the experience of time for the reader of the narrative. Marx describes the way punctuation can work through the imagery they make possible. "An ellipse is a form of motion which, while allowing this contradiction to go on, at the same time reconciles it" (Marx 134). Thus, Fitzgerald's use of the ellipsis is more than the representation of missing words; it slows the reader down yet produces a feeling without directly naming it. Cumulative and recurrent, these techniques offer the experience of slowed time, permitting emotions to become channeled in lieu of standard character development. What would take full pages can now be achieved in a few lines. The interruption of traditional characterization might be thought to be "efficient" in that it removes the need to describe events from a character's past and instead veiling historical processes by recasting them as intense and promissory feelings.

The commodity-toting smart girl poses to channel these feelings from the product through the model to the reader. The staging in photographic advertising arising in the 1920s

turns the smart girl into what Stuart Ewen calls a “channel of desire” (11). One of the essential desires the smart girl channels involves the brief sensation of the good life attained—the material representation of a commodity-based success. According to gender and advertising specialist Rebecca Davis, the smart girl becomes “the vehicle, or the female advertising model pitching and posing with the product” (112). Davis explains that the smart girl of 1920s print adverts “works to convey the message between the adman and consumer. She functions as a metaphor, her own commodified but canny presence representing and augmenting the appeal of the commodity with which she poses. The representational work performed by an advertising model, who uses her charm to bolster the allure of something *else*, seems a telling distillation of the work of the objectified female,' generally, in American commodity culture” (3).

The Kodak girl is perhaps the most famous of the smart girl advertising, an example of how the aesthetics of interruption work. The sample below demonstrates how the

staging works in the advert by manipulating the viewer during the decoding process of the advert. Please examine the labeled image to the right:

The technique originates in the advertising that funds magazine publication; advertisements all

but vanquish print and logic-based appeals in favor of smart girls, emotive appeals, and



imagined lifestyles. The increased use of ads demanded they develop new ways to hold the viewer's attention. To counter the increased volume of adverts in magazines, adverts developed visual techniques to slow down the reader. The Kodak Girl, for example, demonstrates the shift from information-based product advertising to visual-emotive adverts that promote the transformation of the consumer through the consumption of the advertised product. These adverts create a circular dream space in which genuine emotions take shape in response to the visualized narrative of the good life. Fitzgerald's use of the ellipsis may be derived from the visual field in the advertisements created in the dream space: both slow the reader down to experience a surge in emotion. In addition, these adverts feature lines—constructed by the props and scenery in the advert—that channel the viewer into the temporality of the dream spaces, involving a brief experience of elongated time. The lines rush the reader to allow the eye to linger in the dream space. This space causes the reader to sense the formation of an identity inseparable from that of the smart girl and the product that she holds. Fitzgerald's use of hyphens, paragraphing, and syntax work in a fashion that mimics the effect of the visual lines produced during the reception of the image above. The repeated pattern of the smart girl and her dream space demonstrates how adverts that appeared alongside Fitzgerald's pulp fiction worked. A smart girl's welcoming gaze directs the viewer to associate a product with the promise of the smart girl: the promise that *her* very being affirms. The viewer is made more complete by the kiss of the product.

Readers of the novel not indoctrinated by the current reading practices, the early (and harsh) critics of *Daisy*, for example, will see the use of the smart girl aesthetic as deficient. From this traditional perspective, the novel's plot fails to justify the feeling it produces to help actualize James Gatz's becoming Jay Gatsby. Critics, relying solely on the plot for their critique,

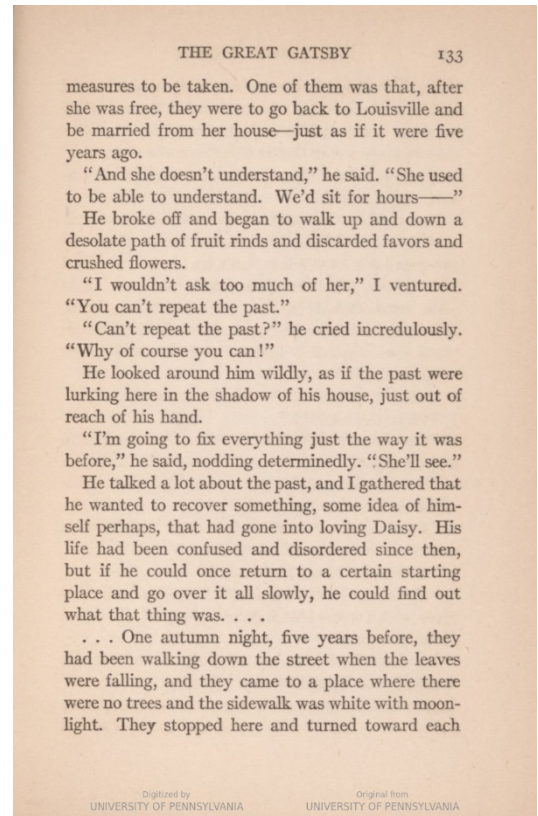
such as H. L. Mencken, note the novel centers on a “clown” [James Gatz] in a narrative that is “full of triviality” (25). Mencken calls the transformation a “glorified anecdote” in an “obviously unimportant” story. But the second generation of critics, headlined by Lionel Trilling, critics raised in the world produced by the commodity aesthetics associated with Fordist consumption, view the novel in the light of that imperative. For these critics, the novel’s triviality disappears. Lionel Trilling contends that Gatsby is no clown, but a “tragic hero,” [one who,] “can conceive and realize a love that is beyond his own prudence or beyond his powers of dominance or of self-protection so that he is destroyed by the very thing that gives him his spiritual status and stature” (44). No longer ‘Anecdotal,’ Lionel compares Fitzgerald to Proust, from [whom the American reader] learns “about a love that is destructive by a kind of corrosiveness” (45). Trilling adds that from Fitzgerald’s two mature novels, *The Great Gatsby* and *Tender Is the Night*, we learn about “a love—perhaps peculiarly American—that is destructive by reason of its very tenderness. [The promise of such love] begins in romance, sentiment, even ‘glamour’—no one, I think, has remarked how innocent of mere ‘sex,’ how charged with sentiment is Fitzgerald’s description of love in the jazz age—and it takes upon itself reality, and permanence, and duty discharged with an almost masochistic scrupulousness of honor” (Trilling 45). The shift from “obviously unimportant” to the ‘Great American Novel’ still typifies the text’s reception. *The Great Gatsby* remains the most read novel in American high schools, serving as an initiation for adolescent readers into critiquing consumer culture, a culture predicated on the value of the commodified image, on ‘identity,’ and on the retail value of American meritocracy.

**Daisy’s Kiss and the Transubstantiation of Gatz as Gatsby: Affect Channeled into Identity**

Fitzgerald's editing demonstrates the crafting of the image-scene to reinforce Daisy's ability to confer identity on Gatz. Fitzgerald moves the kiss from chapter VIII to the end of chapter VI (West 91). By shifting the kiss scene from Gatsby's confessional narrative in chapter VIII, Fitzgerald separates it from Gatsby's extended account offered to Nick, an account involving those facts that traditional storytelling might have used to develop character. The revision allows the reader to validate Gatsby's identity as an accumulation of brief but repeated moments, lasting for as long as Daisy frames him. This gathering of moments begins in Jordan's narrative flashback detailing Daisy and Gatsby's initial love affair in chapter V. Daisy, the white flower, blooms as a dream space within the white roadster, a space that enables the reader to breathe identity into Gatsby. Chapter six deploys what I might call the promissory commodity aesthetic to provide the interrupted moment which fashions an image, one that takes its place as a subgenre of smart girl adverts: the kiss. The Fitzgerald scholar Kirk Curnutt describes the scene as "dangerously close to cloying." (39). More than just cloying, it would "be grotesque to think Gatsby had literally told Nick" (Pendleton 99). In fact, the earliest version of the novel (manuscript) features a moment in which Nick addresses the vulgarity of kissing and telling. Nick, reflecting to the reader, states, "He [Gatsby] didn't really say any of this. What he said was that she had been an "ideal" of his and that he'd never have such ideals about things or girls anymore." (West 92). Fitzgerald removes this would be framing because it hinders the smart girl from functioning as a conduit for identity; a 'rounded' Daisy could not channel the intensity of the emotion released by the kiss from the page to the reader. To 'know' Daisy as a character would impede her use as a conduit. The kiss as structured realizes the dream space by means of which Gatz becomes Gatsby.

The ending of chapter six features the kiss—neither told directly by Gatsby nor described by a narrator as a witness of the moment of love. Instead, Nick narrates atemporal in the now moment during a flashback, the flashback containing a moment of broken time. The flashback to the kiss occurs as Nick and Gatsby discuss Daisy's happiness after one of Gatsby's parties. Gatsby fears that the party, itself, a collage of good life imagery, failed to produce joy in Daisy. Nick reflects, "He wanted nothing less of Daisy than that she should go to Tom and say: 'I never loved you.' After she had obliterated three years with that sentence, they could decide upon the more practical measures to be taken. One of them was that, after she was free, they were to go back to Louisville and be married from her house—just as if it were five years ago" (*GG* 85). The more practical measures—a staged scene in which to generate an identity—isn't practical at all. And the actual recreation of the wedding scene is less critical than Gatsby's consideration of his own identity through the mediated image of the good life, inseparable from Daisy. Gatsby's logic presents life as a set on which actors can be designedly located and a smart girl placed in order to frame a feeling. Moreover, Nick describes the power of the image in relation to time: Gatsby hopes a scripted picture can "obliterate three years" "with that single dramatic sentence." Gatsby's identity comes from a collection of "hoarded images," images the audience also stores and uses to generate their own identities (Berlant 123): images that the novel merely has to trigger, rather than develop, given a readership already possessed of a stock of images—thousands of read advertisements—already speaking to the desired good life.

The page to the right reveals how Nick frames the kiss by way of the context of Gatsby's party (The fruit rinds and discarded favors and crushed flowers). Nick situates the kiss among the detritus from a party dream space born of "the logic of [an] amusement park," a logic that makes Gatsby's party so popular (*GG* 76). Nick quotes Gatsby during the flashback, thereby creating a pause that allows the image of the good life to rise from the residues of the party, prompting the reader to recollect the good life. Gatsby stated, "And she doesn't understand," he said. 'She used to be able to understand. We'd sit for hours—'" The hyphen pushes the reader back to the hours—slowing the reader down, in order that she sits with Gatsby in his Daisy-framed dream space. The reader imagines Gatsby and Daisy in a frozen scene, like the one featuring the Kodak girl. Thousands of advertisements have small variations of the same scene. The frequency of such scenes allows Fitzgerald to tap into a prefabricated channel of feeling and shared visual imagery that promotes aspirational identity. The frozen time created by Fitzgerald's aesthetics primes the reader to see Daisy as the smart girl, the vehicle through which Gatsby's identity, as it forms, may be felt by the reader. Gatsby's declaration about "repeating the past" appeals to and in a culture increasingly indifferent to the role of chronological time is a narrative necessity through which a person might narrate her own life. The leisure act of reading breaks monotonous factory work. The reading features anticipated interruptions from adverts, which permit images to be hoarded, 'outside' the experience of industrial



temporality. A cultural catalog of would-be lives can now be accessed through aesthetic manipulation. Nick narrates this scene as Gatsby “looked around him wildly, as if the past were lurking here in the shadow of his house, just out of reach of his hand” (*GG* 48). Time for Gatsby, and the reader, are disconnected from a linear experience because the culture at large begins to promote a means to identity-formation that appears to lie outside the direct experience of Taylorized lives. Advertising and other cultural products now help shape how a person understands his or herself in the world. Nick’s discussion about Daisy then primes the reader for the kiss to occur in a moment out of time—like the good life imagery of an advert.

The framing Fitzgerald provides—only included in the final revision of the novel—opens the dream space for the reader by imagining Daisy through Gatsby’s gaze. This meta-process again takes advantage of the relationship between advertising and reading habits. Readers experience hundreds of ads in each magazine—as they accumulated, the ads beg to function as a “pervasive medium” for the readers of the 1920s (McLuhan 11). Nick’s setting is not an actual place, but a metaphysical one generated through commodified imagery: Gatsby “talked a lot about the past and I gathered that he wanted to recover something, some idea of himself perhaps, that had gone into loving Daisy. His life had been confused and disordered since then, but if he could once return to a certain starting place and go over it all slowly, he could find out what that thing was. . . .” (*GG* 88). The ellipsis opens the reader’s dream space at precisely that point where Gatsby imagines his own identity as a product of his being with Daisy. The “idea of himself” comes from starting with the images generated by his time with Daisy. That time was brief and cannot sustain Gatsby. Any more than it alone could persuade the reader to imagine that Gatz might become Gatsby. The reader, like

Gatsby himself, struggles in maintaining an identity that now includes images interlaced with actual memories. The “disordered” experience that Gatsby has of himself (derived from the corporeality of Daisy) can only be resolved for Gatsby, as for the reader, by the appearance of a Daisy in smart girl mode as structured intensity ‘who’ affirms his “platonic conception of himself” (*GG* 39).

The first ellipsis would seemingly make the next ellipsis unnecessary. But the double

place and go over it all slowly, he could find out what that thing was. . . .  
. . . One autumn night, five years before, they had been walking down the street when the leaves

ellipsis ensures that the reader first imagines Gatsby in the present of the story in 1922.

With this first frameset, the second ellipsis transports the reader into Gatsby’s dream space of “one autumn night.” The shared dream space works because the reading audience fills it with a seemingly endless variety of prefabricated images. The kiss can now be visualized, borrowing from the reading of countless good life adverts; the second ellipsis envisions the image-scene as something staged that nevertheless produces a genuine feeling, like an advertising photoshoot:

. . . One autumn night, five years before, they had been walking down the street when the leaves were falling, and they came to a place where there were no trees, and the sidewalk was white with moonlight. They stopped here and turned toward each other. Now it was a cool night with that mysterious excitement in it that comes at the two changes of the year. The quiet lights in the houses were humming out into the darkness, and there were a stir and bustle among the stars. Out of the corner of his eye, Gatsby saw that the blocks of the sidewalk really formed a ladder and mounted to a secret place above the trees—he could climb to it, if he climbed alone, and once

there he could suck on the pap of life, gulp down the incomparable milk of wonder  
(GG 89).

With the dream space open, the “one” night elongates the experience of time for the reader, being prototypical of many such aestheticized “nights.” The narrative seems generic, as Nick seemingly relays the image of that night to the reader. The hollowed-out narrative voice allows the reader to enter the dream space as framed by smart girl Daisy. Nature is a frequent backdrop in which the consumer might imagine herself realizing transformation by way of adverts from the 1920s. In this case, Fitzgerald draws the eyes down with the falling leaves, creating visual lines, to then move the reader into an open space with “no trees” and highlighted by the “moon.” Visual imagery freezes the moment and allows the reader not only to see it, but to feel it in ways specific to Gatsby’s wishes. The abruptness of “stop[ped],” followed by the turn to coupling, itself prolonged by a temporally non-specific “now,” extends the image through the generic and into the dream space of each reader. By such means, Gatz can be Gatsby, even as the reader, by, through, and within the image, can experience his transubstantiation. If the reader feels as much, Gatsby ceases to be some cheap sharper. Instead, becoming, by way of the smartest of the smart girls, a body translated into a perfect and all but bodiless promise. At which point, the deficiency in Daisy is a necessity: a characterological complexity would get in the way of the smart girl’s power to produce such effects.

Fitzgerald furnishes the dream space with sensory details: the “cool” of the night and its “mysterious excitement” channel the purity generated by the image of Daisy. As she faces Gatsby and uses a feeling to realize Gatsby, it’s realization essential for the reader’s own view of the world. The reader has also increasingly used what Nick terms as sawdust-filled images

to construct a virtual feeling of self, one that works because of its so “threadbare that they evoked no image except that of a turbaned “character” leaking sawdust at every pore” (*GG* 32). The two changes of the year continue the manipulation of time, prolonging, for the reader, not the truth of the observation, but the genuine yet commercial emotion that the images produce. The power of the advertising revolution that occurs in the 1920s unleashes this force; one Fitzgerald adapts to make Gatsby feel like “a tragic hero” rather than a “clown” (or in Fitzgerald’s own words, “a cheap sharper”).

Fitzgerald provides the dream space with an accompaniment: “quiet lights...were humming,” And stars “bustle.” As though to retain a sightline on Daisy’s face, while establishing the extent to which that face subsumes a level of aspiration inherent in cultural forces far more extensive and more intense than Daisy and her profile, the narrator glances sideways “out of the corner of his eye” to enlarge the dream space, even as it extends and separates from the apparent object of desire. The feeling generated by a pause, produced by an adjustment of the reader’s and Gatsby’s eyelines, takes a lyrical turn: a “secret place above the trees” materializes, though its materiality might better be described as approaching the suprasensible. An extended or doubled dash operates as a ladder rung and linear pointer whereby Gatsby (in the form of a generic “he”) may enter a space so immaterial and perfect that its representation requires an image all but outside time (a transhistorical ‘prior’). Accordingly, the “moon” mutates into a maternal breast and its “light” into lactate. Rarely has advertising copy, care of the smart girl, so utterly achieved a dramatization of the moment of purchase in which the idea of ‘the good life’ and the frisson of its dreamed space transcends the product that inadequately embodies it. The reader, care of Gatsby, “gulps...the incomparable milk of wonder.” The milk is incomparable because the “promise”

in the product transcends the product; the anticipatory frisson of the kiss must always subordinate its realization, according to the logic of those images typify the commodity aesthetic.

The dream space and its emotional power to validate identity are “incomparable” because each reader’s collection of advertising simulacra varies. Similar emotions—specifically the affect of being—can be achieved through seemingly diverse imagery. In this manner, readers of magazines use thousands of varied images to produce a prefabricated channel to imagine a few specific sensations associated with a sense of being. Fitzgerald’s aesthetics have interrupted the traditional reading process to prolong an essentially commercial feeling by manipulating the experience of time during the passage’s decoding. The effect intensifies the emotional burst and produces genuine feelings for Gatsby despite an all but comedic portrayal of Gatsby’s responses. Fitzgerald delivers this emotional surge in a last reflection:

His heart beat faster and faster as Daisy's white face came up to his own. He knew that when he kissed this girl and forever wed his unutterable visions to her perishable breath, his mind would never romp again like the mind of God. So he waited, listening for a moment longer to the tuning fork that had been struck upon a star. Then he kissed her. At his lips' touch, she blossomed for him like a flower, and the incarnation was complete (GG 89).

The declarative sentence, “Then he kissed her,” allows a release of emotion that Gatsby’s “heartbeat” intensifies by building up, pump by pump, towards the metaphysical dream space. The reader aligns with Gatsby because Fitzgerald taps into the image creation process and emotional delivery system developed by adverts. Fitzgerald does not hide the “flaw of

Daisy” with “blankets of fine prose,” as his letter to Menken asserts. Arguably, Daisy is not flawed at all: as the essence of the smart girl, she delivers for the reader the reality of a desire for transformation. Gatsby “knows” that his smart girl Daisy delivers. A knowledge not rooted in any understanding of the corporeal character in the would-be real world of the novel: his dream space remains uncorrupted by factual details or event-based plot points. Instead, the kiss delivers emotion that can now, temporarily, provide the reader with a feeling that simply veils any problems attaching to Gatz’s transformation. This power of emotion, the affect of being, is the power to know thyself, the “romping” power of God.

### **Kisses, Smart girls and identity: Judy Jones and Jonquil Cary**

Daisy’s success in channeling the feeling of being for the reader so that James Gatz can feel like Jay Gatsby has two antecedents, both sponsored by the advertising that financed national literary periodicals. The first, Judy Jones from “Winter Dreams,” has been cited by critics for its influence in *The Great Gatsby*, specifically as an early version of the Gatz/Gatsby transformation. Dexter Green goes from middle-class rags to upper-class riches due to the flapper Judy Jones’ influence on him. Witness the front and back cover of the *Metropolitan Magazine* (figures 3 and 5), and the first page of the December 1921 issue (figure 4), carrying “Winter Dreams.”



figure 3



figure 4



figure 5

The cover (figure 3), offering the “Livest Fiction” in America, features a smart girl effectively selling the very identity of the flapper. The cover’s aesthetic choices channel her for the reader, as both advert and story speak through smart girls. Accordingly, in what is presumably an editorial intervention, a caption ‘brands’ the magazine that celebrates “The Girl of Today.” Figure 3 reveals that “Winter Dreams” is spatially subject to the gaze of the smart girl, as the title of the story and its celebrity author appear at the bottom of the page. The close-up against the red background compresses the “dream space” and aptly advertises the smart girl’s role in “Winter Dreams” and in Genthe’s “The Beauty of the New Girl.” The back cover (figure 5) also features a smart girl, advertising a perfume gift set in which the red background and red shawl combined with the red gift box encircle the smart girl. The open box’s top creates a sharp line, directing the eye into the dream space in a manner that slows the reader’s reception. The reader of this magazine absorbs the imperatives of a commodity culture that deploys images of women, within a visual aesthetic designed to prolong the viewer’s reception or “reading” of the image. Fitzgerald’s “Winter Dreams” is more than a story taking advantage of the popularity of

the smart girl; rather it is a story whose very aesthetic absorbs an advertising technique in order to access the emotional impact hoarded within the prefabricated smart girl. Eric Rawson, describing the new mix of technology and emotion, speaks of its relevance to the “telephonic” logic in *The Great Gatsby*. Rawson argues that the novel exemplifies how the “modern [aesthetics transforms] unto the corporeal imaginary, reifying it through a technological process” (101).

The first kiss, in “Winter Dreams,” (1922) features an aspirational Dexter Green in pursuit of Judy Jones. The fragmented narrative, consisting of five, page-length chapters, catalogs five moments during which Judy Jones alters the identity of Dexter Green. Judy’s kiss during the second scene, yields an arrested moment of time, delivered by Judy’s very corporeal lips, her lips that being described as “less a smile” and more of an “invitation to a kiss.” Judy Jones, just like Daisy, possesses the power to modify time through a kiss. But unlike the kiss of Daisy, Judy’s kiss remains trapped in her physical being. The name itself locates the power of the kiss in its physical production: were the reader to mouth the name Judy Jones, her lips would form a palatal approximant, a mouth shape that requires the speaker to produce a doubled lip aperture: a kiss. By producing both “J’s,” the reader’s lips mime a kissing-shape. Having poised Dexter to receive one of these kisses, Fitzgerald uses the aesthetics of interruption. In a manner that allows Dexter, by way of Judy’s mouth, to know and desire his own transformation. Fitzgerald writes:

There was a pause. Then she smiled, and the corners of her mouth drooped, and an almost imperceptible sway brought her closer to him, looking up into his eyes. A lump rose in Dexter's throat, and he waited breathlessly for the experiment, facing

the unpredictable compound that would form mysteriously from the elements of their lips. Then he saw--she communicated her excitement to him, lavishly, deeply, with kisses that were not a promise but a fulfillment. They aroused in him, not hunger demanding renewal but surfeit that would demand more surfeit . . . kisses that were like charity, creating want by holding back nothing at all (16).

The “pause” in time, for all its brevity, dramatically commands an entire sentence, a sentence which interrupts the reading process in a manner that mirrors the implied opening of the perfume box on the back cover of the advert—lip and lid rush the reader into the dream space. Judy’s mouth mimes the promise of a product: the pursing lips of Judy, her pucker, creates a “breathless” moment in which time seemingly freezes. But Fitzgerald’s description of the kiss makes the reader aware that this kiss, more than a kiss, amounts to an “experiment,” resulting in a “mysterious compound”—namely Dexter, equipped with an improved a sense of himself—by way of the affect of being. Dexter needs Judy to feel a transformation that has, in fact, already happened: Dexter, unlike Gatsby, earns his money legally through invention of a newly automated dry-cleaning process for expensive golfing socks. His economic fortunes are on the rise. But Dexter—and the reader—wait for Judy Jones’ kiss as a necessary affirmation of Dexter’s sense of self. The extended dash that follows “Then he saw—” pushes the reader into a visualization, enabled by the image (as exemplified by the Mavis gift set girl), a visualization that enables the reader, like Dexter, to ‘fulfill’ him or herself through a kiss. The kiss, which textually lasts from dash to ellipsis, involves an excess that will leave Dexter “wanting” more. The “promise” that “fulfills” even as it disappoints, “demanding more,” should be recognized as the alchemical ‘stuff,’ or “experimental compound,” apt to the adman’s wildest dreams.

Dexter may sense “charity,” but there is nothing of “charity in the Judy Jones’ kiss, rather her kiss, like that of the smart girl from whom she derives, embodies a contradiction: it captures an emotional surge, one that though it cannot be sustained, seemingly remains the only available means to a sufficient sense of being in the intensely commodifying world of the early 1920s.

But what is most compelling about this aesthetics is what Judy Jones’s kiss teaches Fitzgerald: the smart girl’s kiss elicits genuine feelings about an emergent identity, shifting those feelings from literary characters to readers, by way of reader contributions from the image hoard. The fifth and final image-scene, in which Dexter loses his identity despite his immense economic success, might be read as a gloss on why Fitzgerald accentuates Daisy’s voice rather than her mouth or lips. During the last section, Judy loses her smart girl identity, and with it, that channel of desire through which the smart girls elicit and create emotion. The scene occurs in a bar in New York, in which the narrator places Dexter’s success in direct contrast to Judy’s inability to channel desire. The narrator states that Dexter, “had done well--so well that there were no barriers too high for him” (WD 23). Despite this success, Dexter has not realized his identity, leading Dexter to breakdown. The narrator describes the moment of realization:

[F]or the first time in years; the tears were streaming down his face. But they were for himself now. He did not care about mouth and eyes and moving hands. He wanted to care, and he could not care. For he had gone away, and he could never go back anymore. The gates were closed, the sun was gone down, and there was no beauty but the gray beauty of steel that withstands all time (WD 24).

Gone are the aesthetics of interruption: conjunctions, specifically “and,” litter the passage, prompting unbroken or fluent reception by the reading eye. Judy’s being like “any other married woman” precludes her ability to authorize Dexter’s identity. With the smart girl gone, having vanished into the married woman, Dexter cannot “care” despite wanting to “care.” Lost for the emotional vehicle that lead him to himself, Dexter Green effectively vanishes, reduced to mourning his own departure, and with it, the sense of self Judy’s previously enabled. Gatsby will not suffer this fate. After using the aesthetics to tap into the smart girl’s power, Fitzgerald will not waste the identity she channels with physical kisses and the very corporeal Judy Jones, instead, disembodied flowers help sustain the feelings of identity, first in Jonquil then eventually in Daisy.

Jonquil Cary, in “The Sensible Thing,” published in *Liberty Magazine* in 1924 while Fitzgerald was revising the final galleys for *The Great Gatsby* mark a development in smart girl stylistics. Reaching over a million readers, the magazine (“A Weekly for Everybody”), was second to only the *Saturday Evening Post* in national circulation. It was the sixth magazine for which Fitzgerald wrote in 1924 as he became America’s most highly paid short story writer (Bruccolli 83).



figure 6



figure 7

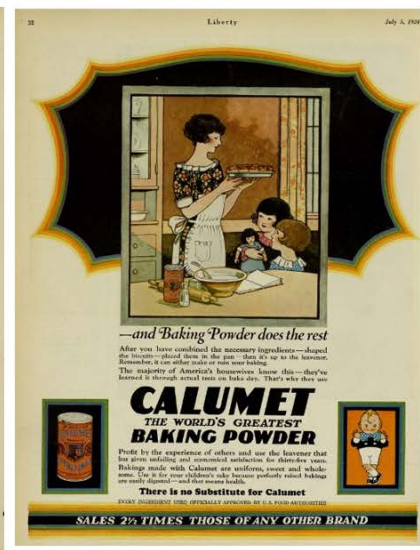


figure 8

Figure 6, the cover, asks the question: “How Much Is She Worth at the Gate?,” a reference to which possible starlet will replace Mary Pickford in the “new Klondike” that is the Hollywood film industry. Advertising expert Sut Jhally describes the 1920s as the decade in which advertising arises as the “dominant storytelling force” for American culture, one that sells “desire” through its advertisements (45). The model and movie actresses become essential to an emergent cultural industry. This cover reflects a broader cultural practice. But the ads that surround the story, for beauty cream and baking powder, indicate just how integral the smart girl, and the desire she elicits, had become to the full range of the decade’s products. Both ads feature the visual aesthetics of interruption as a means to prolong the viewer’s attention. Each uses visual lines to direct the eye to a non-linear space. Jonquil Cary will work in a similar fashion, channeling desire that helps consumers to access a new form of identity necessitated by the smart girl and her attendant things.

“The Sensible Thing” features George O’Kelley, an engineer turned insurance salesman. His work in the Manhattan office was designed to enable him a quick fortune in which to court Jonquil Cary, who resides in Tennessee. However, he has not struck it rich and the physical distance between George and Jonquil create an anxiety in George. Like Daisy, Jonquil has a bevy of suitors, which makes George insecure and eager for Jonquil to choose him, thereby affirming his sense of being in the world. Besides sharing the essential plot similarities with *The Great Gatsby*, Jonquil’s Tennessee home in the story is one of the key spaces in which the dream girl resonates, functioning in a similar fashion to Daisy’s house. As Marta Banta notes in *Taylored Lives: Narrative Productions in the Age of Taylor, Veblen, and Ford*, the house had become a “locus” for the desire to “change and transform.” From home building kits that offer “economic mobility in a box,” to films like Buster Keaton’s *One Week*, the smart girl, framed by the home, becomes an archetypal motif for the print media of the 20s (Banta 34). Jonquil’s house, like Daisy’s, will be essential for framing O’Keefe/Gatz’s aspirational identity. The passage to the right—the story’s conclusion—features George’s return to Tennessee after striking it rich in South America. Unfortunately for George, he was gone too long, and Jonquil is committed to marrying another. Despite knowing that he cannot marry Jonquil,

expedition was dead of yellow fever. That had been his chance, a chance for anybody but a fool, a gorgeous chance—

“A chance for anybody but a fool?” she interrupted, innocently.

“Even for a lunatic,” he insisted. “It was wonderful. Well, I wired New York—”

“And so,” she interrupted again, “they wired that you ought to take a chance?”

“Ought to!” he exclaimed, still leaning back. “That I *had* to! There was no time to lose—”

“Not a minute?”

“Not a minute.”

“Not even time for—” She paused.

“For what?”

“Look!”

He bent his head forward suddenly, and she drew herself to him in the same moment, her mouth half open like a flower.

“Yes,” he whispered into her lips, “there’s all the time in the world . . .”

All the time in the world—his life and hers. But for an instant as he kissed her he knew that though he search through eternity he could never recapture those lost April hours. He might press her close now till the muscles knotted on his arms—she was something desirable and rare that he had fought for and made his own—but never again an intangible whisper in the dusk or on the breeze of night . . .

Well, let it pass, he thought; April is over, April is over. There are all kinds of love in the world, but never the same love twice.

THE END

he returns for one final visit. Dramatizing George's desperate attempt to find himself by uniting with Jonquil, Fitzgerald employs the aesthetics of interruption to prolong the reader's understanding of George's identity in preparation for his transformation by way of Jonquil's concluding kiss.

The passage opens as George explains his "luck" in leading the expedition that created his wealth. But the inevitable interruption occurs by way of an extended dash which ends the fivefold echo of the "chance." George's break, which should enable his transformation, occurs in flashback with the long dash pushing the reader away from his actual work (the expedition itself), and toward the kiss with Jonquil, the kiss that will assist both George and the reader to experience a moment, or a "minute" of transubstantiation, one that will recast accomplishment as the "intangible whisper" of its essence, by way of the ever elusive mouth of the smart girl. The double dashes continue to prolong this moment, as George "had no time to lose." The moment of their kiss, prolonged by the flashback, creates a channel for his success at work to pass through Jonquil and finally reach George and the reader: consumed in this form, identity is realized as desire rather than as a product of labor. The phrase "not a minute" creates the dream space, even as, "not even time for—," poised on its dash allows the reader to enter a visual space, or textual opening, one declaredly atemporal. Jonquil's instructive one-word sentence "Look!", insists that George's and the reader's gaze turn to her mouth as the desired locus of pause or interruption. Fitzgerald will redeploy Jonquil's timing in relation to Daisy's kiss. Note the resemblance: "At his [Gatsby's] lips' touch, [Daisy] blossomed for him like a flower and the incarnation was complete"; "He [George] bent his head forward suddenly, and she [Jonquil] drew herself to him in the same moment, her lips half open like a flower." Fitzgerald casts

the kiss (the channel for feeling and a sense of being), as a floral event, doing so to avoid the direct corporeality of the all too frequently sexualized smart girl. Understanding the opened female mouth metaphorically, as an opened flower in which germination can occur, he not only adopts but adapts the more carnal sensuality of Judy Jones and of the smart girl aesthetic more generally. As Judy becomes Jonquil, and Jonquil becomes Daisy, copy-writing practices, initially honed by advertising agents, morph into an aesthetic that permits Fitzgerald convincingly to imply that Daisy's incarnation by mouth – or her becoming flesh – can truly “blossom” in a pun that unites the fleshly and the floriate (“incarnation.”)

The passage from “The Sensible Thing” concludes with a double use of ellipsis, bracketing its penultimate paragraph and echoing the framing use of the double ellipsis in the kiss sequence in Chapter six of *Gatsby*. The story will end with George and Jonquil's separation, but the dream space released or induced by the moment of the kiss retains its reality. George finds his time in the “whispered” dream space to be, “all the time in the world. . . .”. As kisses in Fitzgerald's works proliferate, one begins to recognize just how much they contain: For Fitzgerald, the kiss follows the deep structure of advertising in eliciting a transformed experience of time and space, ushered in by the great speed up of the Fordist/Taylorist experiment as it drives the second industrial revolution. “The acceleration of time through technologies, such as the railroad, automobile, telegraph, and assembly line,” argues cultural historian Richard Gartman, “led to a shrinking or compression of space. Spaces that had been separated by hours of labor or travel raced by in almost simultaneous coexistence, emphasizing a quick, superficial perception” (123).

The experience of advertisement reading speaks in this “shrinking” or “compression of space” that a kiss from Jonquil and eventually Daisy will produce.

The efficiency drive of a Taylorist system effectively leaves only a few moments of leisure for most workers during daily life. The advert speaks to this desire, and George and Gatsby will know they have achieved the aspirational dreams that motivate most Americans by way of the brief moment of being adverts create. The “hoarded images” that Berlant finds essential for cruel optimism originate during Madison avenues rise as a billion-dollar industry in 1925 (Berlant 12/Norris). The repeated experience of good life imagery creates in the reader the needed metaphysical space in which to seed the good tableaux, despite the temporality of the rush limits its duration. Thus, despite George knowing himself in this kiss, “he could never recapture those lost April hours.” The brevity of the rush is essential in the process being repeated; each page turn provides a new brief moment of identity; what Nick describes as the “receding orgasmic future” in *Gatsby*. This feeling is the very foundation for what Juliet Schor calls “the work-spend cycle.” As workers seek short term gratification continuously in response to more work and less leisure time, adverts become more essential than the actual buying of commodities in sustaining identity. Just as for Fitzgerald a first ellipsis pulls his reader and image hoarder into the dream space, so a second ellipsis closes that space. Advertising requires that identity remain no more than “an intangible whisper in the dusk,” so that the power of commercial images to channel emotion, usually in order to sell baking soda, automobiles or perfume, can be used repeatedly to affirm the identity that purchase of these things affords.

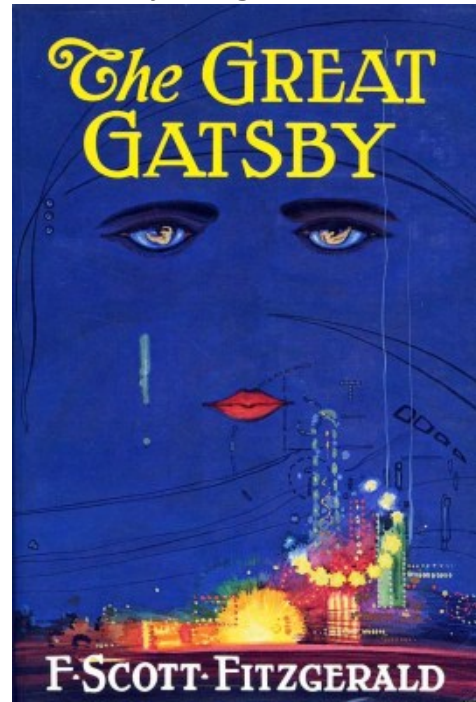
The “Sensible Thing” serves also to reveal a shift in the experience of time, and the growth of a temporally based anxiety among workers as their jobs increasingly intensify and speed up production. Stress primes the worker to be receptive to a commodified kiss whose frisson mimes a point of purchase, a pleasure that produces a surge of identity. Taylorized workers cram more work into ever-shrinking units of time in order to maximize their own productive efficiency, one result of which is the formation of a consciousness focused on bursts of feeling, repeatable and without sustenance. George serves to make Taylor’s point: “reaching the insurance company at his usual run... [ had become] ...second nature to him,” [Generating an anxiety] “best to express the tension under which he lived” (Fitzgerald, “The Sensible Thing” 12). George does not work on the factory floor, but in an office. Nevertheless, the logic of rationalized labor has already impacted the white-collar workers of the corporation. His rush to work, work which eventually fails to deliver Jonquil, explains why George quits. Fearing that his lack of financial success may prevent him from being with Jonquil, he quits his job when his boss refuses to give him time off in which to visit her in Tennessee. Yet even on Jonquil’s wrapped porch, George cannot escape labor-time, pleading, “Let’s shut off that damn fan” because “it’s like a clock ticking away all the time I’ll be with you. I came to here to be happy and forget everything about New York and time—” George needs Jonquil to affirm his identity, one brought to a crisis by the temporal pattern of his New York labors, a Taylorite pattern that reaches from blue to white collar, and from Ford’s Dearborn plant to Manhattan’s insurance offices. The smart girl, in the form of Jonquil, is George’s only means through which to counter the stress of new labor practices.

George quits his job and momentarily escapes this time, but only if the smart girl can confer upon him an identity he can feel. During the same visit George confesses to Jonquil, "I hate going on alone. If you'll marry me and come with me and take a chance with me, I can make good at anything, but not while I'm worrying about you down here" (Fitzgerald, "The Sensible Thing" 12). Jonquil rejects this risk for George, because it's not the "sensible thing." But what's perfect about this passage is that George's rejection of marriage does little to deter him from a kiss with Jonquil. Jonquil sense of "sensible" requires that marriage should come after George's financial success; but for George, he must first feel a sense of success in order to then realize it. Fitzgerald uses the title of the story to challenge the traditional narrative of how success is understood during the rise of the American System. To make it clear that success is a feeling, the narrative fractures linear time and summarizes all of the events that lead to George's dramatic success. The reader leaves the porch for a mere three sentence paragraph but never arrives in South America with George. "On a damp afternoon in September of the following year a young man with his face burned to a deep copper glow got off a train at a city in Tennessee. He looked around anxiously, and seemed relieved when he found that there was no one in the station to meet him. He taxied to the best hotel in the city where he registered with some satisfaction as George O'Kelly, Cuzco, Peru." His copper glow and his South America residence are the only details the reader has of George's rags to riches story. The plot compresses time, another form of interruption, as George's entire rags to riches story occurs in hints and innuendo. The compression allows a year to pass and the absurd economic success subject to Jonquil's bloom. The previous paragraph George needed and her and despite these three

sentences, he has returned for the kiss that puts that affirms the promise hinted out in his “copper” shine.

In effect the reader never leaves Jonquil’s house. Fitzgerald deploys a far-fetched plot, framed by the “once magic” house, to explain George’s year long absence which magnifies feeling, and not linear time, as primary to identity formation. In less than a year, George has struck it rich, Jonquil’s mother noting that she had “read about...George’s success in the paper.” Not only does the note demonstrate how identity is understood through publication, it also demonstrates a similarity with Gatsby. In his reunion with Daisy, so with George’s return to Jonquil, Fitzgerald attends to timing, having Gatsby all but destroy a clock. George offers to Jonquil, “I haven’t seen you for--a long time.’ He succeeded in making this sound offhand. ‘Over a year.’” Gatsby offers the more concise “five years next October,” [as prelude to a minute of arrested silence]. But George understands his identity does not come from his specified economic success in Peru: his South American wealth, despite its abstract and precious nature, cannot take form without the bloom of the smart girl’s kiss, Jonquil amounting to George’s “pap of life,” his “milk of wonder.” As with George, so with Gatsby, for whom the car and mansion prove empty, and all but disembodied, without the transubstantiating body of Daisy. George returns to Tennessee not for marriage with Jonquil, but for a kiss now completely removed from love that validates George’s new success.

Crucially, the kiss, as experienced by both George and Gatsby, extends beyond them to touch the reader. One should note the work of *The Great Gatsby's* original cover, featuring a smart girl, refined to an essence (mouth, eyes, tear). Challenging the old adage, Fitzgerald invites the reader to judge Gatsby through the image on the cover. The abstraction of the smart girl commissioned by Gatsby's editor Perkins from modern Catalan artist Francisco Cugat. Cugat places women in the irises of the disembodied smart girl; their bodies becoming the lens in which desire and excitement are understood. Her red lips announce the importance of the kiss in the narrative: the kiss in the novel bridges narrative time and inconsistency, and doing so in a manner derived from advertising technique affirms the great identity of Gatsby. As identity-formation during the Taylorist-Fordist revolution shifts in focus from production to consumption, and from labor to desire, so the figure of the smart girl operates as a key access point to the re-visioning of consciousness. The representation of the disembodied woman on the novel's cover does more than imitate the covers of the *Post* or the *Liberty* or *Metropolitan*, mass-circulation journals that regularly featured smart girls. The image refines the aesthetic that the novel will deploy. At risk of allegorical reduction: the mouth will kiss, enabling the eye both to contain the precious (cast as an amorphous golden figure), and mirroring, to reflect the precious as the essential quality of that upon which the eyes gaze. The tear mourns the brevity of the transformation, which the disembodied features of the face submit to the immaterial or



suprasensible. The cover effectively expresses how the smart girl's disembodiment works to sustain the bursts of emotion constitutive of the affect of being.

Fitzgerald worked with Cugat on several cover ideas, specifically as he changed the title of the book. Once he decided on *The Great Gatsby*, he insisted that Cugat's work become the cover to the novel. Fitzgerald's insistence suggests that he understood the referential power the faceless lips and eyes produce: access to a visual hoard of good life affirming smart girls. The cover makes explicit how the smart girl serves as a conduit to bestow transformative bursts of affect. As the art historian Rick Bowers puts it, "Francis Cugat, [the cover's painter] nails the sense of longing that infuses *Gatsby*" (110). The reader, more accustomed to embodied smart girls receives a deconstructed version; both irises swim with smart girl essence. If eyes may be said to be windows to the soul, then Cugat's smart girl, herself an advertising device, opens those windows in a manner that reflects a transformation (into gold) of the recipient of the gaze, and the purchaser of the book. The cover dramatizes the smart girl's larger cultural role as a vehicle for identity-formation in a rapidly changing world.

Will Straw, in documenting the American print culture of the 1920s, observes that print media, attempting to seek "graphic, textual equivalents" for the technological advancements of sight and sound, "develops stylistics that functions like radio and film" (23). The cover applies and adapts this innovative drive, even as book jackets were recognized to be critical to the novel's reception and sales. According to cultural historian Bowers[,] "by 1924, book jacket design had become an art form in itself directly related to advertising and sales (193). Fitzgerald and his editor Perkins had worked with Cugat in

developing the cover for the novel. When Fitzgerald's editor warns Fitzgerald that another author might use Cugat's painting, Fitzgerald protests, "For Christ's sake, don't give anyone that jacket you're saving for me. I've written it into the book (Kuehl and Bryer 76). More than simply referencing Coney Island (briefly mentioned in the novel), the amusement park, over which the 'face' floats catches the logic of the advertisement in a Fordist/Taylorite age, while suggesting that the smart girl, in ascending from that logic, encapsulates its quintessence. They who ride in the roller coaster take from their ride a burst of emotion—but riders start and stop at the same point. The ride is brief, spectacular exhilarating and price-dependent. The roller coaster on the cover remains blurred, never crystallizing into a specific form: so visualized, it expresses the brief surge in affect produced by adverts that are seen through the smart girl. Robert Seguin traces the centrality of emotive bursts to Fitzgerald's work. In describing the social-emotion aspect of his style, Seguin writes that "what results is a kind of spatio-temporal loop or prison, a seemingly forward movement that leads only backward." Not only does Seguin's account describe the feeling of riding inside the car of a roller coast, but it also reflects the result of a commodity aesthetic designed to reach an audience of workers who increasingly live in an abbreviated and anticipatory present, designed by advertising to deliver a good life in a consumable future-perfect that serves primarily to make present-imperfect work bearable.

The cover records Fitzgerald's evolution of the kiss and the aesthetics of interruption. From Judy to Jonquil to Daisy, the characters tap into smart girl prefabrication. Daisy's disembodied voice, the means by which she channels feeling, removes the corporeal completely from the kiss which increases its efficiency in validating Gatsby's identity.

Despite Fitzgerald's claim to Menken, Daisy is without flaw. From the novel's very cover, the smart girl takes advantage of advertising to tap into a prefabricated channel of desire, one that, by way of the reader's own culturally particular experience, ensures the greatness of Gatsby and of his aspiration. Appropriately, Jordan will borrow from the advertising campaigns that produced her name to deliver Jay Gatsby to Nick's narrative, and so to the reader. Daisy's kiss will allow that reader to feel what Nick's diegetic impulse can only intimate: a sense that Gatsby's transformation is both representative and entirely possible. Daisy's voice, a synecdoche that taps into a commodity aesthetic, is frequently and critically recast to evidence the materialism of Gatsby's desires: he listens to her voice because it is famously, "full of money" and he seeks a trophy wife. I have argued, in contradistinction, that readers literally experience that voice as a route to the crucial immateriality of the commodity form, as explored by the emergent logic of advertising.

## CONCLUSION

### **Aesthetics that Interrupt: Feelings in Taylorized Time and Fordized Space in Cather's "Paul's Case"**

My dissertation uses Fitzgerald as the perfect case study: an author who worked as an advertising copywriter to write for national periodicals while writing his magnum opus. His experience as a writer and copywriter provides the perfect medium for the aesthetics of interruption being developed by advertising to find its linguistic translation. However, Fitzgerald is not alone. Three other modern authors share similar intersectional identities. Willa Cather worked as an editor for a women's monthly magazine as she wrote "Paul's Case" (1905). Sherwood Anderson worked as an advertising copywriter and an advertising executive for over a decade, starting several stories that would become *Winesburg, Ohio* (1919). Finally, Theodore Dreiser worked as an editor for several women's magazines before and after writing *American Tragedy* (1925). The authors' aesthetics exemplified in these works feature a style that uses emotions like Fitzgerald, short-circuiting traditional character development in lieu of imagistic, emoting prose. This conclusion is a beginning, a preliminary argument that demonstrates Cather's use of emotion and aesthetics in writing "Paul's Case."

In 1924, Willa Cather replied to a letter from F. Scott Fitzgerald in which she lessens his fear regarding the similarities between passages from his upcoming novel *The Great Gatsby* and her novel *The Lost Lady*. Fitzgerald described the style in his book "as altogether something new," yet feared key passages from *Gatsby* would seem plagiaristic of Cather's work. Both texts feature moments that break from traditional narrative techniques to

deploy emotion to develop the protagonist's identity through feelings created in the reader through imagery rather than detailing events that happen to the novel's protagonist. This new form of characterization, a modern aesthetic of interruption, creates imagistic passages that slow down the reader to reach an audience transformed by a culture's rapid transformation during the second industrial revolution. In fact, the aesthetic arises as the cultural logics of Fordism and Taylorism move beyond the factory floor into the society's leisure and cultural spaces, influencing reading habits and writing styles.

Perhaps Fitzgerald's concern sprang from more than just specific passages, but from his broader adoption of Cather's aesthetic innovations—innovations that she is initiated in "Paul's Case: A Study of Temperament" in *McClure's* magazine in 1905. Cather described their similar writing style in her response to Fitzgerald, as a technique in which authors interrupt traditional reading modes by writing in affective registers, "the effect is greater than the cause." The cause or the emotive approach the author employs is brief, but by using stylistics that slow down the reader, the author targets her audience by creating genuine feelings that tap into lived experiences originating from the new social practices associated with Taylorized time and Fordized space. In fact, "Paul's Case" highlights this style—an aesthetics of interruption—that not only details the reach of Fordist-Taylorist thinking outside of the factory as it helps refashion key institutions to American life: school and home. Paul's high school is no longer a single teacher schoolhouse, but a Fordized space that treats students as raw goods subject to a centralization that increases the efficiency of their educational transformation. Paul's initial characterization comes not through direct action but via centralized efficiency: Paul's dramatic disciplinary hearing. Following which, the reader comes to understand Paul's essential conflict—facing the

challenges of heteronormative pressure—not through the plot but rather through the description of the house and of Paul's feeling for that house. The mass-produced brownstone of Cordelia Street, built with prefabricated construction and rationalized labor, creates the central image of the closeted space that confronts Paul. By detailing how Cather's lived experience of Fordism (as a teacher in Pittsburg's high schools) and Taylorism (as an editor and writing for national periodicals), I can trace the forces that help fashion the aesthetics of interruption that is the hallmark of Cather's style. As Fordism and Taylorism become more integral to daily life, functioning as what Jameson terms a "cultural dominant," they also restructure the emotional lives of workers and readers, providing Cather the stylistic space to produce a modern aesthetic.

### **Fordism and Taylorism in Pittsburg**

America's transformation during the second industrial revolution featured the largest migration in American history. Within a generation, Americans' rural life had given way to the towns and cities, drastically restructuring the relationship between work and identity. In less than forty years, the urban population quadrupled, growing much faster than the rural population. In 1900, an American was twenty times more likely to move from the farm to the city than vice-versa. The 1920 census declared that most Americans lived in the city ("From the Countryside to the City"). Pittsburgh best exemplified this transformation. Not only does Pittsburg's population swell from 86,00 in 1870 to 534,000 in 1910, but the city itself underwent a restructuring. Between 1890 and 1900, the three rivers that converge in Pittsburgh to form the "golden triangle" provided the economic foundation for the emergent Pittsburgh, which would be known as "the valley of work." By

1911, Pittsburgh made 24% of the country's pig iron, 24% of its steel rails, and 53% of its crucible steel ("Pittsburg Business"). The rapid development of its industries extends beyond the factories themselves—from a centralized education system into a diversifying the economy, that included home offices of magazines and advertising houses. Two forces engineered this transformation. Fordism—a centralization of space depicted by the iconic assembly line and the skyscraper—emerges in Carnegie's steel mills as well as his philanthropic efforts throughout the city. Taylorism—or the use of time management to create efficiency in workers—moves the bell schedule of the factory into the school. These two forces interact with Cather and the rest of Pittsburgh as their influence spread through the culture.

### **Taylorism and Fordism's Influence on Cather**

Before writing "Paul's Case," Cather was part of a publishing world restructured by the Taylorist and Fordism logic. Advertising created an economic incentive to develop and sustain publications that could deliver an audience for the emerging corporations, mass producing all kinds of products that offer elements of the good life with its purchase. Starting in 1893, Cather begins submitting short stories for publication. By 1896 Cather started writing and editing for the *Home Monthly*, working as in both capacities for the home-and-fireside magazine. The *Home Monthly* was intended to compete for the same audience as *The Ladies Home Journal*. Cather complained in a letter to friends that the magazine was "trash" but "trash that people apparently wanted to read" (quoted by Bennett 70); Cather was embarrassed enough about the journal to employ pseudonyms to hide her contributions. Nevertheless, Cather was essential in getting the magazine

launched, including "manuscript reading, blocking for the issues, and corresponding with authors" (Bennett 65). Cather had to learn how in order to target this audience to sell various products, the advertising which sustained the magazine's revenue. This practice undoubtedly influenced the fiction she would have published in other national periodicals during the same period. In 1900, Cather published "Eric Hermansson's Soul" in *Cosmo*, and by 1901, Cather had published "Jack-a-Boy" in the nation's "advertising showcase" *The Saturday Evening Post* (Marchand). By 1906, she would work as an editor and fiction writer for *McClure's* magazine.

But Cather's personal experience with national magazine production and marketing speaks to the broader relationship in the emergence of national periodicals and the more significant issues of Fordism's tendency for overproduction, a fear that must have been heightened during Pittsburg golden age of factory industrialization. Sut Jhally, who details advertising's evolution, explains its importance in stabilizing the economy by delivering a readership for corporations:

The jeopardy to capitalism [in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century] as a system was real. If consumption failed to keep pace with production and distribution, then capitalism as a system could collapse under the weight of overproduction. A casualty of too many goods chasing too few buyers. So, on pain of death, as a matter of pure survival, in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, capitalism invents an entirely new industry to save its health. It invents the advertising industry [and national periodicals] to bring supply and demand into greater synchronicity (6).

Cather's work for *The Home Journal* and *McClure's* is part of the emerging process of national periodical production that proved essential to sustaining the factories of Pittsburgh by making sure the economy grows across the country, a country raised built through the steel of Pittsburgh's furnaces. The pace of centralization created a need audience, and compelled writers and advertisers to change how they addressed this audience. Under the weight of overproduced traditional prose, writers needed to get readers to stop and read the articles and, more importantly, ads. For these national periodicals, like Cather's *Home Monthly*, to survive, copywriters and editors innovated ways to interrupt the page-turning of the reader. The more efficient writers and advertising copywriters slowed down readers during the great speed up of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and in doing so in a manner that influenced the writing for the national periodicals themselves.

Ford himself demonstrated the way economic practices moved into cultural production. In a biography focusing on Ford's public image, David Lewis details how Ford's famous five-dollar day plan influenced far more than his workforce. Lewis points out that New York City press devoted fifty-two columns to Ford and his "profit-sharing plan." Moreover, nationally the story received "more than 2,000,000 lines of favorable advertising on the front page of newspapers and thousands and thousands of editorial endorsements" (quoted in Lewis, 71). Lewis concludes that "the five-dollar day was an economical second coming" for the emerging national periodicals (71). Ford needed to do more than stabilize his workforce; he had to promote the production of mass-produced goods like Ford motorcars. Advertising and periodical publication now become essential in sustaining the worker's transformation into a consumer.

National magazine production was not the only way in which economic practices shaped Cather; her time inside Pittsburgh's education system provided the lived experience of factory education. Cather worked from 1901-1906 at Central High School and Allegheny High School. In 1884, Pittsburgh's School Board transformed traditional, decentralized education by setting up a consolidated high school and created centralized schools. Raymond E. Callahan, in *Education and the Cult of Efficiency*, describes how a school like that in which Cather worked. "Our schools are, in a sense, factories, in which the raw products (children) are to be shaped and fashioned into products to meet the various demands of life. The specifications for manufacturing come from the demands of twentieth-century civilization, and it is the business of the school to build its pupils according to the specifications laid down." Cather attempted to bridge this factory effect on kids, often meeting with groups of students outside of class or for tea (Bennett). Nevertheless, her time as a teacher not only provided experience with students like Paul when they face the consequences of "infractions" but would have made sure each area of Cather's life demonstrated the lived experience of Fordist and Taylorist practices.

In addition to the influence of her daily work at the *Ladies Home Journal* and her work in a Fordized education system, the city of Pittsburgh demonstrates the impact of industrial logic on urban planning when moving beyond the factory floor and into neighborhood design. Aurelia Street, the inspiration for Cordelia Street, is one of the earliest examples of Fordist-Taylorist home construction. The result: identical houses on an identical street, a street Cather would often walk from the McClung in which she boarded to the home offices of the *Home Monthly* ("Aurelia Street").



As Marta Banta notes in *Taylored Lives: Narrative Productions in the Age of Taylor, Veblen, and Ford*, advertising for mass-produced homes skyrocketed during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The house had become a "locus" in which the family to express their "change and transformation" in becoming Modern. *The Ladies Home Journal* and its up-and-coming competition, the *Home Monthly*, ran advertising for the earliest version of these kits. The builders of Aurelia street attempted to make homeownership more affordable by applying the same logic, "economic mobility in a box," a box built by means of rationalized production that lowered the cost of the home (Banta 34).

Cather's emergence as a fiction writer occurs when America is rationalizing time and centralizing space, altering the audience's perception and experience of time. As the logic of speed-up (Taylorism) while staying still (Fordism) extends into school and family, the prose produced reflected these influences. Cather's aesthetic emerges to target a new audience by speaking a new language: one of interruption—an audience whose work-life features repetitive movements conducted in a single, limited space, according to a time scheme designed to intensify single movements, frequently repeated understandably deaden interests in traditional narrative forms, instead requiring an aesthetics that speak a new language of image and time, consequently of the temporality of the subject, and so of

identity. "Paul's Case" features the same influences that reflected Cather's life in Pittsburg. Still, more than simply including them thematically, the text features a stylistic expression of Fordism and Taylorism's reimagining of time and a notion of identity. Cather translates lived industrial forms into a stylistics that makes "Paul's Case" not a traditional narrative but a study in the relationship between identity and feeling during the second industrial revolution.

The story begins with an interruption, "It was Paul's afternoon to appear before the faculty of the Pittsburg High School to account for his various misdemeanors." Instead of introducing Paul through an existing account of Paul's recent behavior, Cather's opening takes advantage of a centralized scene –a scene of educational standardization—in order to prefabricate Paul's character: Paul's appearance before the faculty regarding his suspension. This meeting occurs at a centralized high school, a factory-like setting in which workers or students are increasingly managed by middle management. Not only are centralized high schools a dramatic shift from the one-room schoolhouse, but their very structure makes sure the reader understands Paul as a defective, and the meeting as a moment of quality control, in which the board seek to see if the damaged product can be salvaged. Paul's behavioral issues, (the first line of the story called "misdemeanors,") are centrally presented: the educational factory becomes a way to interrupt the reader's expectation that events will detail and drive characterization. The story opens without ever materializing Paul's crimes and instead fabricates an image of Paul as a faulty good among the other mass-produced students:

Paul entered the faculty room, suave and smiling. His clothes were a trifle outgrown, and the tan velvet on the collar of his open overcoat was frayed and worn; but, for all that, there was something of the dandy about him, and he wore an opal pin in his neatly knotted black four-in-hand, and a red carnation in his buttonhole. This latter adornment the faculty somehow felt was not properly significant of the contrite spirit befitting a boy under the ban of suspension. Paul was tall for his age and very thin, with high, cramped shoulders and a narrow chest. His eyes were remarkable for a certain hysterical brilliancy, and he continually used them in a conscious, theatrical sort of way, peculiarly offensive in a boy. The pupils were abnormally large, as though he were addicted to belladonna, but there was a glassy glitter about them which that drug does not produce.

Paul's image—one that challenges the gendered norms of the time—becomes criminalized not because of his actions themselves but by the nature of the narrative technique. The image that depicts Paul takes advantage of the student's expectation in an educational factory: a student must conform even as a commodity must comply to a standard. Cather wants the reader to feel that Paul is defective, more than simply understand that Paul is outside of the rigid gender norms that factory-like schools produce. To achieve as much, Cather leverages the factory setting, using its emotive power to replace any reference to his actual deeds with the image of Paul as flawed. He wears frayed and outgrown clothes and tries to hide his narrowed chest and hysterical eyes. Paul's "misdemeanors" are understood through the feelings created in the reaction of Paul, rather than to the events themselves. The imaging of Paul as, "a bit of the dandy," slows down the reader and produces a feeling that the brief narrative description cannot sustain.

Instead, the teacher-as-factory-worker way of seeing Paul allows Paul's image to create another interruption, one that speaks to the reader's own experiences of repetition. The factory-like school teaches centralization, requiring workers to repeat the same physical action time after time. Taylorism produces efficiency through such repetitions. Paul's body reflects this training in one, strange repetitive movement. Interrupting the narrative with a parenthetical, Cather writes, "(His lips were continually twitching, and he had a habit of raising his eyebrows that were contemptuous and irritating to the last degree)." Like Jay Gatsby's constant leg wiggle, Paul's lip twitch seemingly moves for no reason at all. The irritation it produced among the factory's floor managers (the teachers) echoes through image the likely response of over-seers to a flaw in the machinations of a flow-production worker. During this meeting and perhaps through the school day, Paul's lips twitch, a physical expression of the identity fabrication process at work. The interruption, produced by Cather's parenthetical, reinforces the feeling that the opening scene produces—a sense understood through Paul's affect—with which a contemporary reader might associate through the lived experience of their own lifework.

With the audience feeling Paul's irregularity, Cather continues to use stylistics to slow her reader down, and to produce another feeling: a shift from defect to revulsion. After Paul leaves the factory-like school, he works as an usher at Carnegie Hall. Paul could have had any number of after-school jobs, but working at Carnegie Hall allows Cather to tap into an association between the steel baron's cultural philanthropy and the efficiency of steel production. This association speaks to the emerging influence of Fordist/Taylorist principles as the seemingly accompany the faggots of steel that leave Carnegie's factory.

Paul's house, like his work at Carnegie Hall, continues to produce a feeling about Paul in the reader.

He approached it to-night with the nerveless sense of defeat, the hopeless feeling of sinking back forever into ugliness and commonness that he always had when he came home. The moment he turned into Cordelia Street he felt the waters close above his head. After each of these orgies of living, he experienced all the physical depression which follows a debauch; the loathing of respectable beds, of common food, of a house penetrated by kitchen odors; a shuddering repulsion for the flavorless, colorless mass of everyday existence; a morbid desire for cool things and soft lights and fresh flowers."

The conflict produced between the incongruous meaning of the words themselves produces interruptions in the passage: the contradiction between "loathing" and "respectable;" the oddity of "odors" that penetrate the kitchen rather than originating from home-cooking within that kitchen—slows down the reader. The reader has the image of what home should be—and the home's uniformity—senses Paul's irregularity. Moreover, Cather uses this moment to introduce a recurrent image drawn from steel production that Cather will eventually attach to Paul: the faggoting of steel. Faggoting is a process in which rods of iron and/or steel are gathered (like a bundle of sticks or faggot) and forge-welded together. Carnegie's innovations in mass-producing uniform steel were essential to the social transformation that Paul encounters at work, school, and home. The steel that will serve as the foundation for the industrial revolution: faggoting requires a water bath to harden and push impurities to the surface. The water that rushes over Paul as he "sinks" in

this passage will recur, doing so in relation to Paul. Cather will end the story by making the industrial association explicit: "He burnt like a faggot in a tempest." But in this early interruption, the water is part of several narrative contradictions that build a feeling without narrative cause. It's as if the defects detected in the school-as-factory are brought out by Carnegie Hall's "orgies of living," heated up by the "debauch," and can now be purified by the waters, or "colorless mass" of rationalized homes.

While the aesthetics of interruption work through this story, the last image I wish to analyze uses the powerful image of a steel furnace to produce "character" from feelings and their associations. In the most critical passage of the short story, Cather all but names Paul's homosexuality. This tip of the iceberg occurs as Paul has stayed out too late from work and sneaks into his home's basement to avoid being detected by his father. "He was so much later than usual that there would certainly be inquiries and reproaches." Paul's home is run like a factory, with regular schedules and the monitoring of inefficiencies. Paul avoids his father as irregularity foreman, by crawling into the basement. Here is the complete passage:

Meanwhile, he was wet and cold. He went around to the back of the house and tried one of the basement windows, found it open, raised it cautiously, and scrambled down the cellar wall to the floor. There he stood, holding his breath, terrified by the noise he had made, but the floor above him was silent, and there was no creak on the stairs. He found a soapbox and carried it over to the soft ring of light that streamed from the furnace door and sat down. He was horribly afraid of rats, so he did not try to sleep, but sat looking distrustfully at the dark, still terrified lest he

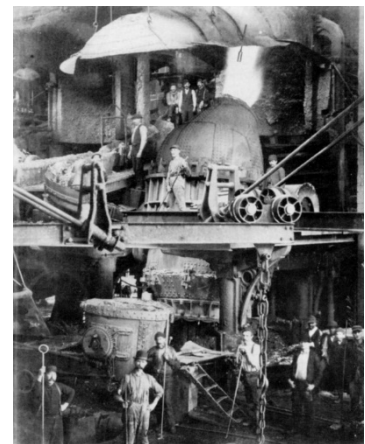
might have awakened his father. In such reactions, after one of the experiences which made days and nights out of the dreary blanks of the calendar, when his senses were deadened, Paul's head was always singularly clear. Suppose his father had heard him getting in at the window, and come down and shot him for a burglar? Then, again, suppose his father had come down, pistol in hand, and he had cried out in time to save himself, and his father had been horrified to think how nearly he had killed him? Then, again, suppose a day should come when his father would remember that night and wish there had been no warning cry to stay his hand? With this last supposition Paul entertained himself until daybreak.

The end of the passage tracks Paul's suppositions, listing them in a manner that slows down the reader, causing him to "entertain" the supposition with which Paul entertains himself with the notion of Paul's father killing him. The three suppositions ask the reader to answer the question: what could Paul's father possibly learn about his son that would make him with his son were dead? The severity of the contradiction—a father's would-be love for his son turned into hate--creates the pause. How can a father who must love his son eventually desire the death of his son at his own hand? The reader must consider only a few options—the most likely being Paul's homosexuality. The stigma attached to Paul's sexual identity becomes all the more severe through the interruption. The reader senses her own growing understanding of Paul's identity—as it is becomes known and understood as defective. The defect signaled by the "red carnation" and the feeling of rejection expressed by the faculty help the reader understand—through feelings generated by Paul's image. But the passage does not 'out' Paul—rather it takes advantage of the feelings

produces by Taylorism and Fordism to allow the reader to feel heteronormative pressure at work.

With the ending of the passage discussed, I want to closely read the image that structure it: the furnace of a mass-produced house, one that invokes the steel furnaces that both literally and figuratively power Pittsburgh. Paul enters this basement "wet and cold," approaching the furnace that reaches towards the steel "fagotting" process. The scene which ends in ruminations begins by slowing the reader with "meanwhile" and doing so only to pause, "there he stood, holding." A paused reader will focus on the image that follows: Paul sits next to "the soft ring of light that streamed from the furnace door." Paul's basement is a narrow and closeted space, shrunk by the "soft ring" of light available to Paul by his proximity to the house's furnace. Despite the factory-house being closed, its engine continually burns—slowly but persistently purifying Paul. In the early 1900s, papers from

New York to Pittsburgh to San Francisco would be full of this image—sketches and early photographs depicting the latest innovations and development of the steel-producing furnace. The images offered are typical



of those published as part of the larger cultural celebration in the growth of rapid production of steel. The story in the *New York Post* (1901) details the steel-making process. The image taken in Pittsburgh circa 1890 features the evolution of a Bessemer converter or large furnace that uses oxidation to remove impurities. "The use of Bessemer converters metamorphosed other steps in iron and steel manufacture, including fostering the advent

of chemical analysis, the use of higher heat, especially in iron blast furnaces, and larger-scale production" (Sission). I would suggest that the Bessemer crucible makes visible the invisible forces at work on Paul and the reader.

The Bessemer furnace was in an important development in steel production, but the steel industry's influence on the public at large becomes essential for Cather's aesthetic that uses interruption to produce feelings. Paul's early 20<sup>th</sup>-century closet—a mass-produced basement in the clone of a house, subject to the heat and light by a furnace (in a city built on steel)—yields pauses that allow Paul to reflect on the lived experience of centralized spaces and rationalized lifework: "In such reactions, after one of the experiences which made days and nights out of the dreary blanks of the calendar, when his senses were deadened, Paul's head was always singularly clear." Paul's "reaction" in the basement, literally experienced as an interruption or suspended moment cast a 'fearful' entertainment, identifies a break from the monotony of those forms of labor emerging as culturally dominant by way of Fordist/Taylorist practices. The break tacitly assumes the form of a father killing a deviant son in a melodrama. That son, "a faggot" <sup>1</sup>so recently heated by "debauch" and the "orgies of living" associated with the Opera House, owes it whispered deviancy to his entertaining of a scene (unseen) such as might have suited the operatic stage. I would argue that what goes on in Cather's basement remains largely unreported (the veiled content of Paul's imagination) because its structure derives so completely from the Fordist/Taylorist that literally surround Paul (standardized housing; furnace; Carnegie Opera House), structures whose logic, in 1905, is less apparent to Cather

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<sup>1</sup> It's important to note that the current derogatory use of the word "faggot" was not in use in 1905. Instead, Cather's use intends to resonate the industrial associations of the word.

than it will be to Fitzgerald in 1925. Paul may move from scene of paternal crime to his own crime, a robbery that allows him brief access to the hotel stage, but both crimes are less criminal acts that acts in accord with the deep logic of Fordist/Taylorist temporality and aesthetics.

These debauches are, in fact, part of the larger consumption pattern to bolster the increased production. The second half of the narrative, which describes Paul's supposed escape from the pressure of industrial Pittsburgh to the glamour of the Astoria Hotel and New York, is, in fact, a repetition of the lived experience of working and consuming. Paul's rebellion is the returning feeling circuit on what Juliet Schor calls the "work-spend cycle." Paul lives the good life that magazines like Cather's *Home Monthly* advertised in detail in Cather penned articles written under pseudonyms. The Astoria was the most advertised hotel at the turn of the century: a space filled with "cool things" and "soft lights," and "fresh flowers," designed to restore its guests. In contradistinction, Cather uses those feelings associated with an increase in mass consumption to demonstrate the logic of the purification as it is applied to Paul's sense of himself.

Paul's suicide does more than reveal the damage resulting from heteronormative pressure; it taps into the emotional withdrawal workers trained to turn to consumption feel within the work-spend cycle. As Paul approaches his own death, Cather's use of free-indirect narration, permitting her entry into Paul's perceptual purview:

Paul dismissed the carriage and walked, floundering along the tracks, his mind a medley of irrelevant things. He seemed to hold in his brain an actual picture of everything he had seen that morning. He remembered every feature of both his

drivers, of the toothless old woman from whom he had bought the red flowers in his coat, the agent from whom he had got his ticket, and all of his fellow passengers on the ferry. His mind, unable to cope with vital matters near at hand, worked feverishly and deftly at sorting and grouping these images. They made for him a part of the ugliness of the world, of the ache in his head, and the bitter burning on his tongue. He stooped and put a handful of snow into his mouth as he walked, but that, too, seemed hot.

Paul's new experience of a Fordist-Taylorist world allows him to "deftly" sort and group images, as he walks on the iron road literally laid down by Pittsburg industrial production. The woman whose labor helps Paul enjoys the flower is ugly, in sharp contrast to the beauty of the purchased red carnation. The face, which depicts the work, and the red carnation, which illustrates the consumer ameliorant to work—permit Paul to embody the feelings in the work-spend cycle. Paul's medley of seemingly irrelevant things aptly conjures how a consumer might feel about mass consumption as she reads a national periodical. Cather's description demystifies the labor hidden in the commodity (as itself objectified labor), a process that factory thinking aims to suppress. As "all the world becomes Cordelia Street," the reader has her feelings and image grouping abilities channeled. A repurposing of the emergent codifying of worker-consumer identity uses the norming process to particularize Paul's specific moment of crisis: his sexual identity. Paul's homosexuality is excised through the larger norming forces of repetitive work and increased consumption as leisure. Paul relieves the cycle through the images during the day, one made from ticket agents to fellow passengers. Paul alternates between the hot (of debauch) and the cold (of purification) as he relives these images: one might describe his

perceptual mechanisms as displaced example of images of Carnegie's Bessemer steel process at work. Or, as what lies at the end of the stream of light that pulsed through his basement.

There are still more ways to track the development of the influence of commodity aesthetics on Cather's prose. Specifically, detailing the article and stories written in the *Home Monthly* may demonstrate earlier techniques that slow down the reader. But "Paul's Case" serves as an expression of an early moment in a key culture transformation, one whose emergence as a prevalent "structure of feeling" will inform my reading of Fitzgerald's work, and more particularly, *The Great Gatsby*.

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