THE AMERICAN SOUTHERN DEMAGOGUE AND HIS
EFFECT ON PERSONAL ASSOCIATES

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council of the
North Texas State University in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

By

Charline Allen, B. A.
Denton, Texas
May, 1976

The nature of the American Southern demagogue, best exemplified by Huey Pierce Long, is examined. Four novels which are based on Long's life: Sun in Capricorn by Hamilton Basso, Number One by John Dos Passos, A Lion Is in the Streets by Adria Locke Langley and All the King's Men by Robert Penn Warren, are used to exemplify literary representations of Long. First the individual personalities of the four demagogue characters are described. Next, the relationships of female associates to the demagogues are examined, then the relationships of male associates to them. The first conclusion is that virtually all associates of a demagogue, whether male or female, are in some manner affected by him. A second conclusion is that All the King's Men provides the best study of a Long-like character; its hero, Willie Stark, may consequently live longer in history than the real Huey Pierce Long.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter

I. THE NATURE OF THE DEMAGOGUE .............................. 1
II. BACKGROUND OF THE FICTIONAL DEMAGOGUES ........... 16
III. RISE AND DECLINE OF THE FICTIONAL DEMAGOGUES ....... 36
IV. EFFECTS OF THE DEMAGOGUES ON FEMALE ASSOCIATES .... 51
V. EFFECTS OF THE DEMAGOGUES ON MALE ASSOCIATES ....... 79
VI. CONCLUSIONS ............................................. 110

BIBLIOGRAPHY .................................................. 115
CHAPTER I

THE NATURE OF THE DEMAGOGUE

A great many societies through history have contained men who were powerful or who were seeking power. When historians study societies, and when literary critics study fictional representations of societies, their primary focus is generally the power figure himself. This study, however, will also deal with individuals associated with the power figure: how their lives are affected by living with or working with him.

The type of power figure to be studied through fictional representations is the American Southern demagogue, perhaps best typified by Huey Pierce Long (1893-1935), who called himself the Kingfish, Governor and United States Senator from Louisiana. One fictional work which has been prominently identified as a representation of Long's life is Robert Penn Warren's All the King's Men; however, at least one critic has cited three other novels as fictional studies of Long. They are Hamilton Basso's Sun in Capricorn, John Dos Passo's Number One, and Adria Locke Langley's A Lion Is in the Streets (12).

Each of the power figures, or demagogues, in these novels is surrounded by many people, as are most men in the
public eye. This study will look at those people as they are when first they enter into a relationship with the power figure and as they are as he rises to power, after he becomes powerful, and after he dies.

Within the confines of the four works of fiction exist many types of interpersonal relationships, as would be the case if four real and different men were interacting with four real and different sets of people. The interpersonal relationships in some of the novels are real and believable, and in some they are flat and unbelievable. In each novel, the setting is the same: the South in the 1930's. The central figure in each is the same: a Huey Long figure. Revolving around each central character are different types of people ranging from the very strong to the very weak. Relationships exist between the demagogues and other characters of a familial nature, a supportive nature, and an opposing nature.

If so many factors are the same in these novels then, why are the relationships so different in their credibility for the reader? The quality, absent in some of the four novels and present in others, which is believed to be the crucial factor in credibility, is depth of characterization. The four novels possess varying degrees of this depth of characterization and become progressively better and more credible works of fiction as the depth of their characterization increases.
In *Sun in Capricorn*, for example, Gilgo Slade is such a flat and undeveloped character that the reader knows virtually nothing of him as a person, only as a political machine. Louis D. Rubin, Jr., aptly describes Slade as only a "shadowy background presence" (12, pp. 423-424) in the novel. Other characters in this novel are equally flat; when the book was released in 1942, Isaac Rosenfeld commented in *The New Republic* that *Sun in Capricorn* needed "greater freedom in depicting the human animal" (11, p. 520). A general criticism of the characterizations is that in addition to lacking depth, the characters lack motivation. The reader observes the characters moving through various events in the novel, but he seldom knows why they do what they do.

More depth of characterization and motivation for actions is provided in *Number One*. However, a valid criticism of the characterization was made by Edward Weeks in a review in *The Atlantic Monthly*. Weeks said that the reader seldom really cares what will happen to the characters next (16, p. 146). In the novel, characters seem to begin actions unexpectedly, and to stop them just as unexpectedly. They seem at times to be moving through a dream sequence. Little is known about any of the characters as people; they exist only in the context of their roles in the novel.

The characterization is more consistent in *A Lion Is in the Streets*, and it must be admitted that more depth of characterization and motivation is provided in this novel.
than in the two previously discussed. However, the novel almost becomes tedious as it relates the day-by-day, year-by-year life of Verity and Hank Martin. Even in this novel, however, little is known of what made these two people and others in the novel what they are; nor does the reader always know what mental processes make a character engage in a particular action. The least credible aspect of characterization in *A Lion Is in the Streets* is the great change which occurs in Hank Martin when he is elected governor. Suddenly, with seemingly no psychological motivation, a gentle backwoods man becomes an elitist, a power-crazed tyrant. In one leap, Hank has moved from a crude sharecropper's cabin to an elaborate, plush office in the Capitol Building.

His wife, Verity, the "conscience" of the novel (12, p. 424), observes the changes in Hank but apparently is not aware of their abruptness; nor does she see the lack of motivation for the changes which occur. Verity changes, also. However, she is generally changing in relation to or as a reaction to changes in Hank; therefore, there is motivation for the evolution of her personality.

The characterization in *All the King's Men*, like that of all four novels, has been criticized by some. For example, Orville Prescott said in *The Yale Review* that the characterization of a few minor characters in *All the King's Men* is unconvincing (9, p. 192), and Diana Trilling said in *The*
Nation that, "the conception of almost all Mr. Warren's characters fails to match the energy of the prose in which they are delineated" (14, p. 220). Perhaps these two reviewers read and wrote too hastily; perhaps J. P. Wood was more accurate when he said, in The Saturday Review of Literature, that in All the King's Men, "characters, thought, and action fuse to form an esthetic and narrative whole that has power to excite the imagination, the emotions, and the mind" (18, p. 11).

Warren does not reveal every facet of individual characterizations at once; instead, characterizations are given in fragments, a process which at times makes the reader hunger for the next bit of character he will see and experience. Before the conclusion of the story, past, present, and a little of the future of every important character in the book are known. When characters do what they do, the reader knows bits of the character's background, knowledge which gives him clues as to the character's motivations. Actions and reactions may be surprising, but because a good background of psychological motivation is provided, they are never completely unanticipated.

By revealing so much of the background of each person, Warren has created characters who become as real as personal acquaintances. Then, Warren has gone beyond the point of simply creating realistic, credible characters. He has created characters who, through philosophical speculations
made by Jack Burden, the narrator, about their behavior, take on universal significance and universal application.

As is the case with most great literature, Warren has some important themes to convey; this characteristic of the novel raises it above the other three in quality. In the case of All the King's Men, Warren chose to convey his themes through the words of Jack Burden. Jack goes through a personal metamorphosis which spans his life from the time he falls in love with Anne Stanton at the age of twenty-one, until he marries her, in his late thirties. Jack is able to illustrate some of what he has learned by what he thinks and feels about himself and those around him at various stages of his life. Although some parts of the novel seem to be narrated as they are happening, most of the novel is presumably narrated from the perspective of Jack's having been through his experience with Willie Stark in its entirety. After his Willie Stark experience, Jack's personality has evolved completely; he is a mature man who has learned some important truths about life. His character has, as a result, changed, and the changes are anticipated, because Jack's entire personality evolution has been explicated in the novel.

The central focus of this novel, as the others, is the demagogic figure. In the other three novels, little if anything is known about the demagogue as a youth, or before his emergence into power. This is not the case with All
the King's Men. Details of Willie Stark's early life and of his maturation are revealed, and as a result, decisions made and actions taken by the mature Stark are more easily understandable.

Psychological motivation for a character's actions is the key factor in the credibility of a novel: without it, a novel is not a literary entity, but literary chaos. In the area of character motivation, then, George Mayberry of The New Republic perhaps did not exaggerate when he said of All the King's Men that it is "the finest American novel in more years than one would like to have to remember" (6, p. 265).

Because this study will involve an attempt to understand the associations between various fictional demagogue figures and various types of people, it will be necessary first to understand fully the personality of each demagogue. Each of their personalities will be outlined subsequently, to the extent that each is revealed in the individual novel. However, in order for the reader to understand the kind of a man a demagogue is, particularly a Southern demagogue, it would be well to explain his personality. T. Harry Williams, Boyd Professor of History from Louisiana State University, has written a comprehensive biography entitled Huey Long. Much of what Williams has to say in his book about Southern demagogues in general relates to Long specifically. Because the four novels under study are modeled upon Long's life, it is appropriate that Williams be consulted for a definition of
a demagogue. What he will have to say about demagogues will apply to a large extent to the demagogic figures found in the four novels cited above.

The concept of demagoguery or demagogism is not new. Williams says that demagogues are base, swaggering blusterers, who have "throughout history deceived the masses with turbulent rhetoric, cynical promises, and clownish tricks" (17, p. 423). As early as the fifth century, B.C., a definition of a demagogue was formulated by Euripides. He describes demagogues as baseborn men, who are of "loose tongue, intemperate, trusting to tumult, leading the populace to mischief with empty words" (17, p. 423).

The ancient Greeks had grown weary of their "rabble-rousing orators," but not every demagogue in history has led the populace astray. Abraham Lincoln and Franklin D. Roosevelt, who have inspired love and devotion, for example, are included on Williams' list of demagogues. Williams describes an assortment of demagogues from around the world, but he points out that an inordinate number of demagogues have arisen in the American South since the time of the war between the States (1861-1865).

Since that time, most of the population of the South has been poor. Coupled with the widespread poverty has been a condition of almost total apathy within the Southern political establishment. It seeks to keep the economic status of the poor as it is, and to keep itself and its sympathizers
in power. In many instances, then, Southern demagogues have risen up to rebel against the pretense and conservatism of the establishment (17, p. 433).

Many demagogues have been very unsuccessful; a few have been mildly successful at effecting reform. If they do not always work miracles, their outraged rhetoric is at least entertaining to the hillbilly constituencies who elect them. These uneducated backwoods people need something or someone to believe in; the demagogue and his reform platform provide that panacea. Audacity, "an iron will, faith in himself and his cause and his destiny" are qualities Williams lists for the Southern demagogue (17, p. 435). He may be folksy, but he is almost charismatic. He is what the people need: "unquestionably a leader" (17, pp. 436-438).

Huey Long believed the people did indeed want leadership, and he set out early in life earning the label demagogue by concerning himself wholeheartedly with the acquisition of personal power (17, p. 33). His family had traditionally been composed of strong people, and he received a political legacy of power from his home, Winn Parish, Louisiana, where politicians had always been aware of the necessity of getting and of keeping personal power. He realized early in life that all the original ideas he might have would be worthless if he had no power to back them up. He was also taught that one might have to compromise his ideals at times in order to obtain the power he needs (17, p. 46).
Through the professional politics which Williams says were in "striking form" when Long began his rise to power (17, p. 247), Huey became a leader unique in the South. Unlike leaders before him, he was more concerned with the real issues at hand than with creating a political smoke-screen. He was the first Southern demagogue to try to break his opposition, instead of simply opposing it; in so doing, he demonstrated "rare artistry in using power." Huey Long, says T. Harry Williams, was the first demagogue of the modern South "to have an original idea, the first to extend the boundaries of political thought by challenging the accepted faith" (17, p. 435). These "original ideas," as they challenged beliefs held sacred for decades, changed lives. Obviously, the political leaders who opposed Long, some of whom were defeated by him, were affected; his opposition grew to hate him. His followers: those who were part of his political machine and those who only voted for him, revered him. Those who supported him were cheered or hurt by the changing tides of his political career. Huey Long's career did not always progress smoothly. At one time, for example, he was threatened with impeachment from the Louisiana Governorship, but he managed to outwit his would-be impeachers, remaining in office.

Huey Long had the power to make or break a man politically: the important variable was often simply whether or
not the man favored Huey or opposed him. Long was believed by those who hated him to be a fascist, and by those who loved him to be a savior. It is inevitable that a folk-myth would arise around a man such as Huey Pierce Long, who died so young, so suddenly, in the midst of his as-yet-unrealized dreams. The man who shot Long was one of the "little" people, Dr. Carl Weiss, who was believed to have no real personal or political motive in the assassination. During Long's forty-two-year life, a great deal had happened to him. He had at times rejected and been rejected by his brothers and sisters. He had married Rose McConnell, and they had had children. He had felt the pain of their alienation from him; Huey was rarely with Rose and the children after he began his rise to power. He had helped and hurt many men in his brief career, which had brought him from backwoods obscurity to a position of such political prominence that political theorists are not reluctant to speculate that he might someday have been President. Considering the fact that his opposition for the Presidency would have been Franklin D. Roosevelt, Long must be viewed as having been an amazingly powerful man and politician.

When Robert Penn Warren's *All the King's Men* was published in 1946, eleven years after Long's death, it was widely accepted as a fictional study of Long. Publications such as *The New Yorker* (8, p. 70) and the *Book Review Digest* (2, p. 858), to name only two, alluded to the protagonist as
a Long-like character. Warren, however, issued a disclaimer, declaring "emphatically that All the King's Men is not about Huey Long at all. . ." (12, p. 422). Warren did concede, however, that the "career of Long and the atmosphere of Louisiana" suggested the idea which eventually became the novel (12, p. 422).

Before Warren published King's in 1946, at least three other novels had been written with a protagonist modeled on Huey Long. Gilgo Slade of Sun in Capricorn had been mentioned in The Nation as evoking the memory of Huey Long (7, p. 278), while George Streator in Commonweal complained that the novel's portrayal of Slade as Long did not deal with the good points of Long's personality (13, p. 570). Although Number One was generally more popular with reviewers than Sun, few reviewers acknowledged it as a work based upon the life of Long. At least one, however, the Book Review Digest, acknowledged marked similarities (2, p. 219). Hank Martin, protagonist of A Lion Is in the Streets, was given only token acknowledgement, by Jennings Rice in the Weekly Book Review, for example, as having been created as an embodiment of Long (10, p. 2).

Although Mayberry (6, p. 265) and Trilling (14, p. 220) each suggested briefly that these three novels, as well as All the King's Men, might be based on the life of Long, the most fully-developed statement of not only the relationship of these four novels to Long, but to one another, has been a
1954 article by Louis D. Rubin, Jr., entitled "All the King's Meanings" (12, pp. 422-434). Rubin does not really like Sun in Capricorn, Number One, or A Lion Is in the Streets. Primarily, his dislike is based on his belief that they present unfavorable and distorted pictures of Long. He justifies these negative representations, however. Mrs. Langley, Rubin speculates, was perhaps a highly moralistic lady whose novel reflects the fact that she does not advocate or even tolerate men like Long in politics" (12, p. 423). Rubin points out further that Hamilton Basso, who also presents a negative picture of Long and who complained that Warren had "eulogized" the Kingfish in his novel, had been "identified with the anti-Long faction in Louisiana during the 1930's" (12, pp. 422-423).

Rubin is only mildly complimentary of the presentation of Long in Number One. His highest compliment is his statement that Dos Passos is a "worthy adversary for Warren..."; in Number One, Rubin says, we have a novel which can at least be compared with King's (12, p. 426).

Rubin's second major criticism of these three novels is that they try too hard to tell a story about Long. Rubin speculates that Warren's novel is the best of the four because Warren is the only novelist who has claimed not to be writing about Long. Because Warren professes to be so far removed from his subject, says Rubin, he is paradoxically the closest to it. Rubin is emphatic in his statement that All
the King's Men best captures the atmosphere of the Kingfish and the Louisiana of his day (12, p. 422).

Before beginning to examine the relationships of the various characters with the four demagogues, the individual personalities of the power figures should be revealed. The personalities of Gilgo Slade, Homer T. Crawford, Hank Martin, and Willie Stark must be understood before it will be possible to understand how the characters are affected by their associations with the demagogues.
CHAPTER BIBLIOGRAPHY


7. The Nation, 155 (September 26, 1942), 278.

8. The New Yorker, 22 (August 24, 1946), 70.


CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND OF THE FICTIONAL DEMAGOGUES

Each of the four demagogues comes from a background which suggests hardship, if not actual poverty. Less is known about Basso's Gilgo Slade than about any of the other demagogues. Rubin calls the novel "indifferent art," pointing out that throughout, Gilgo Slade "remains a sinister but shadowy background presence," as well as "fascist, a menace, a scoundrel, and a despot" (4, pp. 423-424). George Streator says in Commonweal, however, that Basso simply fails to deal with the good aspects of Long's personality in his representation of him. Streator is not so harsh as Rubin; he says only that the character of Slade should have been more delicately etched (6, p. 570).

There is also a contradiction within the novel with regard to the manner in which characters view Gilgo Slade. Hazzard, who narrates the novel, first says that Gilgo Slade is "the central planet" in the "modest solar system" of the people in the area where Hazzard lives. Hazzard believes that he must tell Slade's story as he tells his own, because people "told time by him" (1, p. 40). Later, the underlying hatred of Hazzard and his cohorts for Gilgo Slade is revealed as they joke that Slade sprang from the "seven original sins" (1, p. 77), and say more seriously that they believe the
power-crazed demagogue possesses a "will to destruction" (1, p. 104).

However, the people who follow Gilgo Slade have a feeling for him which is completely contradictory to Hazzard's feelings. Throughout the book, Slade's admirers repeatedly remark that he is the "greatest man since Jesus Christ" (1, p. 60). A motif of Christianity runs through the book, and Gilgo Slade is the Christ figure. Any politician who sprang from the rural South in the early part of the Twentieth century would have been inclined to use the Bible as reference material in campaign speeches, because, first of all, the Bible was a primary source of early education in that time and place. Also, of course, the people were convinced that a man was "good" if he read the Bible. Slade uses the Bible as support for his candidacy, saying that the Book says that a "humble man shall come out of the multitude, and do the bidding of the multitude" (1, p. 256). Slade feels he can truly claim to have arisen from the "multitudes" because of his humble beginnings.

A little more of Homer T. (Chuck) Crawford's background is revealed in Number One; however, he is still largely a shadowy figure. The novel's hero is said to have had backwoods beginnings in a very poor family. He was educated by his mother, and early in life he began working to support her. Although Crawford may once have felt true affection for his mother, his reason for supporting her now is based
upon the fact that it is good public relations for a politician to take care of his parents (2, pp. 7-8). Willie Stark will later exploit his own father in an attempt to enhance his public image. As Gilgo Slade does, Chuck Crawford constantly uses the Bible to back up his beliefs. Crawford says, for example, "It's my profound belief... that there's more radical economics in the Holy Bible than those Roosian Reds ever thought of" (2, p. 14). He even says that he and his father are no longer close because his father once whipped him for going to Sunday School against paternal orders (2, pp. 22-23). Great has been his quest for the Word, even as a child.

Even Mrs. Langley's *A Lion Is in the Streets*, which gives a complete, chronologically-arranged account of the career of Hank Martin, is vague about the background of the demagogue. As Hank makes constant references to the Bible in his conversation and in his speeches, he says he does so because he was "suckled on" the Book (3, p. 30). He tells his wife, Verity, that his beginnings were poor; he is not a stranger to hunger and deprivation. Hank seems to love the family he has left someplace in the swamps. He speaks lovingly and sadly of the "gaunted" look on the face of his mother, who never seemed to have had enough to eat. Like Chuck Crawford, Hank Martin has fallen out with his father, but in Martin's case it is because his father always begrudged the family the food needed to feed them (3, p. 29).
At one point, the deeply saddened Hank tells Verity that he has been back home and has discovered that his family is all dead.

More is revealed about the background and the family of Willie Stark in *All the King's Men* than about any of the other demagogues. This background information combines with other elements in the novel to create a character who is as dynamic as his real-life counterpart. Clearly Huey Long was an extraordinarily complex man. Probably Long, like most people, was not totally comprehensible or knowable, even to his intimates. In *All the King's Men*, Warren has created in Willie Stark a fictional representation more comprehensible and knowable than the real Long could be. The novelist has the capacity to create a character; whereas the biographer can only record and report character. Every novelist has the potential then for not only creating but presenting characters who virtually come alive in the novel.

*All the King's Men* is extended even beyond excellent characterization as Jack Burden, the narrator, engages in philosophical speculation with regard to the actions of Willie Stark, and of other characters. Through observing the attitudes and actions of Willie Stark Jack learns about himself and about life; Willie Stark has a more direct and extraordinary effect on Jack Burden than any of the other three demagogues has on any other character.
Other characters are influenced by their association with Stark, also, some more directly than others. The father of Willie Stark, for example, appears in the early portion of the novel; in none of the other four novels do parents of the demagogue appear. The effect of Willie's power as Governor is made clear by the alienation of Willie from his father. Willie obviously only visits his father because it is good publicity for a politician to do so, and Old Man Stark suffers at the knowledge of his own exploitation.

As an example of the manner in which Jack Burden extends the scope of King's with philosophical speculation, Willie's father shows Willie's visiting party the room in which his son had slept and studied as a child. From the sight of the room, Jack speculates that the studious young Willie would read each night until very late, then go to bed and think about his future. And the "...blood would beat in his head with a hollow sound...He wouldn't have any name for what was big inside him" (7, p. 28). Something inside the child Willie, says Jack, was "swelling and growing painfully and dully and imperceptibly..." (7, p. 24); later, Willie admits that as a young man and a new politician, he had lain in bed and wanted something. "...It's something inside you...", says Willie, but "wanting don't make a thing true" (7, p. 78).
Jack thinks about the birth of a man such as Willie Stark, destined to stand above people, hurting the hillbillies as he addresses them as friends, "red-necks, suckers, and fellow hicks" (7, p. 94), and warming their hearts as he tells them that this, the heart of the people, is his "study" (7, p. 6). A man such as Willie Stark, might be born outside of luck...and if that is the case, then their life history is a process of discovering what they really are, and not, as for you and me, sons of luck, a process of becoming what luck makes us (7, p. 63).

Jack is saying that people like Willie are destined to greatness. Those who surround such people may be destined to be swallowed up or destroyed by the great man's approach to greatness; at any rate, his approach is an inevitable one. It cannot be stopped, only perhaps impeded by Fortune's whims.

The marriage and family life of a man are as important to his total development as are his beginnings. In a marriage, a man must relate daily in an intimate manner with a creature totally unlike himself: a woman. Also, most marriages produce children. Seeing, then, how the four demagogues relate to their wives and to their children aids in understanding the four men more completely.

However, a picture of the family life of Gilgo Slade is not drawn at all in Sun in Capricorn. Nothing is said of his marital status; instead he is portrayed as an animalistic creature ruled by his passions and his lust for power. His
behavior is said by an observer to consist of screaming rages and insane bursts of wrath. Hazzard, who tells the story of *Sun*, first sees Slade receiving his followers in only a dressing gown and slippers, yet his followers liken him to royalty. Beneath the dressing gown he wears only his shorts; he seems indifferent to the fact, says Hazzard, that parts of his body are exposed. He exudes an "aggressive, almost brutal energy" (1, p. 79).

Chuck Crawford of *Number One* is married, however, and the father of three small boys. His wife Sue Ann is the best educated of the wives of the demagogues. Chuck and Sue Ann do not tell the reader how they met, but they do say that they went to law school together, even practiced law as a team. As far as Chuck's legal career is concerned, Sue Ann feels that she made Chuck what he is. She is deeply concerned for his welfare; she even at times neglects her role as mother in order to take care of Chuck's needs. Her most heroic gesture is her willingness to overlook his infidelities (2, p. 9; 58-59).

Chuck seems to care for Sue Ann, even to be vaguely grateful to her for her loyalty and support. Nevertheless, when he overdrinks, becomes inadvertently involved in a brawl and is hit, he suikily blames Sue Ann because she will not let him carry his gun. In order to win her sympathy, he becomes contrite, then throws up from excessive drinking. She pities him, and all is forgotten and forgiven.
Crawford at times uses Sue Ann and the boys to further the image the public loves, that of a family man. Yet, he is capable of politely inquiring after Sue Ann's health, of his aide Tyler, when he has not seen his wife for two days. Chuck has been with a prostitute. The fact that a "bad" woman is waiting for him in the bedroom does not bother Chuck; he continues his political business while she waits (2, p. 151; 157). Chuck feels a twinge of guilt at times, he says, when he simply becomes so wrapped up in politics that he forgets he is a husband and a father (2, p. 218). His family feels its alienation from him. Theirs is not a warm family circle.

The marriage of Hank and Verity Martin is the focal point of A Lion Is in the Streets; Hank's career is revealed through its relation to his marriage. The book flashes back from Hank's funeral. Verity listens to the oration; as she does so she mentally embellishes upon it, filling in the intimate details of their life together. When Hank and Verity first meet she is a school teacher and he is a traveling peddler with dreams of going into politics. At the time of their marriage, Verity feels superior to him because he is from the backwoods and uneducated. She is also ashamed of his outward appearance, which is described by one snobbish woman as clownish. Hank humbly accepts Verity's offer to educate him.
Hank is unaware of the fact that as he gradually moves more into the domain of public property, Verity is forced to make adjustments, to become less possessive of her husband (3, p. 89). From the moment their first child is conceived, Verity, though still interested in Hank's career, is nevertheless able to transfer much of her attention to the child (3, p. 97). Hank becomes from the time of the child's birth totally absorbed in pursuing his law degree. He loves Verity and his daughter, Hancy, and he tells his wife that he does not consciously "want" to leave his family in order to pursue his ambitions. But, he says there is a voice inside him which beckons him: his desire for political office. Hank says that when he hears the "caterwaulin" of this voice, he has no choice but to answer it (3, pp. 172-173). The story of their marriage progresses through a second pregnancy, a miscarriage, and Hank's affair with a young woman named Flamingo. The underlying theme concerns the growth and strengthening of Verity, who must develop her own inner resources as her husband becomes more corrupt and powerful, leaving her abandoned emotionally.

In All the King's Men Lucy is also a school teacher when she and Willie marry. Willie is farther along in his career at that time than Hank Martin is when he marries. Willie, the "teacher's pet," has been a small-town office-holder. The picture Jack Burden gives of the early married life of Lucy and Willie is conventional: in their wedding
picture, Willie's face had a "look of dog-like devotion" (7, p. 5).

Willie's career soon has its effect on Lucy's. She is fired from her teaching job after she marries Willie because Willie's brand of politics is unpopular in the area (6, p. 59). Lucy and Willie move to the farm with his father, and Willie plunges wholeheartedly into studies for the bar exam. At this time he has shut both his father and his wife out of his world; his driving ambition to achieve greatness is his only companion. Lucy and Old Man Stark share a world of wordless silence by the fire, a world which could absorb effortlessly and perfectly the movements of their day and their occupations, and of all the days they had lived, and of the days that were to come for them to move about in and do the things which were the life for which they were made (7, p. 24).

Lucy "leaves" Willie, or at least does not live with him after his career begins its ascension because she fears the necessity of corruption in his politics. She still loves Willie, however, even after his assassination. She has overlooked his affairs with figure-skaters and with secretaries, with Sadie Burke and with Anne Stanton. She has always known that her only hold on Willie has been through their son, Tom. Willie has told Jack that he fears Lucy will rear Tom to be a sissy. His aim is to rear the boy to be proud, to stand alone, above normal men (7, p. 154).

Instead, Tom's image in the novel is one of sullen insolence. Tom, who is called "Daddy's Darling" by the
sportswriters (7, p. 204), will under no circumstances accept a reprimand or an order from his father (7, p. 330), because Tom does not feel he must follow the rules. Jack sees that Willie and Tom are like mirrors of the same self; Willie has never made rule-following a practice. Tom feels he is a hero, primarily because his father has bolstered his sick ego all his life (7, pp. 365-366).

Tom's active life comes to a tragic end in a football accident, and for Willie, the loss of the opportunity to live vicariously through his son is a turning point. Willie may see Tom's fall as symbolic of the one he is moving toward if he does not humble himself, learn to compromise, to be kind. Ironically, Stark's life is ended just as he has made his resolution to begin to be "good."

As mentioned, Willie's relationships with women are not confined to his wife. He has a relationship with Sadie Burke, who has once told Willie the harsh truth: that Tiny Duffy has made a sap of him. Jack speculates that Sadie's and Willie's lengthy relationship might have been conceived in love, or in hate; Jack believes it is irrelevant to know which (7, p. 329). Sadie Burke is not good-looking, but she knows that she is smart. She plays to win. Sadie sincerely believes that she has made Willie, the Boss, what he is, and that he would never have been elected Governor if not for her (7, p. 73; 84; 142; 267). Sadie is good at waiting, and she does a great deal of it. She believes that Lucy Stark
has completely missed her chance with Willie, and that it is only a matter of time until he leaves his wife for her (7, p. 142; 329). In fact, Sadie takes pleasure in the agony she endures, and the agony she at times inflicts upon Willie, while she is waiting (7, p. 266).

Sadie's waiting becomes pointless, however, when Willie meets Anne Stanton, and they begin to have what seems at least outwardly to be a real love affair. Anne is the girl Jack has once come close to marrying, and she is the woman he finally realizes he is still in love with.

The relationship of Willie and Anne appears to affect Jack much more dramatically than it affects Willie. In fact, Willie never explicitly reveals to Jack that he is seeing Anne. When Willie has told her their affair is over, she is devastated; obviously Willie Stark means a great deal to Anne Stanton and has had a lasting effect on her as well as on Jack.

A common characteristic among all four demagogues is the need for an aide or assistant. At times the aide is the complement to the demagogue; at times he is the "yes-man," and at times he is the mirror in which the demagogue's story is reflected.

Gilgo Slade's aide is a minor character named Fritz Cowan. The focus of the story is not on Fritz as it is, for example, on Jack Burden in All the King's Men. Like Burden, however, Fritz' job is to dig up the ugly facts about the
lives of those whom Slade does not like. Slade does not believe, as Willie Stark does, that there is always something evil to be learned about everyone. So, unlike Jack Burden, if Fritz is unable to "dig up any dirt," he is allowed to invent some (1, p. 58).

Tyler Spotswood's function with relation to Chuck Crawford in *Number One* is much like that of Jack's to Willie. Both can be called either yes-men or aides, but neither serves in an official government capacity. Although Willie and Jack have their differences, Willie never turns on Jack. Crawford, on the other hand, sees Tyler as a "convenient scapegoat" when his political security is threatened (2, p. 426).

Tyler's self-concept is not well-developed. He describes himself as a "political hack," an "aging reformed soak with small stomach ulcer" (2, p. 209). At the beginning of the novel, if he does not believe in himself, he at least believes in his boss, Chuck Crawford. Tyler tells a friend, "I'm crazy about him. . .If I wasn't I certainly wouldn't be here in Washington" (2, p. 5). Tyler was born and reared in Washington. The city has some strange effect on him, but it is perhaps a fault of the novel that the nature of that effect is never clarified. At any rate, the "muscle-relaxing relief" Tyler feels when he hears Chuck's voice is enough to keep him in the Capital.

His feelings, as the novel progresses, seem to be to an extent ambiguous, however. He has a drinking problem, and
his drinking bouts expose the fact that he does not really like Chuck or what he stands for. When Tyler has sobered up, he is apologetic toward Chuck for the insults he has hurled at his boss the night before. Chuck condones Tyler's drinking.

When someone suggests to Tyler that he should go into politics for himself, he is completely faithful to Chuck. He says it is Chuck the voters love, and not Tyler (2, p. 185). His job as Chuck's aide gives his life meaning; Tyler without his job could easily turn into a chronic alcoholic. For example, when he has completed the difficult task of "delivering" the Governor and Chuck to a rally, he has a feeling that he has just breasted the tape, that the glow of self-satisfaction he feels has made all his hard work worthwhile. Then, his ambiguous feelings again appear; he feels disgust at the nature of his job, and he wants a drink (2, p. 127).

Tyler's legal problems, which are essentially caused by Chuck Crawford's legal problems, are not clearly explained. Chuck does turn on Tyler, however, and Tyler is obviously the demagogue's scapegoat. A friend tries to comfort Tyler by telling him that the forces at work are really only trying to stop Chuck. Crawford, the novel implies, is stopped, but Tyler is almost destroyed emotionally as a result. Mark Schorer says that Dos Passos intends to warn readers of the effect of political villainy through a view of the power of
and the destruction of Chuck Crawford. Schorer says there is a "serious discrepancy between [Dos Passos'] intentions and his performance" (5, p. x), and it is true that neither the full impact of Crawford's power nor of his destruction is felt, except in one way. That is through their effect on Tyler Spotswood. Therefore, if Number One has meaning, it achieves it through the "effects of the Boss's fortunes upon Tyler" (4, p. 426).

Jules Bolduc is Hank Martin's wealthy landlord in A Lion Is in the Streets and serves the same function as do the aides in the other novels. He is associated with Hank's politics only indirectly, but as a character he often serves as narrator, expressing a generalized opinion of Hank. When Hank's wife, Verity, first meets Jules, she feels he is "jeering" at Hank and at his ambitions, as most people of the establishment are doing (3, p. 14). At times, however, Jules is very supportive of Hank, especially early in Martin's career. Hank respects Jules, and having Jules tell him he feels he is destined to do great things makes Hank proud (3, p. 65).

Only after Hank has proven that his opponent, supported by Jules, is dishonest, does Jules begin wholeheartedly to support Hank (3, p. 112). During Hank's career, Jules' function is often to explain to Verity the political or economic situations Hank is facing. As Jules has predicted
greatness for Hank, he later forecasts greed and corruption for him, and Jules' forecasts are always correct.

His withdrawal of support from Hank after he is elected governor does not depress the powerful demagogue as deeply as Bolduc's support of him as a fledgling politician has cheered him. Jules is, however, affected by the progression of Hank's career, but the reason he is affected is never truly made clear. When first seen, Jules describes himself as a spectator in life, not an actor (3, p. 9). Later, he comes out of the emotional isolation in which he has lived for years and becomes involved in life. Hank feels that his own involvement in politics has had the effect of stimulating Jules to become involved (3, p. 119), but Jules never confirms or denies Hank's belief.

When Hank has become corrupt, Jules is indeed involved--in a campaign to break Martin's power. The assassination of Hank Martin by one of the "little people" eliminates the need for Jules to fight the demagogue.

Jack Burden, Willie Stark's aide, is everything in the context of All the King's Men that the other aides are not. In addition to being an aide, he is a sounding-board, a supporter, a complement, and a mirror for the powerful Stark. He says of himself that he lacks ambition, and that he does not feel as if he is very real (7, p. 54; 58). Jack realizes he lacks "some essential confidence," not only in the world, but in himself (7, p. 311). Jack needs Willie; he says, in
fact, "the story of Willie Stark and the story of Jack Burden are, in one sense, one story" (7, p. 157). And, Willie Stark also seems to feel that the relationship is reciprocal and complementary. He says Jack works for him because each man is the way he is; Stark calls it an "arrangement founded on the nature of things" (7, p. 192), but Jack at times feels he is, to Willie, no more than a "piece of furniture" (7, p. 32).

Although Jack realizes some years after his association with Stark has begun that he needs him, he was not initially moved by Willie's enthusiastic intentions of providing the state with some well-needed good government. Jack sneers cynically at Willie's idealism, calling himself, on the other hand, a realist (7, pp. 78-79).

Jack reads a diary written years before by a man named Cass Mastern. He experiences the life and the death of Willie Stark. He reviews his own life, while it is in progress. Ultimately, he sees the wholeness of the human race, and he seeks it for himself. He wants to tie all things he has experienced together, because he sees that that is their natural state. He wants to accept every human being, including Cass Mastern, Willie Stark, and himself, as whole, with each person's good as well as his evil and his guilt (4, p. 431).

Jack, as a student of history, has also had a problem accepting historical wholeness. He says early in the novel
that if "the human race didn't remember anything it would be perfectly happy" (7, p. 40). Later, in accepting the wholeness and the oneness of the human race, he sees that he must accept the wholeness, the sweep, of history, also. He realizes "that we can keep the past only by having the future, for they are forever tied together (7, pp. 310-311). At the novel's conclusion, Jack is able to accept the past with regard to the truth about Cass Mastern, Anne and Adam Stanton, his mother, Judge Irwin, and himself. He has, says Rubin, moved through the novel "to a knowledge possible only through tragic experience" (4, pp. 429-430).

Adam Stanton, Judge Irwin, and Willie Stark are dead; Jack cannot thank them for what they have taught him. He can thank his mother, and does so by giving her the gift of a memory of Judge Irwin as an upright man. Jack thanks Anne by marrying her, and "thanks" Cass Mastern by completing his story in writing. Jack's greatest debt is owed, he realizes, to Willie Stark; his tribute to Stark is to remember him forever as a great man, and to tell his story. In believing Willie to be great, says Jack, "I could think better of all other people, and of myself. At the same time... I could more surely condemn myself" (7, p. 427). The meaning of the Willie Stark story, as manifested in Jack Burden, is clearly a complex one. If the novel has a final meaning, it is through the effect of the fortunes of Willie Stark on Jack Burden (4, p. 426).
The careers of the four demagogues will be reviewed briefly now that their backgrounds and their relationships with various characters have been summarized. Each career will be examined with regard to its beginning, its rise to and peaking of power, and its final downfall.
CHAPTER BIBLIOGRAPHY


CHAPTER III

RISE AND DECLINE OF THE FICTIONAL DEMAGOGUES

The story of the demagogues' careers can be told briefly because each career is brief. Each demagogue reaches the pinnacle of his power quickly, and the power he wields for a time is amazingly strong. Each demagogue destroys himself through his own volition, as a result of having too much power already and of wanting still more.

Just as little is known about the background and family life of Gilgo Slade, so little is known about his career. Comprehending the extent of Slade's tyranny is difficult because how or why he became a tyrant is not known. The description offered by Rubin of Slade as a shadowy presence remains appropriate.

When Gilgo Slade is first discussed in the novel, his campaign slogan is said to be "the bigger the lie, the quicker the boobs fall for it" (1, p. 86). He is referred to as scum, and Hazzard's cohorts believe Slade wants to own the world. Hazzard says of Slade,

a man can't own the world without hurting people. That's the wrongness--the evil, even--of any man's wanting to own the world. . . .if one man is to own the world. . . .people and the things they stand for have to be destroyed (1, p. 219).

Slade does not believe he is being destructive; in his mad reach for power, he actually believes he is the savior of his
followers. When he is elected to the United States Senate, for example, he says he will be governor and senator simultaneously, because the state belongs to him. Being both governor and senator is his mandate from the people (1, p. 40).

Hazzard, on the other hand, believes that Slade possesses not only the will to destroy others but the will to destroy himself. Slade, in Hazzard's perception, is so evil that he represents original sin (1, pp. 76-77). His forces operate much like the Gestapo. When Hazzard first sees Gilgo Slade at a party, Slade's bodyguards are carrying tommy-guns. Slade appears brutal, tyrannical, like one who would kill if threatened (1, p. 251). In the Slade regime, there is no escape; the "courts are fixed, the judges are fixed, the juries are fixed. The whole damn thing is fixed" (1, p. 241).

Like those of Gilgo Slade, the beginnings of the career of Homer T. (Chuck) Crawford are not well-defined, either. Rather, Crawford is encountered at a point well into his career, when he is one of the strong, dangerous men in government whom, Rubin says, the novel implores the reader to fear (4, pp. 426-428). Chuck believes that his life "is in the hands of the American people" (2, p. 16). And, he believes that he has the lives of the people in his hands, as well. He says, "The people is all of us" (2, p. 82). Chuck is sure that he is great, and as he has become more
powerful, his self-confidence has grown stronger. Now, he is not ashamed to say, "If I waste three quarters of an hour with a man, that means he's somebody" (2, p. 75). Chuck Crawford is, according to his aide, Tyler, destined to become President (2, p. 6).

Hank Martin, demagogue of *A Lion Is in the Streets*, begins his career as what Rubin calls an "honest and public-spirited" politician, who grows more corrupt as his power increases (4, pp. 424-425). The worst fault of the novel is the fact that proper motivation for Martin's dramatic transformation is not provided.

At the outset of Martin's career, he seems almost a Christ-figure, telling his wife he believes he has a "mission" (3, p. 96). His only hope, he says, is that he can make this earth "more near to a paradise" (3, p. 108), and he swears by "God'lmighty" that he feels a greatness in himself, and he is ashamed for no man to know it (3, p. 93). He feels he is "a magician," the "champion of the people" (3, p. 194), and one of the simple swamp women sums up the source of his political power as the "power t'kindle the fire as dreams is made of" (3, p. 82).

Verity, whose consciousness provides the angle of narration in the novel, realizes as she reflects on Hank's career that, although he had truly wanted to help people when he entered politics, even then his eye was on the power and the pinnacle (3, p. 268). Early in his career he vows
to his wife that he will some day run the state, because he knows the people, knows what they want, and knows how to get their votes. He adds, "every vote means power...power--power!" (3, p. 5). He names himself the "Big Lion," saying "the lion's king a'beasts, 'n I'm king a' this here jungle!" (3, p. 3). His favorite saying, "allus remember you can kiss their ass today 'cause you're a-plannin' to kick it tomorrow" (3, p. 10) becomes more ominous as Martin's career progresses, as he becomes stronger. He begins to bow to no man; in fact, he becomes a destructive force when his absolute power begins to corrupt him absolutely (4, p. 424).

Robert Penn Warren has furnished more information about the early career of Willie Stark than the other three novelists have furnished about their demagogue figures. Rubin says the reader of All the King's Men should divorce himself from the novel's political implications, to see Willie Stark for what he really is: "a compelling person in his own right" (4, p. 429). In fact, Jack Burden feels drawn toward Willie when he first meets him, because he notices that Willie has a strong, sincere handshake (5, p. 15).

What Jack refers to as "Willie's luck" is the breaking of the fire escape at the local elementary school. Because Willie has backed the right side in the controversy surrounding the construction of the school, he soon finds himself elected to office. According to Jack, "Willie was not religious by any ordinary standards, but the schoolhouse business
very probably gave him the notion. . .that he stood in a special relation to God, Destiny, or plain luck" (5, p. 66). Even though Willie's "running" for Governor is a mockery which has been contrived by Tiny Duffy, Willie is in his element while running for office. Jack says that at the time, Willie "wasn't really in touch with the world. . . .He was bemused by the very grandeur of the position to which he aspired. The blaze of light hitting him in the eyes blinded him" (5, pp. 68-69).

During this campaign, Willie's ignorance is ended. Sadie Burke in a careless moment tells Willie that he is a sap, that he has been used by Tiny Duffy. With this humiliating knowledge, Willie becomes "symbolically the spokesman for the tongue-tied population of honest men" (5, p. 63), as he realizes that he must turn and combat the very forces which he has trusted, if he is ever to be elected and do something about the government (5, p. 80). Willie acknowledges that he is impatient in his desire to clean up government; in fact, he threatens that he may not be a gentleman as he does so (5, p. 44). When Willie gains power, he promises the people that they will "not be deprived of hope" (5, p. 261), because, he says, "'Your will is my strength... Your need is my justice'" (5, p. 262).

However, almost as soon as a demagogue reaches the height of his power, his compulsion to have more power leads him onto the course of downfall and destruction. Possibly it
is a personality characteristic of the demagogue that the very intensity of his success and of his popularity causes him to burn out quickly, like a very bright and beautiful, but cheaply-made, candle.

Gilgo Slade's downfall begins to come about when his own campaign tactics backfire on him. He and his forces decide to run Hazzard's Uncle Thomas against Slade because they believe that Slade can easily defeat him. Everyone, including Hazzard, his uncle, and Slade's faction, realizes that Thomas stands for right and for the "forces of respectability," while Gilgo is seen by Hazzard and his uncle as having sprung from sin. Hazzard's properly-developed sense of morality causes him to believe, very simply, that his uncle, or the right, will triumph over Slade, or the wrong (1, p. 199).

Even though Slade is on the side of the wrong, he tries to employ the code of respectability, the code of Southern chivalry, in order to defeat Hazzard's Uncle Thomas. Slade's tactics involve slinging mud at Hazzard in the form of accusations that he is sleeping with a woman named Erin, who is accused of being of loose moral character. Hazzard does not want Erin to be dragged verbally through Slade's political mud.

The code of Southern respectability is in the end the code which causes Gilgo Slade's death. He is assassinated by Uncle Thomas' son, and Hazzard's cousin, Quentin. He is
the spokesman for the anachronistic code of Southern gentlemanly conduct. Quentin turns against his cousin Hazzard solely on the weight of the accusations Gilgo Slade has made. His sense of Southern honor has been violated. He does not want to hear the truth about Erin from Hazzard; he sees Erin as a bad woman simply because Slade has accused her of being bad (1, pp. 202-203).

The book is short on psychological motivation for the actions of the characters. True to form, for some unexplained reason, Quentin changes his stand on Southern morality. Still a supporter of the code, he decides to defend the family honor instead by supporting the relationship of Erin and Hazzard, not by ostracizing the couple. His method of vengeance is the assassination of Gilgo Slade, ironically, an act performed just as Hazzard raises a gun himself to shoot the demagogue. Of course, Quentin is immediately shot down by Gilgo Slade's bodyguards. The final decision regarding the assassination is that Quentin has killed Slade, but that he is temporarily insane as he does so. In rejecting the idea that the assassination is an act of vengeance, the Southerners are repudiating the code of Southern chivalry which they claim to be supporting (1, p. 264).

A downfall for Chuck Crawford in Number One may be an impossibility. There are hints that any power he seems to possess is not at all his own; rather, Crawford may be no more than the puppet of the political machine which has
created him. When the political machine decides that Chuck Crawford has outlived his usefulness, has become too power-mad to benefit the party, those who operate the machine begin trying to frame him. Crawford, however, still believes that his organization is behind him absolutely (2, p. 244). He pretends to believe that the legal harassments going on are part of some situation which Tyler Sportswood has brought upon himself. Crawford snorts contemptuously that Tyler is causing him a great deal of trouble (2, p. 240). Crawford publicly denounces Tyler, saying with uncustomary eloquence,

> it's always possible that once in a while I have been deceived by the fair faces an' false smiles of some of those I trusted as Caesar did Brutus. . .ah, there was the unkindest cut of all, the stab in the back from a friend (2, p. 294).

Chuck truly feels that he bears no guilt, even though he is allowing Tyler's life and his career to be sacrificed in his employer's behalf.

The novel contains the hint of an assassination plot in the form of rumors which fly at a political convention, tight security measures surrounding Crawford, and hints dropped by those close to him. Tyler himself has had vague stirrings of a desire to assassinate Chuck Crawford, but most likely the humbled, broken Tyler Spotswood does not take such a bold step; he merely fades into obscurity. Chuck Crawford's fate is not known at the novel's end; it closes on a note of ambiguity.
Unlike Crawford's power, which is false, imposed on him externally, Hank Martin's power is real, and comes from within the man. He is described as one who has not only great ability, but "great power to stir." He can make his followers feel that he loves them with a "Godlike greatness" (3, p. 274). His propaganda slogan is, "The people of this state should thank God for Hank Martin." Even before he becomes Governor and is completely corrupted, Hank tells Verity that he must at times nictitate; that is, when politics become too nasty, he can do as some animals do: pull a third eyelid over his eyes, and voluntarily ignore a bad situation (3, p. 229). This habit of "nictitatin'" is one of the first indications of the impending corruption.

When Martin is elected Governor, he becomes power-crazed. He employs "yes-men," who are ordered to "clip the wings" of anyone opposing him. He wishes to allow the opposition no room for growth (3, p. 305). Although Hank has been his supporter, also dubs him with this name, saying, "they who ride lions can never dismount" (3, p. 313). Hank has put vast numbers of people on the state payroll in non-productive jobs (3, p. 312). He has offices in a setting of splendor which he once would have thought ridiculous. After he and Flamingo murder a man to prevent him from blackmailing them, Hank is completely ruthless. He has come a long way for a God-fearing country boy.
A foreshadowing of a plot to assassinate Martin comes when a schoolmate of his daughter tells her that her father is a "traitor," and that "half the people of the state are gettin' ready to bag him" (3, p. 321). Verity realizes she cannot let Hank know about threats against him. Even if the child were not telling Hancy the truth, Verity knows that Hank will mercilessly persecute anyone who threatens his life. So, Verity "nictitates," taking Hancy and returning to their house in the backwoods. While they are gone, Hank is assassinated by a man later discovered to be only one of the "little people," who could have had no real personal or political motive in the killing. Hank Martin is uncompromising and egotistical to the end. He tells his wife just before he dies that he "rejoices" that he has been shot while in office, because he believes that this way of death will make him well-remembered in history (3, p. 336).

There is a much less abrupt change in Willie Stark's personality; that is, Stark does not suddenly become a power-crazed individual. From childhood, he has felt something great stirring within him. As Stark grows older, he repeats what he has said as a child about his ambition. Ambition is something inside a man which he cannot comprehend but which he must respond to (5, p. 263). Although Stark is conscious of his own ambition, he has no illusion that all he aspires to do is good, because he believes that all men, himself included, are inherently evil. His Presbyterian/Calvinistic
upbringing has provided the germ for this philosophy. When Jack is concerned because Willie has asked him to do what he interprets as "frame" Judge Irwin, Willie counters by saying that there is never a need to frame anyone, because the evil truth about each person will suffice (5, p. 337). Stark says, "There is always something" evil to be learned and used against each man. He says, "Man is conceived in sin and born in corruption and he passeth from the stink of the didie to the stench of the shroud" (5, p. 49). Although Willie is firmly convinced of the evil in mankind, he is obsessively concerned with the question of "good." His concern with keeping his new medical center "good" and free of graft at times seems obsessive.

When Willie approaches the problem of goodness on an intellectual level, as he does when talking to Dr. Stanton about the new medical center, he tells Adam that his ex-Attorney General, Hugh Miller, has wanted something which a man cannot inherit as he inherits a fortune. Miller has wanted "plain, simple goodness." Stark tells Adam that, if a man wants good, he has to "make it out of badness. . . . Because there isn't anything else to make it out of" (5, pp. 256-257). Society's definition of good is always changing, because the men in society are always changing. Willie believes that "what folks claim is right is always just a couple of jumps short of what they need to do business" (5, p. 258).
Willie has used vicious means in an effort to keep his name in the people's favor. Human beings must at times be destroyed or at least stepped on, and Willie is willing to do anything in order to further his career. He feels that at least within the confines of the politics of his state, he can literally do anything. In one situation, Tom's football injury, however, Willie finds that he is powerless. Even the man who will try to save Tom, Adam Stanton, does not believe in what Willie stands for. When Tom does not die but is discovered to be permanently paralyzed, Willie interprets Tom's injury as a warning that, in order to avoid future punishment, he must begin to do good instead of bad. Willie vows to do things differently henceforth.

First, he plans to reestablish ties with his wife, Lucy. Then he breaks the ties he has had with Sadie Burke, and ends his affair with Anne Stanton. He plans to clean up his administration, to purge it of its corruption. Before he can begin to do good, he is assassinated by Adam Stanton. Like Quentin of Sun in Capricorn, Adam is upholding family honor, in this case by killing the man who has made Adam's sister his mistress. Because Willie's relationship with Anne Stanton is essentially an honorable one, Stark is killed by the wrong man for all the wrong reasons. If Willie has to be assassinated, it should have been done by the men upon whom he has imposed his vicious tyranny in an effort to reach a worthwhile goal. If Willie were killed by these men,
Rubin's theory that a "supposedly desirable end does not justify vicious means" (4, p. 431) would have been proven.

Willie Stark is a man of fact or of reason, and Adam Stanton is a man of ideals. As Adam the Idealist kills Willie the Man of Reason, so Willie's forces blow Adam into oblivion. These two are "doomed to destroy each other"; each is destined to "try to become the other, because each was incomplete..." (5, p. 436). Although each is doomed, he lives in what he perceives as an "agony of will." Jack may believe that each man's life is not predestined. Each man can see, and is in control of what he does, as Adam and Willie have been in control. History as a whole, which encompasses all men and their actions, may be, however, no more than a blind progression of events.

Thus the lives of each of the four demagogues end. Each man has pulled himself from obscurity into the limelight, mainly by his own volition. Probably, each has been driven by audacity, "iron will, and faith in himself and his own cause and his destiny" (6, p. 435), rather than by the kind of forces and motivations which guide most men. Most men do not need the iron will of a demagogue because most lives are not designed to be lived so intensely or to end so suddenly and violently.

Obviously, a man who lives and dies with such power and intensity will have a strong effect upon those with whom he is associated. First, relationships of women with each of
the four demagogues will be studied, then, relationships of men with each of them.

Although the relationships which exist between demagogues and women and between demagogues and men are most often of different types, those associated with the demagogues are always affected by the association. The intensity of the demagogues' quest for power most often seems to be the factor which produces the dramatic results on the lives and personalities of the associates.
CHAPTER BIBLIOGRAPHY


2. Dos Passos, John, Number One, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1943.


CHAPTER IV

EFFECTS OF THE DEMAGOGUES ON FEMALE ASSOCIATES

Each of the four demagogues has women in his life. The relationships between women and demagogues vary because the women involved are different from one another. The possible ways women can be related to men are limited; all the women who are associated with these four demagogues, for example, are either wives, mistresses, or secretaries. However, even if the kinds of relationships are the same, the women in them are not. Likewise, each demagogue has unique personality characteristics, but certain traits are found in all four. One of these, the unwillingness to compromise, creates insoluble problems in the marriages and love affairs, because some of the women are strong and also unwilling to bend.

With weak women, particularly mistresses, the demagogues are frequently exploitative. They more frequently, however, take as lovers very strong women, and the power figures are totally committed and expect the same in return.

The one secretary involved defies categorization, really, because she is a mistress, as well. Also, she has many traits often attributed to males and would perhaps be more appropriately discussed in Chapter V.
Neither strong women nor weak women are able to extract from the demagogues what the men give to politics. Each demagogue is totally, finally committed to seeking ever higher political office. Although a few hearts will be broken in the process, the demagogues will continue to be consistently unstoppable in their quest for power.

Gilgo Slade's relationship with women in *Sun in Capricorn* is kept a mystery. His marital status is unknown and he is not linked with any woman as lover.

At the political rally at which Hazzard, the narrator, first meets Slade, only two women are present amid hundreds of men. Both are later discovered to have official functions in Slade's performance. Both, even though they do not speak to Slade or seem to have a direct relationship with him, are being exploited by him to further his career.

The woman who is affected more directly by the demagogue Slade, although she never meets him, is Erin, Hazzard's beloved. Slade and his group self-righteously accuse her publicly of immorality. Erin is quite a "nice" girl, even though by 1930's standards she is immoral; she sleeps with Hazzard though not married to him. Slade and his men use the fact that Hazzard has been seen leaving her room at an early morning hour as a way of accusing the nephew of Slade's political rival of consorting with common whores.

Any fear Erin feels about Slade's accusations does not seem related to the possibility of Uncle Thomas's losing the
election because of her relationship with Hazzard. Her only concern is that she be allowed to remain with her beloved. The story is unrealistic, as well, in the fact that Erin seems largely unaware of the implications of all that has been said about her with regard to her future with Hazzard. So long as Slade remains in power, many people may still believe that she is indeed an immoral woman. This thought never seems to occur to the lady in love.

After the assassination of Slade by Quentin, Erin escapes to New York. She has told Uncle Thomas that she will write to Hazzard; the implication is that he will soon go to retrieve her, they will marry, and they will be able to live happily because the malevolent Gilgo Slade has been destroyed. Slade never truly affects Erin. In the context of the novel, he represents only a minor setback to a woman in her progress toward the place where all "respectable" ladies should go: toward marriage and its inevitable and everlasting bliss.

John Dos Passos has given more explicit information about the relationships of Chuck Crawford with women. He is married; therefore, his effect on his wife, Sue Ann, is much more dramatic and direct than that of Gilgo Slade on Erin. Sue Ann Crawford is an educated woman, with a law degree; in fact, law school is the place she meets Chuck Crawford, now a United States Senator and her husband. Sue Ann believes that as a lawyer, a wife, and a supporter she has helped make Crawford what he is today. She is authoritative, when
expedient, giving orders and taking care of details Chuck is likely to neglect. Often even Tyler Spotswood is forgetful of his duties as Chuck's aide; at these times Sue Ann quietly takes charge.

However, beneath Sue Ann's strong exterior is a weak woman, who needs a strong man to lean upon. When she was a child, her father was her idol, a source of childish happiness. When she first marries Chuck, he too is a play-thing; she thinks his socks and his jokes are amusing. Chuck reminds her of a Jersey bull her family once owned. It was cute when young, but when it grew older, it fiercely tried to kill members of the family (2, pp. 213-214). Like the bull, as the marriage has matured, it has become more deadly for Sue Ann. Because she can no longer go to her father or even to Chuck for emotional support, she feels like an abandoned, lost child. She is often depressed and tearful; she frequently tells Tyler that she feels "mean" about things; however, she does nothing to change her situation.

Sue Ann's method of forgetting how badly Chuck as a person makes her feel as a person is to sublimate herself completely into her role as wife and mother. Even before it becomes completely obvious that the Crawford's marriage is not a good one, Sue Ann seems to be playing a role, presenting the facade of a happy marriage to the public. Later, it becomes clear that, whether the marriage is good or bad, Sue Ann is totally committed to her marriage and to
her responsibilities as wife and mother. She seems unable to imagine herself as anything but Chuck's wife and the mother of his children. Although Sue Ann likes Tyler and sees that he pays a great deal of attention to her, when he tells her that she has a bad life with Chuck and should run away with him, she seems not to hear him (2, pp. 220-221). Sue Ann's life is, of course, not filled with such offers. During most of the story, she is forced to cope with Chuck's childlike dependency upon her, coupled with an apparent disregard for her feelings. He does not see her as a person, but as a wife: as a thing that he owns.

Sue Ann knows that Chuck is not faithful to her. When he leaves very late for a "political meeting," she knows that usually there is a party and that other women, "loose women," may be present. She knows Chuck may be home very late, perhaps not until the next day. Sue Ann knows that to make accusations or to issue ultimatums to Chuck would be to tamper with the delicate balance upon which their marriage rests. She does not really feel threatened by the other women, perhaps, so long as there are many of them. No one will take her husband away from her, at least.

Chuck Crawford is probably a loving husband and father until he begins his rise to power; however, little is known about the Crawfords' life before the present time of the novel. Chuck is not loving now; he is essentially exploitative. His political image would be marred by a divorce;
neither he nor Sue Ann wants to make a break. Therefore, Sue Ann for her part is willing to believe any lie Tyler and Chuck's boys tell her about Chuck's whereabouts in order to preserve their marital facade.

Her only outlet is her total involvement in what she believes to be an acceptable female image. She is an archetypal wife and mother. Even though she disguises her true feelings with the role she performs, it is not a role she has autonomously chosen for herself. Essentially, it has been imposed upon her by Chuck by virtue of the fact that they are married to one another and have had children. So, even the game Sue Ann plays to escape the tyranny of her demagogue husband is a manifestation of him and of the power he holds over her through the marriage vows.

At the novel's end, Sue Ann has taken her children back to the ranch; they have escaped to the land. Even though she tells Tyler by telephone that she is in bed because of a mysterious internal ailment, she is so self-sacrificial that she does not want to bother her husband by telling him. As she lies in bed and looks out at the land, she is relieved to be away from the pressures of the vacuous Washington life and from the pain of life with Chuck Crawford. She is telling Tyler that she is reassessing, reevaluating her life (2, pp. 253-254). Change is imminent for the Crawfords, because Chuck will soon be dead or at least no longer in power. If he is still alive, change may be unavoidable in
their marriage. Sue Ann could be strong enough emotionally to break away from her unrealistic marital relationship now that she has the reality of the land to hold on to.

Although both Verity Martin and Sue Ann Crawford possess a similar strength of character, it appears as a more positive emotion in Verity. Sue Ann is better educated than Verity; although Verity is a teacher, she does not have a college degree as Sue Ann does. However, Verity, unlike Sue Ann, is not afraid to display her intelligence and her reasoning processes. She is always more analytical than Sue Ann. At least when Verity "feels mean" about something, she knows more or less why she is angry. Sue Ann never does.

In the courtship and early married life of the Martins, Verity feels intellectually superior to Hank, but after a short period of married life she is emotionally and physically overwhelmed by his robust body and his total lack of modesty. He is warm and affectionate toward her, and she grows accustomed to feeling sheltered by his love.

Hank Martin intends to go far in politics, and not long after he marries Verity he formally begins his career. Her marital bliss lasts only about a year. About the time of their first anniversary, Verity begins to become aware of the knowledge she will live with for years: her husband is not completely hers. At times, he is public property
Although she is not happy about her situation, at least in the early years, she is willing to accept it.

Like Sue Ann Crawford, Verity's method of ignoring the fact that her man is involved very deeply in politics is to become immersed in motherhood. From the moment her first child is conceived, she, like Sue Ann, becomes the archetypal mother. Motherhood, Verity says, will give her a "divine immunity" (3, p. 97). Her interest in Hank's career is now minimal. Because Verity is pregnant, Hank can no longer take her campaigning. The first long separation is a turning point in their marriage. It is never as strong and secure as before.

After Hancy's birth, Verity becomes unassertive, much less autonomous than before. Verity's bearing Hank's child has caused him to move away from her. He now feels that Verity will be content with her child, so he becomes absorbed in reading for the bar. When he turns away, Verity realizes she lacks inner strength to sustain herself. She tells her husband she is tired of being lonely while he chases pipe dreams (3, p. 137). Hank, however, refuses to stop in his pursuit of power. Verity is forced to admit that life with Hank is changing her (3, p. 159). Whereas at the story's beginning Verity had seemed an intelligent woman, she now says she feels "bound by ignorance" (3, p. 163).

As she spends more years with Hank, her sense of powerlessness becomes more intense. At one point she likens

(3, p. 89).
herself to a female katydid, which cannot sing, and to a female lightning bug, which cannot fly. Like these insects, she is to Hank a "wingless mate" (3, p. 91). She feels imprisoned and impotent, as if her role in life is that of an "inactive onlooker" (3, p. 165).

In a later analogy, Verity likens Hank to a big, fast boat, seeing herself as only a "little boat with no course of its own" (3, p. 205). She has no alternative; her course must run along with Hank's (3, p. 205). Although in many ways Verity is terribly unhappy, she is hopeful when they conceive a second time. However, the child is premature and stillborn.

The death of this child, a son, is a symbol of the death of their marriage as it has existed. She receives no emotional support from Hank. Instead of feeling hurt by his lack of empathy, however, she vows never to fail again, as she has failed in childbirth, because of his failure to give her support and strength. She reacts against Hank's apathy, saying that from this point on she will always find "her own strength. . . .however small compared to Hank's" (3, p. 192). Because she cannot change Hank, she vows to accept him as he is.

As she reflects through the years upon their marriage, she realizes that her husband does need her, that she is for him an essential refuge. But, she also realizes that he needs her only in the intervals when ambition is not making
its demands upon him (3, p. 288). Her loneliness between the times when Hank seeks her out for refuge makes of her "an empty thing" (3, p. 207).

After several years of an off-and-on relationship with Hank, Verity grows tired of the loneliness caused by his lengthy campaign trips. But, as she matures, she begins to want more than just Hank's presence at home; she begins to want something for herself. She cannot describe her dissatisfaction, simply feeling a free-floating anxiety within herself, like a "tiny stream of consciousness" stirring within her (3, p. 240). Feeling sick and being "forever beaten and inundated in Hank's wake" is not enough. Verity realizes that the time has come for her to "chart a course for herself" (3, p. 230).

A weakness of the position women occupy in conventional novels written prior to the last ten years is that although women might "chart a course" for themselves, they are not free to act upon it. Although Verity objects at times to Hank's political methods, protesting vociferously, she can do little about them. Also, in taking a political viewpoint contradictory to her husband's, she is only reacting against something, not making innovations for herself. Like most women in novels prior to the 1960's, Verity does not consider divorce. Its scandal would mar his career if not ruin it completely. Verity is really not free to leave Hank Martin. Even more sadly, she never considers doing so.
She does not really want to live with the man Hank has become, but she still feels some love for him. Also, she feels that the warm, loving home she has created is an important respite from politics for Hank. She vows to solve the problem of an empty marriage by making her home more solid, by establishing more conclusively that she is by her own choice a "wingless mate." With the thought of remaining with Hank, who has become a corrupt politician, comes despair. Verity does not want her principles to be compromised. She is willing to accustom herself to seeing Hank as he now is, but only if she is allowed to remain as she is, a person in her own right. Her dilemma is an unfamiliar one for women in the literature of the time. They have not yet fully begun to realize that they would like to express themselves as individuals, because they realize that their individualism will undermine the stability of their homes. The problem is in truth only implicit in A Lion Is in the Streets.

Verity concentrates much attention on developing an inner strength of iron (3, p. 266). She possesses it at such times as during the public accusation that Hank has been unfaithful to her. She openly demonstrates her affection for him and her belief in him, vowing to stand by him always (3, p. 256). While this display of belief in Hank is to some extent made in order to protect his political image, it is also a result of an inner resolve to keep her home life as stable as possible. Verity is obviously a mature
and balanced person, even though she lives with a strange, power-crazed individual.

As Hank becomes more powerful, he begins to use underhanded methods, which Verity hates. He lives in fear and has Verity and Hancy guarded, telling Verity not to question his methods, simply to fulfill her role as his wife (3, p. 278). She feels her inner self growing colder; she moves away from him emotionally as he becomes more powerful (3, p. 280). She feels constantly "more aloof, more removed," and she feels at all times that she is searching for what is real in life (3, p. 289). These feelings are different from those experienced some years before: feelings of impotence and ignorance. Now she feels an alienation and estrangement from Hank which weakens their marriage even more than before.

Verity can see that Hank's quest for power will soon lead to his downfall. He could have been as great as Lincoln, she sees, but the laws he has produced have ground out a "sickness" in the state. He has pillaged their generation and possibly generations of the future. These are not new discoveries for Verity. Her shock comes when she turns inward and realizes that she has "for ten years, nursed a sick and ailing man, and, unbelieving and ever hopeful, [has] watched him turned by the black magic of power and more power into the Big Lion" (3, p. 330). She is conscious, however, of new strength within herself. She can now endure
the anguish of alienation from Hank with courage, and further she can "blunt the sharp edge of anguish against the rock of reason and understanding" (3, p. 327). When Verity attains reason and understanding, she does not like what she learns about herself or about Hank. She feels that the price she has had to pay for loving him has been too great: she has had to sacrifice her personal freedom (3, p. 328).

Verity tries leaving Hank; that is, she returns to their farm to live. Here, she begins trying to restructure what has been lost, destroyed, within her, by beginning a frantic course of study in order to learn as much as possible about everything. After a short while, she decides that Hank and his political image need her, but it is not in wholehearted support that she returns to him. When she comments upon some of Hank's despicable tactics, he flashes back at her angrily, telling her to be a wife, nothing more. This anger is a new reaction, coming from the new Hank, and it is repellent to Verity (3, p. 313).

Hank seldom takes time from politics to pay attention to Verity. However, some time during his second administration, Hank Martin suddenly realizes that his wife has changed. She no longer believes in him or in his politics. He says the change in Verity has made their love less pure, but he refuses to accept any responsibility for the death of the emotion (3, p. 315). Verity is embittered because of Hank's insensitivity to the true nature of the problems of their
marriage. The final realization about Hank which causes Verity to leave him emotionally is the knowledge that he would do anything, even kill, in order to gain power (3, p. 258). After Hank's assassination, Verity will feel guilty because she once said she would rather see Hank dead than killing people (3, p. 2). During Hank's life, however, what power has done to Hank Martin fills Verity with disgust. She no longer wishes to be called his wife.

When Hank's anger makes Verity feel he no longer loves her, she leaves him again, taking her daughter Hancy to what the novel implies is reality: the land. Sue Ann Crawford also seeks the stability of the land in order to escape from her demagogue husband. When Verity leaves Hank, she feels sadness, but her sadness is coupled with a "feeling of sure strength." Now, she feels her convictions are truly her own because she has created them (3, pp. 331-332). Hank, then, has inadvertently made of Verity the kind of person he would have respected and admired, if he had ever truly known her (3, p. 345).

Her newly-found strength makes her amazingly calm as she hears that her husband has been shot. The reality of his death, the fact that she will no longer be with him, does not seem to occur to her. She does not break down, but stands strong (3, p. 337). She has obviously grown emotionally as a result of her marriage to Hank Martin; more correctly, the growth which has occurred in Verity Wade Martin has come as
a reaction against Hank's power. The novel definitely
indicts the demagogue as a character type. But it is not an
absolute indictment; the demagogue does not destroy his wife.
Good comes from her marriage to him. She is a much stronger
person at its conclusion.

Even though Hank's association with Sunny Lou, called
Flamingo, occurs only periodically over nine years, she,
too, is affected strongly by him. Flamingo is a much weaker
woman than Hank's wife, so it is not necessary for her to
have constant contact with Hank for her to be affected by
him. The evolution of her personality, unlike Verity's,
seems to occur more as a result of a loving harmony with
Hank, instead of the reactionary personality evolution which
occurs in the strong-willed Verity. When first seen,
Flamingo is a beautiful young girl. Although no one else is
aware of her feelings, she is in love with Hank, who is
several years her elder. He has just married Verity, and
Sunny Lou feels slighted. She proves that she is not the
embodiment of youthful innocence when she tries to feed
Verity to an alligator. This treacherous act, possibly the
worst she has committed in her life, is provoked by Sunny
Lou's love for Hank Martin.

Sunny Lou is punished for her sins by being sent away.
When Verity again sees her, she has been to charm school and
is a sophisticated young woman. Now, her approach to Hank
Martin is blatant; she frankly tries to seduce him. Verity
cannot believe that this swamp girl has become so worldly. Although Hank assures Verity that he and Flamingo are not having an affair, near the novel's end it becomes obvious that they have been associated, probably intimately, for at least nine years. Verity is shocked that she has not known her husband better.

Flamingo gradually becomes more corrupt as her association with Hank continues. The culmination arrives when she willfully murders a man, with several persons watching, in order to prevent him from blackmailing her and Hank (3, p. 325). She has tried to murder Verity years before out of simple jealousy. Now her motives are more complex, more grotesque, as her life has become embroiled in Hank's rise to power.

The implication in the novel is that Sunny Lou would have grown more corrupt if she had continued her association with Hank. So, in order for her to relearn the clean and true way of life, she is relegated to the swamps by her parents. Apparently a simple girl cannot be "good" if she is associated with a man such as Hank Martin. Verity, of course, is more intelligent and has more common sense. When Hank becomes no longer a good man, but a corrupt one, she is able to turn away from his influence and is not changed for the worse by him. Flamingo's choices are not so prudently made.
Although in almost every other respect *All the King's Men* contains more elaborate detail than the other three novels, in regard to Lucy and Willie Stark's marriage, detail is omitted. Jack Burden suggests and implies what is happening between Lucy and Willie; however, great detail is not provided. This representation of the marriage of a demagogue is probably a more accurate one than that presented by Dos Passos or by Langley, because a wife is to a power-mad politician only a trivial, peripheral consideration, not a necessity, or so it was with Huey Long.

Lucy Stark, like Verity Martin, has been a schoolteacher. She, however, does not voluntarily resign when she and Willie are married. Instead, she is forced to resign, and she and Willie know she has been forced to do so because of his unpopular politics. When Lucy loses the job she has worked hard to attain, she rationalizes that she does not actually want the job. Her devotion to Willie overshadows her ambition.

Lucy comes from a strict moralistic background. She is opposed to the corruption which seems inevitable in order for the politics of Willie's regime to continue. She is happy simply being Willie's wife, then later the mother of their son, Tom. Even though, when Willie becomes totally engrossed in his law books and in the pursuit of his political career, Lucy has lost him emotionally, she still has him with her physically; that is, they are still married. However, all that has formed the foundation of their marriage crumbles
gradually as Willie becomes steadily more powerful. Only outwardly does their marriage still exist.

Symptoms of the growing alienation become more obvious after Willie is elected Governor. Willie is for a time emotionally dependent upon Lucy, but she has created defenses against his dependence. He reaches out to her for emotional support, but she is unwilling to give him what he needs because she has become bitter toward him. Jack Burden says he is sure Lucy knows about the many women Willie has affairs with; however, she never voices any objection. Sadie Burke and the Boss have what appears at times to be a romantic relationship in full view of Lucy, yet Lucy never complains. She bears up staunchly, refusing to be his marriage partner only to the extent that she will not live with him. She comes to the capital to be with Willie for official appearances. Also, at times she and Willie visit his father on the farm and are photographed by the press. Jack says the appearance that Willie is a family man gives the public a feeling of security. When Lucy and Willie visit Old Man Stark, the couple does not communicate verbally. Both seem eager to have the visit completed so they can once again part.

Lucy has not moved away from Willie's house simply because he has affairs with other women; his career is also objectionable. She sees a growing corruption in her husband which has not been there before. Although Lucy is strong enough to voice her opinions about what she feels is or is
not ethical, she is not strong enough to stand alone, without Willie. When she no longer has the emotional and psychological strength their marriage once offered, she turns elsewhere. Inwardly, she begins to rely heavily upon religion for strength and guidance. Outwardly, she leans upon her sister. The woman is very overbearing and exacting. Lucy will no longer have the heavy responsibility of making decisions now. Instead, her sister will make them all for her.

Lucy and Willie Stark are now completely alienated from one another, both emotionally and physically. All that they have in common is their son. Tom Stark lives with his mother, and Lucy and Willie spend a great deal of their time at odds over the boy. Willie fears that Lucy will rear his son to be a sissy (4, p. 154). She does cling tightly to her son because he is to her a representation of the Willie who once was—the young Willie. Tom is also the last vestige of a marriage which did begin as a loving relationship. When Tom is injured at football, Lucy blames the accident on Willie's vicarious fulfillment of his ambitions for glory through Tom. She believes he has driven Tom to play football because he himself has the desire to be a hero. She may feel that if Tom is able to play football again, Willie's wish-fulfillment will continue at Tom's expense, so she refuses to say that she hopes Tom will recover. Her only reaction to Willie's hopes for Tom's recovery is "God grant it" (4, p. 374). Her unwillingness to display deep emotion with
regard to her son, the extension of her husband, may be an indication that much of the love she has had for Willie has been extinguished, or perhaps that she has found inward peace and comfort in her sadness through a deep, abiding faith in God.

When Willie lies dying in the same hospital Tom has been in only days before, Lucy again displays limited emotion, great strength, and reserve, indicating again that her inner peace gives her the capacity to overcome the external tragedy of the loss of her husband. Lucy's sister is now her surrogate mate, and the sister prevents the widow-to-be from displaying her emotions spontaneously. The sister, deeply religious, encourages Lucy to divorce herself from earthly considerations: to turn her attention heavenward. When the two women are told that Willie will live, Lucy's sister says perfunctorily, "We must thank God" (4, p. 398). Jack expects them to kneel in prayer immediately, but because Lucy's new-found strength is a very personal inner emotion, an outward display of it would be inappropriate. Like all the wives of these demagogues, Lucy accepts the death quietly. Unlike the acceptance of death by the other women, Lucy's acceptance is understandable. It is clear what the source of her strength is. It is important to note that never in Lucy's association with Willie Stark is he a source of strength for her.
Jack goes to see Lucy several months after Willie's death and finds that Tom, like a vegetable after his injury, has also died. Now, Lucy has adopted the baby which Tom allegedly sired. She loves the child and compulsively rationalizes that it must be Tom's baby, even though she will never know absolutely. After having lost husband and son, she tells Jack that she is "resigned now, by God's help'" (4, p. 424). She has named the child Willie, and upon him she is able to shower the love and affection which neither Willie nor Tom would accept from her.

After beginning as a relatively assertive and self-confident woman, all Lucy can say of her life is "...I tried to do right. I loved my boy...I loved my husband" (4, p. 335). Before their deaths and after, Lucy believes, or at least tells herself, that Willie and Tom loved her. "After everything," Lucy tells Jack, "I have to think that...I have to" (4, p. 335). The ending for Lucy Stark is a hopeful one, actually. She has of course lost Willie Stark, but she must, she says, always believe that he was a good man. She has lost Tom. Even as a mother, she must eventually force herself to admit that Tom was spoiled, insolent, willful; in short, he negatively embodied many of Willie's characteristics. Even though Lucy has lost these two whom she has loved, she now has the newly-reborn Willie Stark.
Although Lucy Stark is the mother of his son and Anne Stanton is his mistress for a short time, the most significant woman in Willie Stark's life is probably Sadie Burke, who is not wife and is now only ex-mistress. She is for years Willie's assistant and at times is closer to Willie's political affairs than even Jack Burden is. In many respects, Sadie is man-like. In only one respect is she feminine: she loves Willie and wants him for her own. Sadie begins to believe that Willie loves her, too, and that he will some day leave Lucy for her (4, p. 142).

Sadie does not make her plays for Willie by exercising feminine wiles or tactics. Instead, she acts as Willie's right-hand-man, and she believes that he would never have been elected Governor if not for her (4, p. 267), an emotion reminiscent of the way Sue Ann Crawford feels about her husband's career in Number One. Sadie realizes that as long as Willie continues to be successful politically, as his assistant she will be in his favor. Consequently, in the political game, which for Sadie is closely tied in with the game of love, she plays to win. Sadie knows that,

\[ \text{to win you have to lay your money on the right number and that if your number doesn't show there's a fellow with a little rake to rake in your money and then it isn't yours any more} \]

\[ (4, \text{p. 84}) \]

So, Sadie knows that she stands constantly in danger of losing everything: which for her is Willie Stark.
Willie plays around with many women during the time in which Sadie considers herself his mistress. Sadie knows the specifics of most of the affairs, and knowing them makes her very angry. Burden says that Sadie seems to watch the familiar patterns of infidelity develop each time with a certain sadistic pleasure. The "slut," as Sadie calls each of Willie's women, is eventually bounced, and the Boss comes back, "to stand before her, grinning and heavy and sure and patient, to take his tongue-lashing" (4, p. 266). The needs of both, then, are fulfilled by this perverse behavioral pattern.

The relationship might have continued indefinitely if Willie Stark had not met Anne Stanton. He does, and they begin a serious love affair. Sadie is more threatened by Anne than she has been by any of Willie's other lovers. Sadie realizes that Anne is beautiful, educated, and refined, and that Willie Stark may just be in love with her. Sadie tries to continue working with Willie as if nothing has changed. She tries to project her confidence that Willie will soon leave Anne to return to her. Jack knows that he need not fear that Sadie will gossip to anyone that Willie is having an affair, because he knows that this lonely woman has no confidante, trusting no one.

During the weekend of Tom's injury, Sadie resolves to be more kind and loving toward Willie. She never has a chance, for on Monday morning Willie tells her that their
relationship is over, that he is going back to Lucy. As a result, Sadie tells Tiny Duffy to put into action the plan which will bring about Willie Stark's death. Although Tiny may be the actual villain who has conceived the assassination plot, it might not have happened if not for Sadie. The scorned woman is finally able to take her bitter revenge upon the male sex, vicariously upon the father who caused her to live her life a scarred and ugly woman.

Jack talks with Sadie for the last time in a sanitorium, where she has gone to recover from the pressures under which she has lived for years. At first she seems unemotional when Jack speaks of Willie (4, p. 409). Only when Jack suggests to her that she has killed Willie does she begin to feel remorse. For Sadie Burke, this is an entirely new emotion (4, p. 410). Sadie tells Jack the entire story; after she does so, she says she feels purged of her sin (4, p. 411).

Sadie Burke has lived a life full of hatred and of bitterness. Her relationship with Willie Stark brings her some little happiness, but predominantly it brings her pain. The act of vengeance which she vicariously performs upon Willie, his murder, is full of hate, and causes the suffering of others, such as Lucy and Anne. Out of so much hate is derived one glimmer of good. Sadie is able to begin to understand why Anne Stanton is the way she is. Sadie begins to realize that in order to exist in the world, one must not be totally uncompromising. Even if one does not always like
others or approve of their motives, she must seek to understand them, and to accept them. This faint gleam of understanding is for Sadie a giant step, and she might never have taken it if she had not been associated with the strong character of Willie Stark. Out of her love for Willie ultimately grows hate. At any rate, Sadie learns that she can feel, and that she can feel deeply—deeply enough to take part in a murder—deeply enough to think kindly of a woman toward whom she has before felt only intense jealousy.

Sadie may have felt jealousy toward Anne Stanton because she has had an illusion of Anne which is false. Anne is pretty and smart and rich, but she is essentially not happy. Sadie's happiness with Willie may have been perverse and twisted, but she has been, essentially, fulfilled by it.

Anne Stanton is not married; nevertheless, she does not even consider marriage as an alternative which might bring her happiness, when Jack repeatedly proposes to her. He looks upon her admiringly, nonetheless, describing her as the kind of person whom one can tell has a

deep inner certitude of self which comes from being all of one piece, of not being shreds and patches and old cogwheels held together with pieces of rusty barbed wire and spit and bits of string, like most of us (4, p. 207).

For several months after Willie and Anne's affair begins, Jack is unaware of it. Willie never mentions it to him. When Jack finally learns of the relationship, he realizes that he has probably thrown the two together by his apathy
in the years before. He has, essentially, failed to assert himself or to commit himself absolutely to Anne. Thus, he has killed love by default. Anne finds in Willie Stark a man who, although for political reasons unable to divorce his wife to marry her, is nonetheless unafraid and unashamed to commit himself to her absolutely. Anne Stanton is an idealistic woman, and she is unwilling to accept love any way but absolutely.

When Willie Stark tells Anne their affair is over, that he plans to change his life, she is devastated. She does not believe that a love so real and apparently so absolute could end this suddenly and with such utter finality. Anne then experiences the almost simultaneous death of her lover and her brother. The strain of their deaths causes her to collapse.

Although the novel does not focus on her after Willie's death, this time apparently is a period of rebuilding and of reconstruction for her. Now she must face the truth—no love is everlasting or absolute, not even the love of a brother. Even though Anne Stanton has seemed to be maturing before, in truth this is the period in which the greatest part of her maturing process takes place. She now learns to accept the love of Jack Burden, and his offer to share his life with her. She now realizes the true value of friendship and of consistent affection even over a powerful "love" which can never be publicly proclaimed.
She learns too the lesson which every woman associated with these demagogues has learned: that a powerful man such as Willie Stark can never give all of himself to another human being. He himself will always be his foremost consideration. A woman, to a powerful politician, is something to have to enhance one's public image, to exploit sexually, or to put into service. A woman is never truly a friend, companion, confidante, or equal. As this chapter closes, even though some of the women have gained strength, it must be noted that the gains were never made because of the demagogue but in spite of him.

The heroes of *Sun in Capricorn, Number One, A Lion Is in the Streets*, and *All the King's Men* are sexist. There is no doubt of that. The feminist movement did not exist in the lifetime of these fictional characters. Gilgo Slade, Chuck Crawford, Hank Martin, and Willie Stark, however, help to dig the grave in which is buried the humanness of their women, and on that tombstone is carved no hopeful verse. In short: the relationships these demagogues have with women are on the whole not productive or positive but tend toward being regressive and very depressing, indeed. So, in still another area, the equality of women and men, the struggle for power of the demagogues has denied the possibility of its existing, or even that it has a fundamental right to exist.
CHAPTER BIBLIOGRAPHY


CHAPTER V

EFFECTS OF THE DEMAGOGUES ON MALE ASSOCIATES

The ways in which men could be related to a demagogue are more varied than the kinds of relationships possible between women and demagogues. However, some of the ways two men might be related have been overlooked in these four novels. Although the real Huey Long, for example, had brothers with whom he was often at odds, none of the four fictional demagogues has such a relationship. In only one of the four novels is the demagogue seen in a relationship with his father; actually, relatively little is said about this relationship. Only one of the demagogues has a son. Their familial relationships, then, are almost exclusively with wives and children. The relationships they do have with men, also, are in none of the novels purely friendship. In every case, the demagogue demands of his male acquaintances that they concern themselves with or be connected with his political career.

Some men are formally connected with the demagogue's career. Some merely advise the demagogue; some support his politics and others oppose them. In every case, whether the men are directly or indirectly associated with the demagogue, they are affected by him. Usually, although the relationships
are political, the effects they have on the men are deeply personal—sometimes positive and sometimes negative.

Because so little is seen of the mechanics of Gilgo Slade's politics, little can be said of his relationships with those who work for him. His henchmen guard him constantly with tommyguns; this extreme measure is even taken at a party to which only Slade's admirers and supporters are admitted. His primary guard is called Strongo the Strongman, previously employed in a circus. Strongo appears to be exploited by Slade. Both are happy, however, because Strongo is being paid to perform a service which Slade feels he needs.

The only close relationship Slade has with a member of his organization which is to any extent illuminated is with Fritz Cowan. Fritz and the narrator, Hazzard, are former acquaintances, but Hazzard sees Cowan for the first time in years after Fritz has gone to work as Gilgo's aide. Hazzard has never liked Fritz, but now, seeing overwhelming personality changes in the man, he likes him even less. Hazzard can see that Cowan, never a tremendously ethical person, has now moved to a posture of vicious immorality. He worships Gilgo Slade and is inspired by Slade's powerful demagoguery and charisma. Hazzard can see that Fritz Cowan never questions the morality or the immorality of Slade's policies; he simply accepts them and helps to implement them (1, p. 97).

Hazzard's description of the role Cowan must play as Slade's right-hand man makes Cowan seem like a Jack Burden
character. It is true that both Burden and Cowan are at times assigned to ferret out the ugly truth about those who have incurred the wrath of the respective demagogue. However, the important distinction between their jobs is based upon differences in the philosophies of Slade and of Stark. Willie tells Jack, "There is always something" sinful in every man's past. Jack is doubtful, but he proves Willie correct when he discovers that evil exists even in the past of the "good" Judge Irwin. Slade does not necessarily believe that sin can be found on any man's record, and Fritz Cowan is not limited to finding the true evil about a man. If sins are not immediately apparent, Fritz does not have to dig them out of quiet graves. He may invent new ones (1, p. 58). Cowan labels himself unprincipled when he agrees to work with Slade in such an unethical manner.

As Hazzard relives the story of his own relationship with Gilgo Slade, he occasionally encounters Fritz Cowan. Each time they meet, Hazzard can see that Cowan is growing daily more corrupt. Cowan is assigned to frame Hazzard and Erin, and he does so, even though he has only recently taken Hazzard to lunch and has pretended to be his friend (1, p. 158). During the frame-up, Cowan as Slade's representative is the manifestation of evil; he is truly not likeable for a moment.

The change in Cowan's personality occurs very abruptly and, not surprisingly, at the moment Gilgo Slade is shot.
He no longer exists to lead Cowan and to give him orders. Cowan is not only frightened by the unexpected assassination; in his disorientation he tries to run away, as if he were the guilty man. The swaggering, boastful Fritz Cowan begins to act in a new and strange manner at the death of Slade (1, p. 261).

Fritz Cowan has never had any real strength. Any power he has lately shown has only been a result of Slade's glory. His temporary, artificial supports completely collapse after Slade's death. Cowan is obviously very unsure of his position in the organization now, if indeed he has a position. Cowan has learned nothing from his association with a demagogue, possibly because he is a weak and stupid person who has no faculties with which to learn from any experience.

Fitzgerald's Nick Carraway must come to mind as Hazzard describes himself as a man who has always seen himself as tolerant of others (1, p. 18), as a man who is constantly reluctant to pass moral judgments (1, p. 58). He is happy to be in the South, his homeland, as Carraway is happy to return home after his experiences on Long Island. Hazzard says that he is a "parochial" about the South, and feels that hell could possibly consist of a man's having to live in places such as those he has encountered back East at school (1, p. 126).

Hazzard lives a quiet life. The only upheaval thus far in his adult life has been the decision of the woman he
loved to marry another man. Hazzard has grown as a result of the experience; he now perceives himself as having fortitude, capable of bearing the unbearable (1, p. 27). Hazzard is so passive that he wishes to remain completely uninvolved in his uncle's political ambitions, so he resigns from the law office with a plan to raise mules. He is accused of a lack of ambition, a condition from which Jack Burden also feels he suffers. Hazzard only sighs that he has never been fortunate enough "to find anything to be ambitious about" (1, p. 53). He senses that "life" may be passing him by; his solution is simply to cease contemplating such a possibility (1, pp. 49-50; 57).

Gilgo Slade has had no part in creating Hazzard's apathetic personality. Hazzard knows that Slade exists; he knows that the man is evil and despotic. He simply does not care. Although Hazzard is later told that Slade's forces have employed Erin to seduce him, this is probably untrue. Rather, he meets Erin by chance. Hazzard falls in love immediately and asks her to marry him on the second day of their acquaintance. His passionate love has destroyed his apathy.

Gilgo Slade does not know his political opponent has a nephew, but he becomes immediately aware of Hazzard's existence when Hazzard meets Erin. The two are put under surveillance, her apartment is staked out, and strange phone calls are received at late hours. Hazzard encounters Cowan and knows that he has masterminded the surveillance.
Immediately, Hazzard's apathetic "tolerance" for Gilgo Slade, for his politics, and for Fritz Cowan changes to intense hatred (1, p. 159). Slade's treatment of Erin is the external force which causes Hazzard to move from his previously apathetic position. However, the psychological mechanisms which operate to turn Hazzard, an abnormally apathetic man, suddenly into a man full of hate are not provided by the author.

Early in Hazzard's tale, he describes hunting and shooting as merely sports. Bagging a duck, he says, provides the same thrill as making a good drive in golf (1, p. 7). When he is hunted, then slandered, by Slade, Hazzard immediately has a new perspective on hunting. He sees that he could eliminate Slade as a threat very simply: by shooting him (1, p. 175). No motivation is given for the fact that the same young man who has once found joy in shooting a duck could now contemplate finding that same joy in shooting a man. As Hazzard's new personality evolves, he does not question the morality of murder. He does not see the elimination of Gilgo Slade as a treacherous act. His problem is not whether he will indeed commit the act, but how accurate the shot will be when he fires it (1, p. 248). Although he does not feel personally called upon to justify the planned act, he contemplates it and realizes that he can never really eliminate Slade's brand of evil; it will still exist after Slade is dead. But Hazzard does not want to be a
hero; he only wants to save the woman he loves from being hounded to death by Slade (1, p. 257).

An ironic twist occurs at the moment before Hazzard would have shot Gilgo Slade. Quentin assassinates the demagogue instead, his plan entirely unknown to Hazzard. Although Hazzard is in a fever of excitement because of the murder he has been about to commit, he is able to contemplate quite coolly the fact that a crack shot is at work (1, p. 259). It seems almost inconceivable that a man could watch so objectively an assassination which he has planned. After Slade is shot, his bodyguards slaughter the assassin with their tommyguns. Hazzard is also unexplainably able to contemplate calmly the death of the cousin who has been as a brother to him since early childhood.

Hazzard does not shift his perspective with regard to Slade's death too greatly, even though he will not have to pay for the murder. The *deus ex machina* occurrence makes no great impression on him. Not long after Slade's death, Hazzard returns to his former life. He now presumably has Erin with him. He does not work, but again leads the contemplative life. If he remembers the events surrounding the assassination of Gilgo Slade, it is only to think that they were a dream, or that they happened to someone else. If he has learned any lesson from his experience with Slade, he does not expound upon it (1, p. 265).
The death of Gilgo Slade has a more dramatic effect upon another man, Mr. Dent, a dentist, who appears in the novel for the purpose of representing a character type. He is the common man, caught up in the momentum of the demagogue. Mr. Dent believes that Gilgo Slade's purpose is to provide for the little, insignificant people like himself. Jesus Christ had a similar mission, and Dent believes that Gilgo Slade is appropriately enough the greatest man since Christ (1, pp. 70-72). At the campaign party where Hazzard first sees Slade, Hazzard learns that Slade has manipulated Dent into putting one hundred dollars, which he cannot afford, into Slade's campaign. The pathetic little man is overjoyed that such an important person has paid extra attention to him. Dent says he will remember this day forever (1, pp. 101-102). Hazzard feels pity for the man, but does not try to advise him.

Mr. Dent commits suicide, somewhat as Quentin has, for a cause; in Dent's case it is for Slade's cause, rather than for honor. He leaves a note which says, "He was my leader and I swore a sacred oath to follow him and I will follow him to the grave" (1, pp. 264-265). Dent has died in order to mourn not the real Gilgo Slade but the image Slade has created for the common man to worship. Dent has sacrificed himself to a cause of which he has not truly been a part and which he understands little, if at all. He learns nothing from his experience with Gilgo Slade, because he never
realizes that he has been manipulated and used by the power-
crazed demagogue of Sun in Capricorn.

Like Mr. Dent, Tyler Spotswood of Number One is a sensi-
tive, weak man. Because of Tyler’s lack of inner strength, too, he is easily manipulated by his environment. The strongest and most influential factor in his environment is Homer T. (Chuck) Crawford. Early in the novel, Tyler takes a sycophantic position toward Chuck. Again, reminiscent of Mr. Dent, Tyler gets a "pleased feeling way down inside himself like a dog wagging its tail" (2, p. 15) when Chuck pays extra attention to him. Tyler tells a friend that he only lives in Washington because he works for Chuck, indicating that his life is largely controlled by his work and by his employer.

Tyler has problems: he drinks too much and takes benzedrine tablets. At first it seems that he takes these measures in order to relieve the pressure he feels when he is actively involved with Chuck’s politics. It soon becomes apparent, however, that the "pressure" he feels comes from a very specific source. Each time Tyler becomes intoxicated, he lashes out at the person who has caused him to need alcohol: Chuck Crawford. He calls Chuck a "bigmouthed bastard" and vows to show his boss a thing or two by getting thoroughly drunk (2, p. 31).

When Tyler is drinking, he feels angry because he must be part of Chuck’s dealings; however, he so seldom expresses
his feelings outright that some people are shocked when he does so (2, p. 166). After Tyler has abused him, Chuck humiliates Tyler by taking care of him like a child, even in his drunken state (2, p. 30). When Tyler is again sober, he is contrite, apologizes to Chuck, and both seem to forget his verbal abuse of his boss (2, p. 44).

When Tyler is soberly involved in his work, he appears to have a singlemindedness of purpose, so people are led to believe by his conversation that he is completely subordinate and faithful to Chuck (2, p. 185). Tyler's energies are not totally devoted to Chuck, however, even when he is sober. The zeal he at times exhibits in doing various tasks assigned by Chuck is simply energy he conjures up at the moment. After he finishes and returns to his room, he is like a man who has strained all his faculties in order to perform. He is drained, tired, and sick. He cannot bear to look at his own face in the mirror, and he suffers from intense headaches and seems disoriented, unable to concentrate (2, pp. 99-101).

Chuck Crawford at times fights dirty. Tyler Spotswood is frequently ordered to dig up the ammunition Chuck uses in his political attacks. Just like Gilgo Slade, Chuck is not above using slanted or untrue information (2, pp. 97-98). Tyler must invent this false information. When he is sober, he says that Chuck's craziness and his outlandish brand of politics are part of the demagogue's attraction for him
(2, pp. 80-81), but when he faces the reality of what he is doing, Tyler is heartsick.

Like Jack Burden, Tyler believes that history and the creation of it is an important factor in the career of a demagogue. He often feels hurt because people do not care at all about the historical events he is helping to shape through Chuck Crawford (2, p. 208). When Tyler expresses such emotions, it is difficult to determine if his primary concern is his own or his employer's role in history. Tyler contradicts himself; he is at times totally selfless but at other times is greedy for recognition.

Chuck Crawford figures prominently in the story for several chapters, while Tyler Spotswood drops out of sight. When he does return, a great deal has happened to him, and the story becomes even more interesting as the reader tries to unravel the mystery of what has happened. One thing is almost certain, however: Tyler is suffering from the aftermath of delirium tremens; his drinking problem has obviously become worse. Also, apparently a scandal has broken out surrounding Chuck Crawford's organization, with Tyler as Crawford's scapegoat. As Tyler reappears, both the scandal and the d.t.'s are affecting him deeply (2, p. 229). He muses that if the plane on which he is traveling should crash, he would welcome an escape from life through a quick and violent death (2, p. 234). When Tyler gets off the plane and tries to talk to Chuck about what he has been through, Tyler is
disoriented and more than once backtracks in his story. Chuck does not for a moment admit that he has used Tyler; instead, he is perfectly willing to allow his aide to be crucified in his behalf.

Obviously both Chuck and his political opponents have played on Tyler's "weakness," alcoholism, in order to manipulate the scandal. While Tyler has been away being questioned on the matter, Chuck's opponent has thrown wild parties and has made sure Tyler has become very drunk. Now, Chuck's forces are trying to use Tyler's alcoholism to build a defense and to disclaim responsibility for anything Tyler said while drunk (2, pp. 245; 251). Tyler realizes vaguely that he has not been in control of the forces operating upon him but does not attempt to correct the situation.

He is depressed and out-of-touch during the hearing. Neither the attorney's questions nor his own answers seem coherent to him. He receives no assistance from the counsel assigned to him; Mr. Grossman reads Tennyson during the hearing in order to remain at least once-removed from what is happening (2, p. 286). The only event during the trial which makes any sense to Tyler is the receipt of a posthumous letter from his brother, who has been jailed and executed as a political revolutionary. The letter, delivered by a strange dark man, seems almost a ficelle, cleverly inserted in order to convey a moral which the author wishes to tack on the story. One part of the letter reads "it's
what you do that counts, not what you say" (2, p. 282). Even though Tyler has not felt himself to be in control before, he takes charge after reading the letter, undismayed by his arraignment on criminal charges. He suddenly realizes in whose behalf he has been suffering, and the resignation letter he writes to Chuck Crawford reads, "Dear Chuck/You God damned lousy yellow doublecrossing bastard" (2, p. 290).

Tyler does not see Chuck again, but he rationalizes that he has, like General Custer, "made his last stand," and has been scalped by the Indians (2, p. 298). He sees that he has been to a great extent responsible for creating the powerful Homer T. (Chuck) Crawford. Crawford has then turned that power on Tyler, and has tried to destroy him because it has been expedient to do so. The government then is not all that is endangered by power: men are, too, as individuals. Tyler will go down fighting, knowing that it is "his responsibility to fight power, not to abet it" (4, p. 426).

When a newsman friend offers to call the prosecutor off Tyler's back, Tyler refuses the offer and punches the friend in the mouth. Here the novel ends (2, p. 300).

Tyler has learned a difficult lesson from his experience with Chuck. He has learned it, too, at the expense of his personal integrity, his self-respect, and his career. He has ruined his health with alcohol and pills. He is under indictment on serious charges. Tyler has not grown much through his association with Chuck; instead he has been
busily warding off Fortune's outrageous slings and arrows.

The directly influential relationship between Chuck Crawford and Tyler Spotswood is missing, as it is in Sun in Capricorn, from A Lion Is in the Streets. Langley's hero, Hank Martin, is closely associated with at least two men, but their individual evolutionary processes do not seem to occur in conjunction with the progression of his career. Very generally, however, both Saber Milady, Hank's public relations man, and Jules Bolduc, his landlord, grow to love him as he is rising to power, then grow to hate him as he becomes more and more corrupt.

Saber Milady first appears in the novel when Hank brings him home from a campaign trip. Verity likes Saber, and Hank puts all his trust in the young man. While he is still on good terms with the Martins, Saber functions rather as a Greek chorus, telling the heroine what the hero is doing when he is away from her. Saber, a sensible man, introduces Hank to some of the realities of city life, state politics, and the corruption extant in the government in general. The split in their friendship occurs when Saber comes to believe that Hank has taken a bribe but will not allow Saber to print a story about it. Things are never the same between them again (3, pp. 184-185).

Near the end of Hank's career, Saber deserts him absolutely through his pledge to print the news that Jules Bolduc
plans to attack Hank and his corrupt politics (3, p. 315). Thus ends the association with Hank Martin with the only newsman he had ever liked and the only newsman he had ever feared (3, p. 4). All Saber can say about the relationship is that the demagogue has caught him at a particularly weak moment. But, says Saber Milady, "I never felt any special allegiance to Hank" (3, p. 236). Although Verity is hurt to see Saber turn away from her husband, Martin himself is not affected. Saber leans about himself, however, that he is not objective enough as a newsman to tolerate the brand of corruption witnessed in Hank Martin's government. He has been forced to make a moral judgment about Hank's brand of politics, and he has judged his one-time friend as an evil, power-crazed man with whom he wishes not to be associated.

More is seen of Hank's relation with the wealthy Jules Bolduc than is seen of his relation with Saber. Jules owns the house into which Hank and his new bride move. Jules is friendly, but Verity and Hank can both see the great division which separates Jules, who is a lawyer, from Hank, who wants to be one. Jules has one advantage over Hank, who is at least an active participant in all aspects of life. Jules is only a spectator. All his knowledge is intellectual; he is unable to put it into action (3, p. 9). Although Jules has fought in a war, he now feels uninvolved with the world. The ugliness of war, says Jules, has made him cynical about life (3, p. 292).
Although the young Hank Martin has many ambitions, he is not so preoccupied that he cannot vow to shove Jules "into the field. . . make him play ball instead a 'spectatin'. . . ."

Hank speculates that if Jules likes participating in life, he will not be able to remain "a dang dreamin' celibate."

Hank says,

Jules Bolduc ain't never give this world a idea. . . .Is he just goin' to sleepwalk a spell. . . .Or is he gonna come outen them dreams 'n run into the field for more action? (3, p. 119).

The campaign which Jules handles for Hank brings him out of his shell (3, p. 117). He finally begins to understand and to appreciate the common people, whom he has never before encountered. He now actually feels "deeply concerned with their welfare" (3, p. 252). Jules sees in Hank Martin, too, a kind of political and personal genius. Jules tells Hank, "I have never met any man with a larger degree of potentiality for greatness. You can be a great man. A great leader, Hank" (3, p. 161). Both Jules' new appreciation for the common man, and his ability to recognize and to admire a great man such as Hank serve to humble him: to make him more human than he has ever been before.

But Jules, like Hank, is a bright man, perhaps even a man of genius. Professional jealousy concerning a politically-oriented law case causes the rift between the men. Although still directly associated through Hank's politics, they are now alienated. When Hank becomes Governor, moving up the
political ladder to greater power and corruption, Jules refuses to join his organization or to associate himself formally with this new Hank (3, p. 123). He has already forecast that Hank's political programs will make those at the top greedy for money and for power (3, p. 163), and now that those programs have been enacted, he can see that they are on the whole more destructive than productive (3, p. 312).

Jules Bolduc makes a formal declaration in the presence of Hank Martin, his one-time friend. Bolduc says, the "chief gift of all so-called leaders is to promote reason. But they grow drunk on power. You had the gift" (3, p. 314). Sadly, Jules must acknowledge that although the Big Lion, Hank Martin, may have had the gift, it has now been lost or sadly misused. Jules has, he realizes, been inspired by Hank's greatness and his power. He is a disillusioned man as he realizes that Hank's greatness has been sullied and is now worthless.

All men, says Jules, must "dismount from the Lion" (3, p. 314), because the Lion is on a course which can only take him and his followers to destruction. Fortunately, Hank Martin's power is destroyed by an unidentified assassin, a man so faceless that he is Everyman, or Anyman. He does not have to pay for his act because he is freed by Verity, Saber, and Jules when they discover him. He could in the context of the novel represent the element which
must rise up to destroy tyranny when it becomes the ruling force in a government (3, p. 342).

The picture drawn of Willie Stark's regime in All the King's Men is never that of a government so overtly tyrannous as Hank Martin's; however, it may have been so. At any rate, at the height of Willie's power, he is still admired by many, not despised by many, as Hank Martin is. Some of Willie's followers, says Jack Burden, fawn over him as if "warming their hands at the blaze of greatness" (5, p. 394). The soda fountain owner, Doc, slavishly draws up twice too many cokes for Willie and his party. The people from Willie's home town appear to worship him (5, p. 7). Those in his party in the car as the novel opens are bored and nervous, and they are anxious to get where they are going even though they have no particular desire to go there. What they are waiting for is the emotional stimulus of Willie Stark's personality, which they know will necessarily be available when they arrive and he goes to work (4, p. 428).

"Going to work" for Willie Stark means making a bombastic campaign speech, while claiming that he is not making a speech at all.

At least one man worships Willie Stark wholeheartedly. Willie's bodyguard, Sugar-Boy, is a simpleminded Irishman; his two pleasures in life are sucking sugar cubes and working for the Boss. Although the relationship between Tyler and Crawford in Number One is more complex than that between Sugar-Boy and Stark, Sugar-Boy nevertheless reacts as Tyler
does when his boss pays special attention to him: both act like a dog whose head is being scratched (5, p. 255). When the Boss talks to him, or about him, Sugar-Boy blushes. When the Boss talks about confidential matters in front of him, he is too simple and too loyal to comprehend or to reveal their meaning (5, p. 328). He reacts as a child might when Willie is shot, asking the Boss if it hurt much (5, p. 397).

Jack sees Sugar-Boy months after the Boss is dead, and Sugar-Boy is depressed, yet proud of the memory he will always possess of having shot Willie's assassin. Jack almost tells him that Tiny plotted Willie's death, a revelation which he knows would cause Sugar-Boy to commit murder. He does not tell him however, and Sugar-Boy is only hurt because Jack is teasing him (5, pp. 419-420). To Sugar-Boy, there will never be anyone else like the Boss. He admired so much the way the Boss talked! Now, what little strength Sugar-Boy has has been taken from him with Willie's death. And, Jack has robbed Sugar-Boy of one last act of glory: the opportunity to avenge that death (5, p. 422).

Stark is not such an inspiration to all the men who know him, however. For example, when Byram B. White becomes involved in a real estate deal which endangers Willie's political system, he soundly intimidates and humiliates the frightened little man (5, p. 132). Hugh Miller, Stark's Attorney General, resigns from Willie's Cabinet because he refuses to
be involved any longer with the politics of such a man. And, all of Willie's attempts to use mud-slinging to insult Judge Irwin, bringing him over to Stark's side, are dismal failures. The Judge does not scare; not even Willie can cause him to compromise that which he believes in.

Tiny Duffy, a man whom Stark says he allows to serve as Lieutenant Governor because someone has to fill the job, possesses another type of bad feeling, generated by Willie Stark. Tiny is probably full of self-contempt, and Jack says that Willie, too, at times does not like himself. Tiny Duffy becomes Willie's "other self," and all the insults and contempt which Willie heaps on Tiny are no more than what "one self of Willie Stark" does to the "other self because of a blind, inward necessity" (5, p. 98). Tiny is content to accept Stark's insults so long as it appears that his own career is not being impeded. There is, then, a delicate balance set up between the two men, whereby for every insult Stark renders, Duffy eventually will receive a small favor. Tiny implicitly has agreed not to ask for more than he has earned.

The division between the two men is probably a natural result of Stark's type of government, in which men use a type of gentle persuasion called blackmail in order to get what they want. The greedy Tiny Duffy tries many underhanded tactics in an attempt to put graft into Stark's new medical center. Stark becomes irate and threatens to break
Tiny politically. Jack observes that Tiny's reaction to being found out and refused by the Boss probably brings about his first thoughts of murder (5, p. 232). Later, Willie Stark, Tiny's "pal," throws a drink in Tiny's face. The proud man is hurt and humiliated (5, p. 362), and he is made to look foolish in the presence of others. Jack suddenly realizes that the creature, Tiny Duffy, is also a human being (5, p. 363).

After Tom Stark's football accident, Willie beings his new campaign to do "good." He tells Jack that he will begin doing good by telling Tiny that there will be no contract with Tiny's man, Gummy Larson. As a result, Tiny will lose his kickback. Financial injury to Tiny has been added to the previous humiliation. Willie Stark has in effect sealed his own fate, for Tiny probably begins at this point to plan the demagogue's assassination.

The man Tiny uses as the assassin is Dr. Adam Stanton, Friend of Jack Burden's Youth. Adam may represent Good in the novel. At any rate, his "ice-water blue, abstract eyes. . . [are] as unwavering as conscience" (5, p. 234), and his smile comes from the 'depth of the idea" he lives by (5, p. 236). Adam's "idea" is that "there was a time a long time back when everything was run by highminded, handsome men wearing knee breeches and silver buckles. . . . he is a romantic" (5, p. 247). Adam's idealism reeks of the kind of antiquated Southern chivalry which obsesses Quentin in
Sun in Capricorn. Quentin is willing to kill Gilgo Slade in order to protect the chivalrous ideal. But, Adam is a quiet, humble man who has never contemplated killing any living creature. In fact, his entire life has been devoted to creating and preserving life through his work as a doctor.

Willie Stark, however, has discovered the secret of what will make Adam Stanton feel fulfilled: Adam wants to do good. So, Willie has asked him to be director of the new medical center (5, p. 237). Adam knows that he and Willie represent two very different kinds of forces: perhaps Adam is the power of Idealism and Willie is the power of Realism. These two forces, Adam knows, are mutually incompatible, but he is willing to work for Willie so long as Stark's Realism does not overlap his own Idealism.

What eventually happens is that Adam is made to believe he is being asked to use his influence as director to convince Stark to throw the medical center contract to the corrupt Gummy Larson. The belief that he may be asked to take part in a situation which he considers wrong deeply offends Adam's sense of integrity. Then he hears that he may soon be fired as director of the medical center anyway, because he has "allowed" Tom Stark to be paralyzed. His ethics as a physician now have been violated. Finally, he hears that he has only received the appointment because his sister, Anne, is Willie Stark's mistress. Adam's definition of right and wrong is blown wide open. After he makes
accusations to Anne which she will never forget, he shoots Willie Stark.

Willie Stark may have been a powerful man, perhaps a corrupt politician, or even a tyrant. Even so, he is not guilty of any of the accusations which cause Adam to shoot him. Adam kills Stark in a spirit of hope; he believes that in killing Stark he can stamp out Evil. Adam, as a scientist, believes that the "molecule of good always behaves the same way. The molecule of bad always behaves the same way," just as "one molecule of oxygen always behaves the same way when it gets around two molecules of hydrogen" (5, p. 248).

Pure Idealism, represented by Adam, however, is unable to destroy pure Realism, represented by Willie. Instead, in the act of destroying, Idealism is itself destroyed. Willie's guards shoot Adam the instant he shoots Willie. Now both are dead, and neither has learned anything from the other. Just as the two notions are mutually incompatible in the world, so are the two men. They are both strong, unsusceptible to flattery. Each believes he knows everything about his own worth, and each believes that he, alone, is absolutely correct. They die, then, because they are unwilling to listen and to learn from one another.

The most complex relationship between one of these fictional demagogues and an associate is that of Willie Stark and his aide, Jack Burden. Jack is not only learning from Willie in the present, as they are associated with another.
He is also learning from Willie by examining the history of a man named Cass Mastern, and by examining his own history. Then, he learns even more from Willie Stark after Willie is dead and Jack reflects on their association.

At the end of the novel, it seems that Jack has been telling the story from the perspective of a man who has been through the experiences he relates. However, the novel also has a quality which makes it seem that Jack is telling the story as it happens, or perhaps as he recalls it. At first, his memories of his association with Willie Stark, which is what the novel is about, seem dreadful to him: he refers to the period of their association as "that dark backwood and abyssm of time" (5, p. 20). It is obvious that, when he begins his story, he wants to sort out that which he has learned from the relationship, for he says,

The end of man is knowledge, but there is one thing he can't know. He can't know whether knowledge will save him or kill him. He will be killed, all right, but he can't know whether he is killed because of the knowledge which he has got or because of the knowledge which he hasn't got (5, p. 9).

Jack is not sure, then, whether it is worthwhile to try to sort out knowledge gained, because he suspects, in the back of his mind, that what "you don't know don't hurt you, for it ain't real" (5, p. 30). However, Jack also gradually begins to realize through his association with a Realist, Willie Stark, that his own inability and unwillingness to face reality has made him the lonely, empty man he often perceives himself to be.
Jack's first encounter with Willie Stark occurs when Stark is just beginning his political career. At this time, Jack forms an opinion of Willie as "Cousin Willie from the country," and although he is impressed with the sincerity of Stark's handshake, Jack believes that Willie is actually just a hick who has big dreams. Jack must share these dreams, however, because he loses his journalist's job by going against his paper's "line," being too easy on Cousin Willie (5, pp. 98-99).

During the time Jack tells of his early association with Stark, he also tells of a time not long ago when he was working on his doctoral dissertation. His research revolved around an historical figure named Cass Mastern, and what Jack ultimately learns from Cass is important in the formulation of that which he will finally learn from Willie. Unlike Jack Burden, Cass Mastern had in his time been willing to accept "the full implications of his responsibility" (5, p. 430). Jack senses in retrospect that at the time he studied Cass Mastern, he could not have been expected to understand, first of all, how important the acceptance of one's responsibilities is, and secondly, how he had failed various people he had known in not accepting responsibilities. Jack has felt that he is privileged, that he can compartmentalize his experiences, that when one thing happens, it has nothing to do with anything else (5, p. 189). But
Jack realizes, as he speculates that Cass must have realized, that,

the world is all of one piece...the world is like an enormous spider web and if you touch it...the vibration ripples...and the drowsy spider feels the tingle and is drowsy no more but springs out to fling the gossamer coils about you...{(5, p. 188).

As a result of this discovery, he is beginning to realize that every act he has ever committed, or failed to commit, has caused other actions or reactions. He possibly will not be held accountable for his deeds until the hereafter, but he is beginning to suspect that he is accountable right now.

Jack sees an illustration of his new-found knowledge of personal accountability in the medical center Willie Stark plans to build. He is thoroughly suspicious of Willie's motives in building the hospital, believing that Stark is building it only to get votes while he is alive, and to have his name blessed when he is dead. Jack refuses to involve himself with the medical center; this is one of the few times Jack has stood up for his beliefs when they have contradicted Willie's (5, p. 233). Jack tries to rationalize that some good will eventually come of Willie's bad motives, thinking that, where the "complicated contraption" called the human race is concerned, "the good comes out of bad and the bad out of good" (5, p. 248). He also tries to break Willie's actions down into an historical theory, as Tyler
has tried to do with Crawford's. Jack calls his philosophy the "theory of historical costs," or the "moral neutrality of history." "Process as process," says Jack, "is neither morally good nor morally bad. We may judge results but not process. The morally bad agent may perform the deed which is good" (5, pp. 393-394).

In concerning himself so wholeheartedly with the historical process going on as Willie Stark lives and acts, Jack cannot avoid going back over his own historical process, in an attempt to see if he, as a morally good agent, has inadvertently performed a bad deed.

When he was young, Jack had fallen in love with Anne Stanton, and she had seemed to love him, too. They dated for a summer. The only commitment Anne asked from Jack was a commitment to do something worthwhile with his life. He promised to go to law school, but did not. Then, he did not complete his Ph.D. He must admit in retrospect that he has failed to accept the responsibility of the commitment he made to Anne.

Also, at the end of their summer, they almost made love. If they had gone on with the act and had been discovered, they would have been rushed into matrimony. Instead, Jack seemed afraid, even ashamed to make love to her. Anne realized that, even though she was willing to make the plunge into a deep commitment, Jack was unable or unwilling to do so. Their relationship tapered off into nothingness over a
period of years. Jack realizes as he thinks about the relationship that his failure to commit himself to Anne in these two instances has cost him her love for life. He says he is willing, however, to accept the conclusion that "whatever was is not now" (5, p. 201). If one has any memories of the past, Jack advises that he get rid of them, be born again, and begin a new life in the present (5, p. 272).

In giving this advice, Jack is again only avoiding commitment, because he truly loves Anne Stanton. She is now, however, involved with Willie Stark. Willie, like Jack, loves her; however, Willie is willing to commit himself to the responsibility of participating in a deep and meaningful relationship. Even before Willie's assassination, Jack realizes that he has thrown Anne and Willie together through his own apathy. After Willie's death, Jack becomes aware that he and Anne have been partners in an "unwitting conspiracy to commit Adam Stanton and Willie Stark to each other and to their death" (5, p. 405-406). Adam Stanton has murdered Willie Stark in order to uphold a code of morality which is archaic and unrealistic. Adam has shot the demagogue also because of offenses he has imagined or which have been falsely represented to him. Therefore, Willie Stark has ultimately been shot under false pretenses. Jack, in failing Anne, has driven her finally to Stark. Sadie Burke's jealousy of Anne has been the deciding factor in the assassination attempt, ultimately in Stark's death. Jack must
face the realization that he had begun this bizarre chain of events twenty years before when he failed a young girl who loved him. Whatever the forces that have brought Adam and Willie together, they are dead now, and Jack realizes that he and Anne are the only survivors.

Jack is learning from his reflections that Willie's goals, good or bad, do not justify his "reprehensible" acts. Rubin suggests that, in this case, to do good for bad ends, or to do bad for good ends, makes one a "divided man" (4, p. 430). The important lesson Jack is learning is that all the acts performed, by himself or by Willie, do have ends. Everything is always connected, and the spider is always lurking, ready to strike. Jack is unable to deliver Willie's murderer, Tiny Duffy, to Sugar-Boy, because he knows that, in loving Anne in such an idealistic and unrealistic manner, he has perpetuated the notions which have helped to deliver Willie to his murderer (5, p. 420). He is then as guilty of murder as Tiny is.

History begins to repeat itself as Jack begins to be seriously in love with Anne, as he had been at seventeen. This time, of course, he knows that a part of their present and their future must be the acceptance of the "burden of the past," because "only out of the past can you make the future" (5, p. 435). Willie Stark, Adam Stanton, and Judge Irwin are all dead, victims of their own goodness or their own badness, both of which, Jack realizes, are
identical. Each man has been asked to pay for a crime: the crime of "being a man and living in the world of men." In this world, the crime and the penance are one and the same (5, p. 332).

Jack must accept the fact that he has clung to his image of Willie as a country hick, while in reality the man has been maturing and becoming more capable of using power to manipulate other men. Jack does not see the evil in Willie during the demagogue's lifetime; instead Jack has idealized him. Now, after Stark's death, he can see that Willie's nature, like every man's nature, is evil as well as good, and that men must strive, then, to reach if nothing else a state "least wasteful of human good" (4, p. 431). Jack is not evading his responsibilities now in two important areas. He admits that he loves Anne deeply, so they marry. Also, he knows that he loves politics, so he plans to join up with a politician somewhat different from Willie Stark. He is Stark's ex-Attorney General, Hugh Miller, a man about whose nature one must say, at least: it is more good than evil.
CHAPTER BIBLIOGRAPHY


CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

The acquisition, possession, and growth of personal power are definitely the key factors in the personality of the American Southern demagogue, characterized in four fictional representations of Huey Pierce Long. Although these demagogues come from humble beginnings, early in their careers they believe they have received a mandate to lead the simple people out of their backward state. The demagogues often use outrageously brash tactics in their quest to obtain more and more power. However, because their personalities are oriented, seemingly from birth, to the use of power, they are able to use it skillfully and with a rather great amount of success.

Power is a heady tool and can only damage those it touches when it is misused or overused. This study has examined then the effect of the power wielded by these four demagogues on people with whom they are personally associated. In every case, power is overused. Their lives, like Long's, are lived quickly, passionately, intensely. Their political careers progress rapidly, moving the demagogue in a very short period from obscurity into a position of prominence. These rapid moves into powerful positions invariably work changes in the demagogues' personalities. In some cases,
the changes have been obvious enough to be seen clearly. In others, the changes have been gradual and subtle.

In the case of each of these demagogues, the overuse of power has gradually made them targets of those who do not understand or are threatened by intense power. Then, soon after they have become targets, they have by their misuse of power goaded the lurking would-be assassins into killing them. It would almost seem that the demagogues are fortunate in dying young; lives being lived so intensely could not sustain their momentum for too long.

Each clutches his life fiercely, however. Probably each would have willingly echoed the last words of the real Huey Long, "God, don't let me die. I have so much to do" (1, p. 920). After his death, each of the demagogues has become a political legend: deeply mourned by the people and not soon forgotten.

If the life and the death of the demagogue affect the general population so dramatically, it is to be expected that they would also dramatically affect the life of a close associate. It has been found that the demagogues' female associates are generally strong women, and the commitment between the man and the woman is absolute. The totality of the bond has often caused the undoing of the woman/demagogue relationship because neither the strong woman nor the strong man is able to function autonomously in such a confining relationship. The women usually begin their associations
with the demagogues by attempting to conform to their demands. Soon, however, their reckless misuse of power drives the women away. Although they usually do not go out of the demagogues' lives, the women always leave them either physically or emotionally. In most cases, the strong female associate ultimately changes in order to resist or to put up a barrier against the demagogue. So, her changes finally are made in spite of him. Then, she usually becomes an internally strengthened, uncompromising woman of the type the demagogue would have admired. However, part of her strengthening process is usually overcoming the shock of his assassination. So, by the time she has evolved into the type of woman he has wanted, he is dead.

The weak women are quite often chosen by the demagogues as lovers or in order to satisfy casual romantic interests. These women do not evolve because their association with the demagogue is brief and not usually meaningful.

The men whose experiences with the demagogues create situations which could potentially be didactic for the reader are the emotionally strong men. The demagogue does not always choose to surround himself completely with strong men; instead, he uses some weak men to fulfill certain needs.

The principal male associates studied have been the men of strong character. Only two are very weak men. They are most dramatically affected by the loss or the death of the
demagogue; in order to have benefited from an association with him they would have had to be affected to a greater extent by his life.

The strong male associates of demagogues evolve in many cases in harmony with the progression of the demagogue's career. In every case, the overuse of power is the factor which drives these men away from the demagogue in an attempt to find a more valid approach to experience. Some associates, particularly Jack Burden, are committed to the demagogue until death and after even though he misuses power. Nevertheless, Jack is able to view the demagogue's power in its proper perspective and learn from having seen its misuse.

Some male associates withdraw their commitment to the demagogue and move away from him. In every case, development is seen in every male associate, just as it has been seen in every female associate. Whether affected in a positive or negative way, one thing must be said about every personal associate: he or she is affected. None of the men or women goes away untouched, unscathed by his relationship, brief or lengthy, with the powerful fictional Southern demagogue, one of whom, Willie Stark, may live longer in history than the real person who was his progenitor, Huey Pierce Long.
CHAPTER BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books


Dos Passos, John, Number One, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1943.


Warren, Robert Penn, All the King's Men, New York, Bantam Books, 1946.


Articles

Rubin, Louis D., Jr., "All the King's Meanings," Georgia Review, 8(Winter, 1954), 422-434.

Book Reviews


Book Review Digest, 42(March, 1946-February, 1947), 858.


The Nation, 155(September 26, 1942), 278.

The New Yorker, 22(August 24, 1946), 70.


Rosenfeld, Isaac, "The Difficult Art of Fiction," The New Republic, 107(October 19, 1942), 519-520.
Schorer, Mark, *The Yale Review*, 32 (Summer, 1943), x.

Streator, George, *Commonweal*, 36 (October 2, 1942), 570.

