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Cutting Up the Century

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"A RIGGED THOUSAND YEARS"

A perfect phrase to mark the anniversary of Burroughs' birth and the enduring legacy of his oeuvre, *Cutting Up the Century* is also an apt term to describe the project formed by Burroughs' most experimental creative work. *Naked Lunch* (1959) may always remain his singular masterpiece, but the decade-long engagement with cut-up methods that Burroughs began after that book's publication was an enterprise of a categorically different nature, a *project*, in which the book was just one form of writing, and writing was just one medium among others. The Cut-Up Project aimed to "cut up the century" because its revolutionary goal was to change the future by changing time itself—as Burroughs announced in the blistering block capitals that mark his earliest cut-up texts and polemics: "ALL OUT OF TIME AND INTO SPACE. FOREVER" (Burroughs 2006, 71).[1] What he meant by "time" is the very texture and causal logic of the world we know, the "IMMUTABLE REALITY OF THE UNIVERSE," and he called this natural-seeming continuity that masks its alien and artificial construction "THE SOFT MACHINE."[2] Cut-up methods assumed that reality was not represented by words and images but produced by them, so that cutting up was a way to shatter the illusion by denaturalizing appearances and making visible the conspiracy that sustains them *in time*: "This is war between those of us who want out and those who want to keep us all locked in time. The cut ups are not for artistic purposes. The cut ups are a weapon a sword. I bring not peace but pieces. Time cut to pieces. Cut time to pieces" (Burroughs 1961a). When Burroughs spoke of *cutting up time*, far from being historically and philosophically abstract, however, he was being strictly material, referencing the temporality and ideology of the specific project and specific uses of words and images against which he defined his own. That's to say, he was cutting up the *American Century*.

The American Century was first popularized as a term in the early 1940s and was relaunched fifty years later as the Project for the *New* American Century, the right-wing think tank that was a driving force behind the Bush-Cheney administration and the War on Terror. During the decade of the Cut-Up Project,

Burroughs in effect launched his own Century as a terroristic counter-project to the American Century, which in broad terms embodied everything he opposed: monopolistic consumer capitalism and conservative ideology at home taken to a higher power by an imperialistic ambition to remake the entire world in the image of America. The 1990s relaunch was more militaristic and jingoistic in how this imperium would be established, but the fundamentals had already been laid down when the term was used on the eve of America's entry into World War II.

Burroughs was implacably against all that this American Century stood for, and his work can be read as a vitriolic counterattack and visionary mapping of alternative futures—all the more powerful because of course Burroughs came from the imperial class himself. That's why in his fiction he could play the Ugly American so convincingly; as a descendent of "Poison Ivy" Lee, the father of public relations and PR man for Rockefeller, and grandson of the founder of the Burroughs Adding Machine Company, whose computers for big business and the military rivaled IBM in the postwar era, William S. Burroughs had the empire of the American Century written into his DNA.

However, the *content* of the term American Century is not its main significance for understanding what we might, ironically, call "the Burroughs Century." More important was the *medium* in which the term was popularized and through which it operated, because this directs us to not just the content of the Burroughs oeuvre but also to the particular experimental methods and forms it would take. Cut-up methods have usually been contextualized within avant-garde and literary history—citing Burroughs' own citations from Tristan Tzara to T. S. Eliot—or have been related to other postwar subversive cultural movements, such as the Situationist International. Yet to see the Cut-Up Project chiefly in terms of artistic predecessors and fellow radicals is to misread how Burroughs worked at a *material* level, and it is through its materiality that Burroughs' oeuvre is most integrally connected to the American Century as its binary opposite.

The American Century was promoted in and embodied by a set of highly influential material practices, and the term appeared as the title of a February 1941 editorial, in the flagship of American photojournalism: Henry Luce's *LIFE* magazine. Burroughs' antipathy toward Luce's magazines is very well known; there are hostile references in numerous texts and interviews during the 1960s, most famously his declaration to the *Paris Review* in 1965 that "*Time, Life, Fortune* is some sort of police organization" (Burroughs 1965a, 35), and in the same year Burroughs produced his own cut-up edition of *TIME* (Burroughs 2001, 73). While he would often speak in broad terms about wanting to expose the "true criminality of our times," his attacks on Luce were always very precise in associating "our times" with Luce's Time and in recognizing his project's temporal ambitions as indeed criminal (81). A 1962 draft for the revised *Soft Machine* accordingly magnified Luce's American Century into a full blown millennium: "Past crimes high lighted Luce—he boasted of a rigged thousand years—."[3]

Luce's 1941 editorial championing the American Century in *LIFE* will seem bland to anyone reading it for the first time in the rearview mirror of the Project for the *New* American Century. Taken at face value, the *American Century* meant simply time *for* America: time to end its history of isolationism and take its place as a global power by entering World War II. But when Luce says "it is America's first century as a dominant power" and then repeats the phrase, the inference leaks out: the twentieth century is the first American Century in the sense that a second must surely follow, and then a third . . . (Luce 1941, 64–65). Luce's text operated as an imperialistic mission statement, a blueprint for America as the measure of all things and for the Americanization of the globe. Its subtext was a world that runs on *American time*, to the end of time, to the end of history: universal and immutable. In effect, Luce fantasized bringing temporality itself under permanent American control, and so leads straight to Francis Fukuyama, author of *The End of History and the Last Man* (1992) and one of the founding signatories of the New American Century.

Indeed, for Luce the "end of history" was already being shaped by what he called an "immense American internationalism. American jazz, Hollywood movies, American slang, American machines and patented products" (1941, 65). *TIME*, *LIFE*, and *Fortune* were themselves part of this emergent globalization, and we have to remind ourselves that they did far more than dominate the US newsmagazine market; *TIME*, *LIFE*, and *Fortune* set the global standard for how the news was represented in word and image, and for how complex events were synthesized and reduced to predigested sound-bites that served a single narrative vision. Although they had a narrowly conservative agenda, the magazines successfully gave an impression of objectivity and omniscience, while their promotion of American culture and commerce as the new universal currency served Luce's goal to project a vision of the nation to itself and the world until the two visions fully coincided. The owner of the TIME-LIFE publishing empire didn't advocate a coercive imperialism of force, therefore, because unlike the Project for the New American Century, he had faith in the soft sell of an empire of images. Luce believed in exercising *soft power*, using media representations rather than military hardware, which is why we can understand Burroughs' cut-up oeuvre as a guerrilla counter-project to the American Century.

Burroughs opposed Luce's magazines not only for their reductive reportage and conservative content or even for their brutal reviews of his books—he actually sued *Time* because of one in 1963—but, more important, he opposed them because he took their titles literally, took Luce at his word. He saw that Luce's magazines projected a world that would embody the American way of *life*, that would run on American *time*, and that would define *fortune* in terms of the American Dream. Quite literally, Luce ensured that whenever anyone referred to *time* they named his magazine, so that Burroughs' refrain "ALL OUT OF TIME AND INTO SPACE" (Burroughs 2006, 71) referenced both one of Luce's titles and the temporal order of his magazines; that's to say, the ways in which they recorded events to make

narrative sense of "the times" and therefore projected the onward march of history, whose commanding voice had narrated Luce's *March of Time* radio and newsreel programs throughout the 1930s and 1940s. Burroughs' cut-up magazine *TIME* was one of many works, including his *Moving Times* three-column newspaper format texts of the mid-1960s, that took the temporality of Luce's title literally, experimenting with "time travel" by scrambling media reportage.[4] The uniquely disorientating temporal experience of Burroughs' book-length cut-up texts, with their nonlinear recyclings of material and vertiginous flashes of déjà vu, can also be read as ways to disrupt and escape both "time" in a philosophical sense and "the times," the teleological drumbeat of Luce's American Century, the universal time of global capitalism.

Burroughs' understanding that the man who owned *TIME*, *LIFE*, and *Fortune* was in effect seeking to copyright the terms, is clearest from an unpublished manuscript composed shortly after he began using cut-up methods: "When Tzara first pulled words out of a hat the conspiracy of *Life Time Fortune* to monopolize Life Time and Fortune would have been smashed before it started."[5] Here, as elsewhere, Burroughs backdates cut-up methods to Tristan Tzara, but in a distinctive invocation of his Dada predecessor of the 1920s he ties the methods even more closely to Luce's news media and their imperialistic postwar agenda. Projecting the "conspiracy" of Luce's *Time* back in time and imagining defeating it through cut-up methods, this was Burroughs' first attempt to retroactively rewrite history, a project that would become fully explicit in his "Red Night" trilogy of novels. The nightmare of Luce's endless American Century, "a rigged thousand years," animates Burroughs' visionary mapping of alternative futures—of alternative *times* and alternative *temporalities*. At the high-water mark of the Cut-Up Project in 1970, Burroughs famously created his own time zone in the form of a "'Dream Rat' Calendar." The Calendar of ten months with 23 days attempted to make an everyday practice out of the revolutionary aim announced in *The Revised Boy Scout Manual* that it is "Time to forget a dead empire and build a living republic": "Step 1: PROCLAIM A NEW ERA AND SET UP A NEW CALENDAR" (Burroughs 1982, 9, 5).

A WAR OF TWO TRILOGIES

The "new era" of the Burroughs Century was a direct counter to Luce's American Century, and it is tempting not only to see the Cut-Up Project as the story of a writer who took on Luce's media empire but also to speak of a War of Two Trilogies: *The Soft Machine*, *Nova Express*, and *The Ticket That Exploded* versus *TIME*, *LIFE*, and *Fortune*. However, this isn't quite the case, and not simply because the war against Luce informed hundreds of short cut-up texts, scrapbooks, photo-collages, films, and audio tapes as well as a trilogy of books. Rather, it's not the case because Burroughs' rival trilogy was never planned or conceptualized as such.

One of the most startling discoveries to emerge from researching the "restored" editions of *The Soft Machine*, *The Ticket That Exploded*, and *Nova Express* was to realize that Burroughs never once referred to the three as "The Cut-Up Trilogy." In fact, whenever he grouped three books together in the early 1960s, it was always to conjure different trilogies. Most materially there was *Dead Fingers Talk*, published in England in 1963, which creatively collaged together parts of Burroughs' three Olympia Press titles, *The Naked Lunch*, *The Soft Machine*, and *The Ticket That Exploded*. While that trilogy left out *Nova Express*, other permutations left out *The Ticket That Exploded*. Indeed, the trilogy in "Introduction to *Naked Lunch The Soft Machine Novia Express*" [*sic*],[6] published in *Evergreen Review* in January 1962, is also named in the text of *Nova Express* itself. The only instance when Burroughs actually uses the word "trilogy" at all (in an unpublished manuscript also from early 1962) is again for these three titles: "My present work is *Novia Express* [. . .]—This is the last book of a trilogy—*Naked Lunch The Soft Machine*."[7] But even if we do group the three cut-up book titles together, we still don't end up with "The Cut-Up Trilogy," since the result of Burroughs issuing revised versions was six different editions, including two *Tickets* (1962, 1967) and three entirely different *Soft Machines* (1961, 1966, 1968).

The trilogy's bizarre bibliographic history is well known, but the problem is much greater than most critics still muddling up the editions and nobody ever being quite sure what the textual differences are. Even leaving aside the backstories to how the texts were written and rewritten—which complicate the received wisdom at a genetic level—the six published editions effectively scrambled the chronology of the titles and make nonsense of the universally accepted sequence (first *The Soft Machine*, then *The Ticket*, finally *Nova Express*). The six editions have potentially no fewer than 120 combinations—a far from idle calculation, given Brion Gysin's application of cut-up principles to his Permutation Poems: instead of "RUB OUT THE WORD," we can rub out "The Cut-Up Trilogy" by permutating the titles. Or to put this another way, philosophically as well as practically we must insist on the shifting, multiple alternative possibilities that are otherwise lost when we use the definite article to speak of *The* Trilogy as if it comprised three texts, conceived as a group and existing in one chronological order. Even though it was the result of material contingencies rather than a plan—or rather precisely *because* it was the result of material contingencies rather than a plan—the ungraspable ontological fluidity of Burroughs' "trilogy" reproduced the disorientating temporality internal to each text. Individually and collectively, the cut-up volumes were therefore an implicit counter to the teleology, fixed temporal order, and commonsense reality projected by Luce's trilogy.

"OPEN LETTER TO LIFE"

Burroughs' recognition of *TIME*, *LIFE*, and *Fortune* as the trilogy of his enemy both coincided with and determined the very genesis of the cut-up method. The

stories told by Burroughs and Gysin of what happened at the Beat Hotel on the left bank of Paris in the first days of October 1959 have often been repeated, so often that the crucial presence of Henry Luce has remained hidden in plain sight.

To begin with, Burroughs' discovery of the cut-up method—or the creation myth of the project, in the sense that its truth depends as much on what they said about it as on what did or did not happen—was the chance encounter of two chance encounters, both mediated by *LIFE* magazine. Burroughs had been interviewed by "the *Time* police"—as he dubbed David Snell and Loomis Dean, the reporter-photographer double act from *LIFE*—on the very day that Gysin demonstrated to him the first cut-up texts at the Beat Hotel: "Returning to room #25 I found Brion Gysin holding a scissors, bits of newspaper, *LIFE, TIME*, spread out on a table" (Burroughs 1978, 28). In any other context, these would be superficial coincidences; not so in relation to the Cut-Up Project, whose chance-based methods sought out coincidences for their potent and enigmatic significance. That's why Burroughs and Gsyin played down, for example, the crucial role of the Paris edition of the *International Herald Tribune* as source material for the original cut-up texts created on the first day of October 1959:[8] they left certain things unsaid the better to play up how those chance encounters with *LIFE* inaugurated their recognition of synchronicities as *signs*. The precise point of intersection involving *LIFE* has been lost, however, because those retelling the anecdotes usually refer generically to Gysin cutting up "newspapers" and then overlook the importance of his naming "*Life Magazine advertisements*" as source material for his "First Cut-Ups" in *Minutes to Go* (1960). What has also been missed is that the cut-up method's launching manifesto retrospectively identified the prophetic power of those encounters with *LIFE* magazine due to a third encounter with *LIFE* that took place at the end of the following month (Gysin 1960, 6).[9]

Almost always just name-checked in accounts of the Cut-Up Project, *Minutes to Go* is especially revealing about the early and central importance of Luce's newsmagazines. Although Luce's presence is easily overlooked, it is right there in the title (which puts *time* center stage), and in the chance-based methods of textual production (*fortune*), while direct references materially connect the work of all four contributors. Just as Gysin acknowledges the use of *LIFE* adverts, so one of Burroughs' cut-up poems ("FROM SAN DIEGO UP TO MAINE") credits *Time* as a source text, one of Gregory Corso's poems identifies the 1950s as the "*Time* decade," and the fourth collaborator, Sinclair Beiles, not only credits *LIFE* magazine as the source of "TELEGRAM FROM MEKNES," but makes repeated cut-up puns on the name of Henry Luce: "SEWERPLUCE OIL"; "LUSEOIL"; "Luceairbase"; "SURPLUCE" (Beiles et al. 1960, 21, 32, 38). And this evidence is all secondary to Exhibit A, the text immediately following Gysin's "First Cut-Ups," which identifies the crucial third encounter between Burroughs and *LIFE*: "OPEN LETTER TO LIFE MAGAZINE."

The significance of "OPEN LETTER TO LIFE MAGAZINE" is multiple. To begin with, this was actually the very first cut-up text to be published, having

already appeared in the winter 1959 issue of *Nomad*, which was precisely the kind of short-lived, self-published little magazine that sprang up in the 1950s and 1960s to contest the monopoly power of mainstream media empires. If the little magazine as a medium was ideally suited to publishing a text that was an Open Letter reply to another, larger magazine, so too was the pamphlet form of *Minutes to Go*. Renewing "the old pamphlet days when writers fought in the street,"[10] Burroughs disseminated "OPEN LETTER TO LIFE MAGAZINE" and his other first cut-up texts in what he knew was historically the medium of choice for radicals issuing manifestoes, experiments, and provocations, for making single-shot attacks, hit-and-run counterattacks, ripostes, and rebuttals. The pamphlet form, the Open Letter, and the cut-up method were all ways of "settling the score," as a wraparound band issued with some copies of *Minutes to Go* declared.[11] And so, secondly, by adopting the genre of the Open Letter, the text formally declares itself a public statement that aims to set the record straight: answering back to *LIFE*, speaking out against the media machine. To take this text's title literally is to see that in *Minutes to Go* the cut-up method itself was addressed to Henry Luce, and the archival evidence supports such a reading.[12] The message of the "open letter" therefore lies partly in the content—to which I'll turn shortly—but must mainly be found in the method, which is the strategy of *détournement*: turning the words of those who attack you by misrepresenting reality back against them. The term *détournement* had recently been coined by the Letterists and Situationists, also operating in Paris, but Burroughs owed nothing to Isou or Debord any more than he did to Tzara or Duchamp.[13] For Burroughs was not responding to *LIFE* with the tactics of avant-gardes past or present: he was responding with the very tactics of his enemy, since *LIFE* magazine had just attacked him in the text he cut up to make "OPEN LETTER TO LIFE MAGAZINE."[14] Appearing in the November 30, 1959, issue, the *LIFE* article featured Burroughs in a sneering attack on the Beat Generation, dubbed "The Only Rebellion Around." The importance of this particular issue of *LIFE* to *Minutes to Go* is made even clearer by Beiles's "TELEGRAM FROM MEKNES," which cut up another article from the same magazine, about the poisoning of 10,000 Moroccans who used cooking oil adulterated with surplus machine oil bought from a US air base—hence "SEWERPLUCE OIL"; "LUSEOIL"; "Luceairbase"—a report whose fusion of literally toxic capitalism with American military imperialism in the context of Luce's magazine inspired "the whole rancid oil scandal of The Trak Sex and Dream Utilities" in *The Soft Machine* (Burroughs 2014b, 39).[15]

In a small but telling footnote to "OPEN LETTER," in *Minutes to Go* the source text from *LIFE* is identified, but the date of the issue given is wrong: "Dec 5 1959," rather than November 30, 1959 (Beiles et al. 1960, 12).[16] What might be dismissed in other contexts as merely an error, takes on an entirely new meaning in *Minutes to Go*, which deploys numerous similar minor inconsistencies and a mass of apparent typos to unsettling effect. In this instance, changing the *time* of the *LIFE* article becomes a model in miniature of how to rewrite history. The

misdating affirms the cut-up method and the genre of the open letter as modes of reply, since one of the things Burroughs learned from *LIFE* was precisely how the media falsified history by habitually getting the facts wrong.[17] Taken together, however, these details merely hint at the crucial material importance of the November 30, 1959, issue of *LIFE* magazine for how Burroughs conceived and applied cut-up methods.

"NAKED LIGHT BULBS"

Burroughs' appearance in this issue of *LIFE* has become well known through the photograph showing him in his room at the Beat Hotel. This was not the first public picture of Burroughs as an author, since his image had appeared a couple of months earlier, in summer 1959, in *Big Table* magazine and on the back of the Olympia Press *Naked Lunch*. But the picture in *LIFE* was categorically different, most obviously in terms of circulation, which ran into the millions rather than the low hundreds and reached around the world. While Burroughs' first appearance in the mainstream media was significant for his reception as a writer, what is most revealing and surprising is its importance for his own creative *production*. Here, for the first time, Burroughs could see his place within the medium, see how his image and his own words could be turned against him, and I would argue that he learned how to develop his own methods from the example of *LIFE* rather than from Tristan Tzara and the historical avant-garde.[18] Taking the methods of his enemies literally, Burroughs learned how to fight fire with fire.

The caption to the photograph in *LIFE* tells us what to see: "EX-DOPE ADDICT William Burroughs, who describes drug-taking in *Junky* and *Naked Lunch*, now lives in Paris in what has become known as Beat Hotel" (O'Neil 1959, 124).[19] Far from evoking the expatriate glamour of Hemingway and Fitzgerald, Paris here looks boring, grey, and uncomfortable: there Burroughs sits, on a sagging bed, staring toward the floor of his little room, beneath a naked light bulb. The caption describes him as a writer in the Beat Hotel in Paris, but the image seems to show a man in solitary confinement inside Beat Prison.

What's interesting is that Burroughs had praised the "brilliant photography" of Loomis Dean (Burroughs 1993, 429), who took no fewer than five rolls of pictures, showing Burroughs the writer at work in front of his typewriter, in a Paris bookstore promoting the just-published *Naked Lunch*, chatting with a crowd in the bar of the Beat Hotel, sitting with Brion Gysin surrounded by paintings, and so on—and that out of all this rich variety, and even from alternative shots of Burroughs on his own, *LIFE* chose the most solitary, most downbeat image they could. However, it was more than a simple matter of the choice of image. To see the verbal-visual strategy at work in *LIFE*—indeed to recognize that its manipulation of words and images *was* strategic, and therefore to see what Burroughs saw and learned from *LIFE*—we need to pull back to the bigger picture of how the magazine framed the Beats in terms of the core, everyday value that had

defined Henry Luce's American Century: the promise of a "more abundant life" (Luce 1941, 64).

The article on the Beats runs to seventeen pages, making it by far the longest piece in the issue; but the text is only five thousand words—far fewer, for example, than the text of Luce's "American Century" editorial, which in 1941 took up just five pages in *LIFE*. The article is so long because it is interrupted by no fewer than twenty-nine separate advertisements, ensuring that the coverage of the Beats is framed by commercials promoting and embodying the "abundant life" that defined the American Century. Unsurprisingly, the text of the article lampooned the Beats for living in poverty in the "Age of Supermarkets," but the real work of critique and mockery was achieved by the precise juxtaposition of monochrome images of the Beats with glossy color adverts featuring happy Americans. Appropriately, the only spread without a commercial is the very first, which is an ironic lifestyle ad reconstructing a "Beat Pad," although the couple featured in it were clearly not Beats but *beatniks*. If one of the key strategies in the *LIFE* article was to contrast the Beats with the infinite possibilities of consumerist desire, the other was to blur the distinction between the writers they featured as Beat (Ginsberg, Kerouac, Burroughs, Corso, and McClure were all pictured) and the followers of the beatnik fashion craze. Ginsberg—who loathed the "foul word 'beatnik'"—had already seen this strategy at work two months earlier in *LIFE*'s September 21 "Squaresville U.S.A. vs. Beatsville" article, which had prompted him to lament being willfully "confused with the image of a beatnik disseminated via mass media" (Ginsberg 2008, 222, 224).

Featuring all the essentials for "uncomfortable living," as the caption mockingly listed them, the Beat Pad is empty and deliberately dull, featuring an old coal stove and very little else. Self-evidently, the Beat Chick needs the device advertised overleaf that's "better than a kitchen exhaust fan" and could give "her an odor-free, smoke-free, grease-free kitchen for only $39.95" ("*What a gift for Mom!*").[20] Bearing in mind that the Nixon-Khrushchev "Kitchen Debate" had taken place in Moscow only four months earlier, the kitchen exhaust fan wasn't simply the latest in consumer products advertised by *LIFE* but a symbolic object of national importance. (By implication, and fulfilling the verbal play on Sputnik, the Beatniks unpatriotically adhere to Soviet standards of kitchen appliances.) The stakes were therefore as high as the punches aimed against the Beat writers were low: the juxtaposition of the happy housewife with her kitchen fan on one half of the page opposite a picture captioned "horsing around" on the other, showing Allen Ginsberg pulling "a scary face at Gregory Corso, who makes a motion as if to shoot him," only proves how immature the poets are not to want a nice new wife and kitchen (O'Neil 1959, 120). Clearly enough, this was payback for Ginsberg's challenge to Luce's world, which had gone public in 1956 in *Howl and Other Poems* with the open question: "Are you going to let your emotional life be run by Time Magazine?"[21] The alluring sales talk of *LIFE*'s all-American consumer culture responds to poems such as "America" and "A Supermarket in California" by trapping its author inside their

supermarket of a magazine and by ridiculing people who would *choose* to live in a room with a naked light bulb—number three in the list of essentials for the well-equipped Beat Pad.

And here we see how carefully organized the magazine was, since the horror of the bulb without a shade is precisely the standout feature in the photograph of Burroughs, thereby connecting him to those sad beatnik losers. Showing the awful naked light bulb stands in for the need to say anything at all about *Naked Lunch*—although had staff writer Paul O'Neil gotten as far as the first page of the book, published three months earlier, he would have encountered William Lee ridiculing a representative of Madison Avenue in the shape of an "advertising exec type fruit" (Burroughs 2003, 3).

"READ IT AGAIN"

"OPEN LETTER TO LIFE MAGAZINE" cut up a good deal from the passages in the *LIFE* article about Burroughs, including lines describing his drug use: "ijuana, majoun, hashish, candy" (Beiles et al. 1960, 11). What makes this example of textual *détournement* so significant is the literally bigger picture of the page in the spread of the magazine. As representatives of American consumer culture, the adverts in *LIFE* don't just dominate the article about Burroughs and the Beats, they interrupt it in order to produce a series of composite texts; the page featuring the image of Burroughs is one of six that are divided into two columns, half text/half adverts, while another two pages are divided into three columns where the text is literally framed either side by ads.

In the case of Burroughs, the two-column page cuts him up and folds him in with the advertisements. At first sight, the strategy seems obvious enough. Only on rereading the juxtaposition of advertisement and text do we see its peculiar but precise relevance: "Candettes taste like orange candy, but don't let that fool you . . ." says the ad for a sore throat product in the left column. Just below, the text in the right column tells us that Burroughs dosed himself with "alcohol, heroin, marijuana, kif and a hashish candy" (O'Neil 1959, 124). In any other context, this would be mere happenstance, a meaningless verbal coincidence of candies to match the meaningless visual coincidence of light bulbs—but not in this context and not for Burroughs. On the contrary, *he* wasn't fooled: this was exactly the kind of seemingly random intersection or irrational juxtaposition that revealed how reality was produced through a complex system of subliminal signs. Recognizing the *formal* dimension to the magazine's hatchet job, Burroughs must have seen proof of the prophetic character of those chance encounters with *LIFE* that had initiated the cut-up method just two months earlier.

Burroughs' practical response to subliminal advertising, waking suggestion, and other techniques of the "hidden persuaders" (in the resonant phrase of Vance Packard's 1957 study of Madison Avenue) began here. In *Nova Express*, he described the decoding operation involved: "Our technicians learn to read newspapers and

magazines for juxtaposition statements rather than contents" (Burroughs 2014a, 89). That description dates from early 1962, and Burroughs would periodically keep rediscovering the principle, as when informing Gysin two years later: "Newspapers are cut up by format. You read the adjacent columns while you read this column [. . .] This is the secret of their power to mould thought feeling and subsequent events" (Burroughs 2012, 140). Inspired by Jeff Nuttall's *My Own Mag*, 1964 was a critical year for his development and application of the principle, leading to a mass of three-column newspaper formatted texts and the pamphlets *APO-33* and *TIME* in 1965; but the point of origin for Burroughs' discovery was his encounter with *LIFE* magazine in late 1959. The cross-column readings Burroughs would promote in his own three-column layout texts of the mid-1960s and also the "Juxtaposition Formulae" he described at work in a photomontage were both modeled from *LIFE*.

To say that *LIFE* magazine cut up William Burroughs before he cut up *LIFE* magazine, and to conclude that in it he saw the future strategy of his own application of cut-up methods used against him, might seem wildly speculative for such a large and material claim. But there is a compelling account that witnesses what Burroughs recognized in *LIFE*. In late December 1959, Gregory Corso returned to Paris after an absence of three months and wrote to New Directions publisher James Laughlin what happened on his arrival at 9 rue Git-le-Coeur: "I immediately went to see Burroughs. After awhile he showed me the *Life* article. I read it quickly and thought 'another down article'. Then Burroughs asked me 'Did you read it?' I said yes. Sensing my indifferent reaction he said 'Read it again'" (Corso 2003, 227).[22] Corso read it again and came to the same conclusion as Burroughs: "Luce is God. He owns LIFE TIME *and* CHANCE (Fortune). In *Life* he is all strong, in *Time* he can write about something before it even happens. He made the Beat Generation!" (229). Corso then proceeds exactly to describe the magazine's hostile formal strategy, the verbal-visual juxtapositions of prose, photography, and advertising that Burroughs had recognized: "notice how they say of me GUNS—*Don't Shoot The Warthog, Bomb*, in photo: Corso aims as if to SHOOT—also notice, photo of Ginsberg lying in bed, the Sitwell 'bad smell' comment, next to Ginsberg photo is an ad 'how to get rid of bad smell from the house'" (229–30). Corso's analysis is unmistakably Burroughsian and confirms that in *LIFE* Burroughs found the material model for his counter-project to weaponize the use of word and image. Six years later in his own magazine *TIME*, he spells out the continuity of practice and critique that goes back to *LIFE*, asking: "Why *that* picture just *there*.??" (Burroughs 1965b, 3).

"LUCE LINES"

The message of "OPEN LETTER TO LIFE MAGAZINE" in *Minutes to Go* was to bring the strategy out into the open. It was the first stage of what Burroughs referred to as his Open Bank policy, which Gysin announced in *Minutes to Go* by echoing Lautréamont's famous call to collective arms ("*La poésie doit être faite par*

tous. Non par un"): "the writing machine is for everybody" (Gysin 1960, 5).[23] Such advocacy of DIY creativity has been read in an art-historical context—the postwar resurgence of collage-based aesthetics—but its seizure of the means of production is also specifically directed against the mass media and monopolistic press institutions. It's therefore revealing that the first published text to feature the phrase "life time fortune"—one of the early sections of *Nova Express* in the January 1962 issue of *Evergreen Review*—made the connection back to "OPEN LETTER TO LIFE MAGAZINE" in *Minutes to Go* by maintaining the same genre in its title: "OPEN LETTER TO MY CONSTITUENTS AND CO-WORKERS IF ANY REMAIN FOR THE END OF IT." In other words, from *Minutes to Go*, the launching manifesto of the Cut-Up Project, to *Nova Express*, the last published title of the Cut-Up Trilogy where this section appeared as "Prisoners, Come Out," Burroughs triangulated the genre of open letter, cut-up methods, and Luce's magazine trilogy.

The specific content of the short section of *Nova Express* published in *Evergreen Review* turns out to be equally revealing, since it named in one text both Luce's trilogy of magazines and a trilogy of Burroughs' own novels ("The purpose of my writing is to expose and arrest Nova Criminals. In *Naked Lunch, The Soft Machine* and *Nova Express* I show who they are" [2014a, 5]), and so implicitly fingered Luce as a Nova criminal, one whose exposure was the very purpose of Burroughs' writing. The section also points toward a very particular conspiracy in the sequence of questions it addresses to the reader: "Who monopolized Love Sex and Dream? Who monopolized Time Life and Fortune?" (Burroughs 2014a, 3) The answer to the second question is clearly: Henry Luce. The answer to the first question—confirmed by the warning against LSD that follows—is: Timothy Leary. Burroughs' early (1961) suspicion of how hallucinogenic drugs and countercultural desires would be co-opted by mainstream America was based on his recent encounter with Leary and, as he told Ginsberg, this whole section of *Nova Express* "expressed quite clearly" what he thought "about Leary and his project" (Burroughs 2012, 98). Burroughs might not have known that Henry and his wife Clare were both regular trippers, but he must have seen the extensive positive coverage of hallucinogens in Luce's magazines, which started in *Time* as early as 1954 (with an article entitled "Dream Stuff"). And so, while "Prisoners, Come Out" in *Nova Express* more or less openly attacked Timothy Leary, at a deeper level it was another attack on Henry Luce.

Attack and counterattack defines the structure of Burroughs' relationship with Luce throughout the early 1960s. Exactly three years after the November 30, 1959, issue, another volume in Luce's trilogy would pay Burroughs back, the November 30, 1962, issue of *Time* printed a review of *Naked Lunch* so scathing that it forced Burroughs to sue. Significantly, the attack openly rehearsed the visual features of the 1959 article in *LIFE* by verbally mocking "the worn grey man" sitting in his "worn grey room" among the naked light bulbs and rats of the Beat Hotel.[24] Burroughs responded by taking legal action, and then cutting up the documentation, as well as by creating his own magazine called *TIME*. Burroughs' *TIME* reused the

1962 original's cover and cut up the review inside that had vilified both the author ("Presenting himself as proof that the universe is foul, Burroughs achieves the somewhat irrelevant honesty of hysteria") and his trilogy ("utter babble"). Cutting up these particular phrases in ritualistic acts of revenge also gave Burroughs text to recycle in his own work; he incorporated the "hysteria" line into the revised *Ticket That Exploded*, and included both this and the "utter babble" phrase in his version of *TIME*. There, the words appeared opposite a newspaper photograph of Burroughs and a copy of the recently published *Nova Express* placed on top of another issue of *Time*, establishing a material connection between Luce's magazine and Burroughs' magazine mediated by his cut-up book.[25] These and other published associations repeatedly interconnected Burroughs' Cut-Up Trilogy to Luce's trilogy.

Henry Luce features by name only once in any edition of the Cut-Up Trilogy—the 1968, third edition of *The Soft Machine* (published only in the United Kingdom), where a character goes into "his Luce act"—but the litany of Luce's trilogy of magazines is called repeatedly across Burroughs' own trilogy of books (Burroughs 1968, 106).[26] Variant drafts and versions published in little magazines were sometimes more explicit than the books and are clues to Luce's pervasive presence. A case in point is *Gambit*'s spring 1963 version of "The Mayan Caper," a section of *The Soft Machine* narrated in the voice of a scoop newspaper reporter. Here, Burroughs added an unambiguous note: "The Mayan control calendar is not dead," he warned, but "is operating now, controlling thought, feeling and apparent sensory impressions, controlling and monopolizing your life your time your fortune."[27] Readers of *Naked Lunch* might recognize the key phrasing rhythmically paralleled with *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune*—"thought, feeling and apparent sensory impressions"—since it appears there near verbatim as a definition of "biocontrol," a dream to technologically perfect the falsification of reality.[28] In the opening lines of *The Exterminator* (1960), Burroughs quotes this phrasing from *Naked Lunch* and gives its source: an article in none other than *TIME* magazine (October 15, 1956). The commercial potentials for creating an entire world of illusions had been identified by Packard in *The Hidden Persuaders*, which cited the *Time* biocontrol article, and Burroughs had already shown his awareness of Luce's agenda in *Naked Lunch*, which gives a walk-on role to "THE MAN FROM *TIME*" and whose narrative ends with a prophecy of "Time Monopolies."[29] However, the point is not only the technology of control but also the medium in which it was reported, since Burroughs recognized Luce's magazine as *itself* a technique for producing "THE IMMUTABLE REALITY OF THE UNIVERSE." Significantly, in the very month Gysin sliced up *Life* magazine, Burroughs defined the title of *Naked Lunch* (or rather, completely redefined it) in terms of exposing the conspiracy of consumer capitalism and the news media: "a frozen moment when everyone sees what is on the end of every fork [. . .] Let them see what is on the end of that long newspaper spoon" (Burroughs 2003, 199, 205).[30]

In *Nova Express*, Burroughs equated busting Luce's monopoly with breaking the "blockade" of planet Earth in the trilogy's science-fiction scenario: "This blockade was broken by partisan activity directed from the planet Saturn that cut the control lines of word and image laid down by the nova mob" (Burroughs 2014a, 56). The aim to break a media monopoly of reporting the news, and therefore of defining what constituted newsworthy reality, is in fact implicit in the very title of *Nova Express* (clearer in its original form: *The Novia Express*), which is generically that of a newspaper. And even the term "nova mob" hints at the central role of the press to the scenario of Burroughs' trilogy, since it dates from summer 1960 when he reported coming under attack from "the Beaverbrook Mob," referring to the owner of the *Daily Express*, Lord Beaverbrook.[31] Burroughs made significant creative use of the *Daily Express* along with other British newspapers, and also *Newsweek*, but in the Cut-Up Trilogy he repeatedly referenced *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune* because they were the definitive measure of his own work. Using the strategy of payback through *détournement*—turning Luce's own words against him—in *The Ticket That Exploded*, Burroughs identifies Luce with the deity behind the nova mob: "Your monopoly of life, time, and fortune cancelled by your own orders—Pay, Mr Bradly Mr Martin" (Burroughs 2014c, 153).

Luce was a constant textual presence while significant traces appear scattered in the archives in often the most unexpected places,[32] but Luce's magazines were also consistent points of reference for Burroughs across the full range of his cut-up experiments, from film (including a citation of "Life Time Change" in *Towers Open Fire*) to visual artwork: "Opposition to apomorphine collages indicates crucial weak point in Luce lines," he wrote Gysin in October 1961 (Burroughs 2012, 89). The phrase "Luce lines" is in turn a significant variant on Burroughs' "word lines" concept and should force us to reread this term that recurs throughout the Cut-Up Trilogy as well as in texts such as *The Exterminator*: "The word lines keep you in Time."[33] Archival evidence confirms Burroughs' intention: within his larger claims for temporality as a construction of language, "Time" played specifically on Luce's *Time*. Likewise, one typescript clarifies that the "big con" of a fake reality works by trapping us inside "THE WORD-LIFE-TIME SLOT."[34] For Burroughs, The Word was Luce's Word.

NEWSPEAK

The substantial unpublished archival evidence, above all in the Burroughs Papers of the Berg Collection at the New York Public Library, is especially fascinating for including texts where Burroughs imagined speaking directly to him: "Mr Henry Luce, Do you really know what the machine is up to?"[35] What makes this doubly fascinating is that Burroughs was echoing a remarkably similar dialogue that Ginsberg had also fantasized in his journal two years earlier, in spring 1958, in which the poet also addressed the media magnate directly and in the same terms: "Be

Henry Luce not the voice of the machine" (Ginsberg 1996, 447). Since Ginsberg was writing this while living at the Beat Hotel in 1958 together with Burroughs, it's conceivable that his dialogue with Luce not only preceded but actually prompted Burroughs' own.

While Henry Luce was a bogeyman for Ginsberg as well as for Burroughs, the contrasting responses they made to the November 30, 1959, issue of *Life* are an index of how uniquely the cut-up method served Burroughs by integrating creative practice with political action. Before the magazine came out, Ginsberg reported to Burroughs that he had heard it was going to be "a creepy attack" and correctly predicted the outcome: "Those guys that interview you send in their info and then it may get all twisted up in NY—'We hear it was the other way around doc.' You're mentioned in the *Life* piece, I don't know in what way."[36] Ginsberg's insight that the "info" would get "twisted" in New York—at the head offices of Luce's empire, the new Time-Life Building that opened at Rockefeller Center in 1959—matched Burroughs' own verdict ten days before the magazine appeared: "Of course they [Snell and Dean] have nothing to do with final form of the story" (Burroughs 2012, 9).

Far from being paranoid, their cynicism was fully merited, since Henry Luce kept a close personal eye on Burroughs and Ginsberg. In September 1959, Burroughs noted that he was about to be interviewed by *Life* via "Rosalind of *Time*," naming one Rosalind Constable, who not only reported on contemporary culture for the magazine (and in fact worked for all three Luce flagship titles) but also reported directly to Henry Luce himself (Burroughs 1993, 426). The "Constable Report" focused on avant-garde activities and included notes about Burroughs dated September 2, 1959.[37] If Burroughs was aware of Luce's interest, his response to the November 30, 1959, article in *Life* seems remarkably sanguine, even amused: "it is a mass medium," he calmly reminded his alarmed mother, "and sensational factors must be played up at the expense often of fact . . . In order to earn my reputation I may have to start drinking my tea from a skull" (Burroughs 2012, 13). In contrast, Ginsberg expressed to Burroughs his sense of anger, despair, and uncertainty: "The *Life* article out, less vicious then I thought it would be, but full of opinionation & bullshit & some outright fabrications [. . .] but there's not much to be done about it that I can see, yet. Except go on doing same as before. Would love to discuss the matter."[38] Unlike Ginsberg, Burroughs immediately saw what he could do about it, and with a pair of scissors set about doing it.

The presence of Henry Luce even ghosts what we have come to call "the cut-up method" itself (a misnomer as much as "the Cut-Up Trilogy," since the definite article contradicts the wide range of ever-evolving techniques). For only three days after the *Life* article appeared, on December 2, 1959, Burroughs initially coined another name for cutting up. Taken from George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, it shows that Burroughs originally conceptualized the method's primary purpose as a critique of the news media: "The name of method is Newspeak Poetry."[39] Burroughs published just one short text that named his method in these terms—"A newspeak précis of the article made in its image with its materials," which

appeared in the January 1960 issue of *Evergreen Review*[40]—and then he dropped it, no doubt recognizing its limitations, as well as preferring to give credit closer to home by calling it "the cut-up method of Brion Gysin." But the name reveals that at the outset of the Cut-Up Project, and in the immediate context of the article in *Life*, Burroughs identified himself as an American Orwell, fighting the fascism of language as a control machine, and clearly thinking of Winston Smith, whose job in the novel was to fabricate the historical record by cutting up newspapers and cutting out photographs.[41] This was how Burroughs saw the kind of history written in Luce's magazines and, in the spirit of fighting fire with fire, his response was to treat history as paper and cut it up.

Since "newspeak" was the very language of totalitarian control, intended to "make all other modes of thought impossible" (Orwell 2004, 312), Newspeak Poetry was a provocatively ambiguous term for Burroughs' method of *détournement* and highlights the radical ambiguity of both his creation of fake news and fantasized dialogs with Henry Luce. For Burroughs was not only fighting fire with fire but also *playing with fire*: ventriloquizing the Lord of Time gave voice both to his enemy and "the enemy within" himself—the Ugly American, who first emerged in the fascistic fantasies of William Lee's routines in *Queer* in 1952. A decade later, Luce's name appears in dozens of unpublished archival typescripts, very often in trilogies of enemy figures: alongside fellow press barons Lord Beaverbrook and William Randolph Hearst; in between oil tycoons, "ROCKEFELLER LUCE GETTY"; and, less palatably, associated with a trio of Jews: "TIME LIFE FORTUNE. EINSTEIN MARX FREUD FRAUD."[42] The anti-Semitism here—made far more explicit elsewhere, alongside an equally ugly misogyny—has almost always been airbrushed out in accounts of Burroughs' work, but it was integral to the atmosphere of conspiracy and paranoia that gave his writing, especially in the early days of the Cut-Up Project, such a ferocious edge. Burroughs' performative genius found in Luce—or rather, his fantasy version of Luce—an ideal voice, as when ventriloquizing Luce as the mastermind behind a conspiracy of conspiracies: "I AM SENDING THE THING, WOMAN. THE CUNT GIMMICK AS YOU CALL IT. THE WORD. VIRUS THE CONTROL MACHINE. THE COMMUNIST PARTY. LIFE TIME FORTUNE."[43]

"THE ARCHIVES OF TIME"

While the unpublished evidence reveals that Luce and his magazines played a much more important and wide-ranging role in the very conception of the cut-up project than has been recognized, the opening of the New York Public Library archive has also made it possible to recognize the importance of Luce to the Burroughs archive itself. For although Burroughs' cut-up works individually resemble avant-garde experiments, collectively they constitute a massive archival network modeled on that of the news media. The "archives of Time" are duly referenced in the 1962 *Ticket That Exploded*, which depicts Henry Luce as "the Lord of Time

surrounded by files and calculating machines, word and image bank of a picture planet" (Burroughs 2014c, 117). In the revised edition of *The Ticket* five years later, Burroughs added self-reflexive glimpses of his own mid-1960s working methods and filing systems, referring to "leafing through the GOD files" and "ref. East Beach File page 156" (14–15).

From 1964 onward, Burroughs very consciously developed his own verbal and visual filing systems as rivals to those of Henry Luce, and since Luce's archives held files on Burroughs, he of course reciprocated: "Here's a file on Mr Luce," he told his *Paris Review* interviewer in 1965, before denouncing *Time*, *Life* and *Fortune* (Burroughs 2001, 73).[44] While it might be said that the matrix of late 1950s manuscripts mythologized as the "Word Hoard" was Burroughs' original "database"—"a structured collection of data organized for search and retrieval," as Jed Birmingham puts it—his 1960s cut-up files were assemblages on a completely different scale (Birmingham 2014, 16).[45] More than that, insofar as they consciously rivalled the word and image banks of the global news media, rather than emerged organically as a literary work-in-progress, Burroughs' 1960s archival systems naturally coordinated not only texts and images in multiple and hybrid formats but also work across a range of media and technologies, from photomontage to scrapbooks, film to audiotape.

The archival systems Burroughs developed in the mid-1960s were a key stage in his transformation from a writer into a collage artist, poly-practitioner, and *editor*—and he surely enjoyed the irony that in 1964, just as his three-column newspaper texts such as *The Moving Times* began to appear in little magazines and *Nova Express* was about to be published, Henry Luce stepped down as editor-in-chief of *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune*. When the following year his cut-up version of *TIME* appeared, Burroughs' friend and collaborator Ian Sommerville described the pamphlet as "fantastic good," and jokingly anticipated the completion of a trilogy to literally mirror and invert Luce's: "I assume you are going to carry advertising and move into LIFE and FORTUNE."[46] The publication of *Nova Express* had just completed Burroughs' trilogy of cut-up books, but the joke, of course, is that given the balance of power in his rivalry with *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune*, Burroughs was bringing a knife to a gunfight in any format. Indeed, *Nova Express* includes within itself a sense of how ridiculous it was to oppose a media trilogy that in 1965 had a weekly circulation of more than ten million with a book whose print run was ten thousand: "Sure, sure, but you see now why we had to laugh till we pissed watching those dumb rubes playing around with photomontage—Like charging a regiment of tanks with a defective slingshot" (Burroughs 2014a, 44). When, in November 2015, the New York Historical Society announced it had acquired the archives of Time Inc., it reported that the archive comprised "more than 7,500 linear feet of an estimated seven million documents and artifacts"; the Burroughs Papers in the New York Public Library comprise 17 linear feet and eleven thousand manuscript pages.[47] Was it just self-delusion to declare, as he put it in a draft line for *The Ticket*

That Exploded, that "a box camera and a tape recorder can cut lines laid down by Hollywood and life time fortune"?[48]

To grasp the centrality of Luce's global media empire to Burroughs' Cut-Up Project is to understand how and why cut-up methods were weapons for waging asymmetrical warfare against the American Century and to recognize the true scale of his ambition and insight. For in the early 1960s, Burroughs could see the soft traps into which we were being led by the media as well as by the machinery of modern science and the national security state. He attacked the Gods of Life, Time, and Fortune because he foresaw the omniscient global surveillance of Google Earth as well as the NSA—"Henry light sitting on a Luce pile of pictures a mile high in that Time-Life building"; Timothy Leary recorded Burroughs warning, in summer 1961, "They have pictures of every inch of the world" (Leary 1995, 225). If they didn't then, they certainly do now—which is why Burroughs' defiant *détournement* of the American Century has lost none of its power to inspire future generations of media guerrillas, culture jammers, computer hackers, whistleblowers, pop-up subversives, anybody who wants to expose the true criminality of their times and cut up the immutable march of Time.

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NOTES

1. Burroughs dated the letter "June 21 1960 Present Time Pre-Sent Time," focusing on the issue of temporality.
2. Burroughs, undated typescript, circa 1960, William S. Burroughs Papers, The Berg Collection of English and American Literature, New York Public Library, 48.22 (hereinafter abbreviated to Berg). For more on the meaning of the phrase "soft machine," see the introduction to *The Soft Machine: The Restored Text* (Burroughs 2014b).
3. See notes on the "Where You Belong" section of *The Soft Machine* (Burroughs 2014b, 257).
4. On time travel, see my essay "Cutting Up Politics" (Harris 2004).
5. Burroughs, undated typescript, circa 1960 (Berg 7.44).
6. For more details about the retitling from *The Novia Express* to *Nova Express*, see the introduction to *Nova Express: The Restored Text* (Harris 2014).

7. Burroughs, undated typescript (Berg 9.16).

8. On the importance of the *Herald Tribune*, see the Introduction to my forthcoming new edition of *Minutes to Go* (Moloko Print, 2020).

9. Significantly, Gysin identified his three other newspaper sources with the city of their publication ("*The Paris Herald Tribune, The London Observer, The London Daily Mail*"); not so *Life*, as if to acknowledge its claims to universality.

10. Letter to Jeff Nuttall, August 20, 1964, self-reflexively included in *My Own Mag* 9 (November 1964), 10.

11. On the wraparound band declaring "un règlement de comptes avec la Littérature," see my forthcoming essay "William Burroughs' Cut-Ups in and as Translation," in *L'Esprit créateur* 58, no. 4 (2018).

12. The typescript original of "OPEN LETTER" shows it began with a cancelled line, starting "Dear Sir," while another typescript in the same "Minutes to Go Unpublished" folio begins as a letter by naming its intended recipient: "Mr Henry Luce" (Burroughs, undated typescript, circa 1960, Berg 7.34; 7.38).

13. Burroughs briefly met Tzara and Duchamp in 1958; for more on the importance of Tzara, see my essay (Harris 2005, 24–36).

14. Barry Miles and Joe Maynard attribute the authorship solely to Burroughs, but in a revealing confusion, when citing the version of "OPEN LETTER" published in *Nomad*, they attribute the text to all four collaborators (1978, 18, 113). While internal evidence strongly affirms the hand of Burroughs, it's likely that Beiles played a major part, and the participation of Gysin and Corso cannot be ruled out.

15. The line derived from the 1961 edition. See also Burroughs to Gysin, May 16, 1960 (Burroughs 2012, 28).

16. Although Miles and Maynard attribute the text to Burroughs, its "authorship" is suitably uncertain and in *Minutes to Go* it is unsigned.

17. In the early 1960s, Burroughs made a running gag out of such errors of misreporting, implicitly addressed to the Luce press, most prominently in the 1963 text "Martin's Folly."

18. Banash (2004) has persuasively argued that both Tzara and Burroughs actualized potentials within the form of the mass media, so that "avant-garde practice and advertising are not so far apart" after all. As well as specifying the singular importance of *Life*, rather than newspapers in general, my case is that Burroughs typically worked from a direct material encounter, rather than mediated by art history.

19. The full contents of *Life* magazine is available online at https://books.google.com/books/about/LIFE.html?id=NoEEAAAAMBAJ.

20. *Life*, November 30, 1959, 122.

21. For more on Ginsberg and Luce, see my essay (Harris 2012, 3–29).

22. The advertisement in *Life* to which Corso refers was actually captioned: "SCIENCE SOLVES Household Odor Problem" (O'Neill 1959, 130).

23. Lautréamont's call, which Burroughs consistently misattributed to Tzara, was literally inscribed into the name of the technique on at least one occasion: "The Cut Up Method Poetry For Everybody was sold out to the Freudian Conspiracy and Communist Party" (Burroughs to Jon Webb, August 21, 1960, *The Outsider* Collection, Northwestern University).

24. "King of the YADS," *Time*, November 30, 1962, 96–97.

25. The photograph accompanied a 1963 article entitled "Where Is This Man Heading? The Elusive Mr Burroughs Grants a Rare Interview," that appeared in the *London Evening Standard*. Owned by Lord Beaverbrook (of whom, more below), the *Standard* was part of the *Express* newspaper group, whose title Burroughs knowingly echoed in *Nova Express*.

26. Curiously, the one volume without any direct references to Luce's trilogy is the first edition of *The Soft Machine* (Paris: Olympia Press, 1961). The absence is all the more striking because in "Operation Soft Machine/Cut" (1961), his first three-column little magazine publication, Burroughs contrived a dense pun that identified Luce with Lucifer via the patriotic song *Battle Hymn of the Republic*: "And luced my fatal light" (*The Outsider*, 1 (1): 77).

27. For the full note in *Gambit*, see *The Soft Machine* (2014b, 242).

28. The version in *Naked Lunch* cited the original verbatim: "biocontrol; that is, control of physical movement, mental processes, emotional reactions and *apparent* sensory impressions" (2003, 136).

29. Packard 1960, 196; Burroughs 2003, 128, 181.

30. For the origin of the title phrase, see Harris 2009, especially 17–20.

31. Burroughs to Gysin, August 30, 1960 (Berg 86.8).

32. For example, in unused material about the Death Dwarves, who operate out of installations including the "Life Time Fortune Headquarters NYC" (Burroughs, undated typescript, circa 1962 [Berg 49.31]).

33. Burroughs and Gysin, *The Exterminator* (San Francisco: Auerhahn Press, 1960), 5; reprinted in *The Third Mind*, 71.

34. Burroughs, undated typescript, circa 1960 (Auerhahn Press records, 1959–1967, BANC MSS 71/85c, University of California, Berkeley).

35. Burroughs, undated typescript, circa 1960 (Berg 7.38). He also fantasized Luce's replies: "STAND ASIDE BURROUGHS OF SPACE AND LISTEN TO THE LORD OF TIME" (Berg 48.22).

36. Ginsberg to Burroughs, November 17, 1959 (Berg 82.1). Ginsberg's ventriloquizing from the recently published *Naked Lunch* ("County Clerk" section) is not only amusing but directly echoes that of the reporter and photographer double act who interviewed Burroughs, Snell's opening line invoking Hauser and O'Brien: "Have an Old Gold" (*The Third Mind*, 28).

37. The Constable Report on Burroughs was in turn later reported on by John Wilcock in *The Village Voice*, January 11, 1962.

38. Ginsberg to Burroughs, December 24, 1959 (Berg 82.1).

39. Burroughs to Ginsberg, December 2, 1959 (Paul Carroll Papers, Box 2, University of Chicago). This key line in a handwritten postscript is not reproduced in *Rub Out the Words* (11).

40. The "article" in the title is the "Deposition," which from the 1962 Grove edition until the "Restored" edition of 2003 served as the de facto Introduction to *Naked Lunch* and is where the book's title is defined in terms of the press ("that long newspaper spoon").

41. The association is indeed made explicit in one 1960 typescript: "COULD THIS BE DONE BY A MACHINE LIKE NINETEEN EIGHTY FOUR WHERE THERE IS A MACHINE TO WRITE PORNOGRAPHIC LITERATURE" (Berg 9.24).

42. Burroughs, undated typescripts, circa 1960 (Berg 48.22, 10.32, 49.32). Tellingly, the anti-Semitic trio also appears in *Minutes to Go*, in Corso's poem that describes the 1950s as "*Time* decade": "Marx Freud Einstein decade" (32).

43. Burroughs, undated typescript, circa 1960 (Berg 10.31).

44. Burroughs' archival systems took *Time-Life* as their model but also embraced other newspapers, including the London *Daily Express* as indicated by his piece "Tangier" in *Esquire* 62(3) in September 1964: "Your reporter selects a clipping from the file labelled Daily Express, Saturday, April 25, 1964 (London)." For more on the *Daily Express*, see *Nova Express* (2014a), introduction and notes.

45. Birmingham sees a closer relation between Burroughs' manuscript "databases" of the 1950s and 1960s than I do, and, fascinatingly, in one unpublished typescript Burroughs does call on Luce to dismantle his machine in precisely these terms: "To destroy your horde of image and word bank" (Berg 7.39). http://realitystudio.org/media/operation-total-exposure-fax.pdf. On the archive as an active system, rather than a "morgue" of materials, see Stompor 2016.

46. Sommerville to Burroughs, April 28, 1965 (Berg 80.20).

47. http://www.nyhistory.org/press/releases/%E2%80%8Bnew-york-historical-society-receive-time-inc's-archive-chronicling-history-20th.

48. Draft typescript for *The Ticket That Exploded* (Berg 20.39). See also "The Inferential Kid" in *The Burroughs File*, edited by James Grauerholz (San Francisco: City Lights, 1984), 128; these lines also appeared in *APO-33* (1965).

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