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FACULTY PAPERS

MIDWESTERN STATE UNIVERSITY

Series 3, Vol. XII 1992-1994



FACULTY PAPERS OF MIDWESTERN STATE UNIVERSITY

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**FACULTY PAPERS
OF
MIDWESTERN STATE UNIVERSITY**

James Hoggard, Editor

**Series 3
Volume XII
1992-1994**

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INTRODUCTION

The basis of civilization is, in many ways, conversation. To talk with each other, or even about each other, people need to be aware of the past in addition to being conscious of the present and mindful of the future because speech, we keep learning, has sources and effects beyond the moment. In addition to thinking about the types of conversation that touch us deeply on personal levels, one of course thinks here about scholarship, that discipline, whatever its field of concern, that tries to deal responsibly with information and opinion in order to enhance our understanding of the world, its past or present rhythms and points of concern.

Those who are knowledgeable enough about their subjects to justifying presenting their findings in public tend to be the ones who keep reflecting on their information, ideas, and methods of inquiry. Doing so, they sharpen their perceptions and strengthen their understanding; they also come to recognize their own and others' limits vividly. When they present their findings publicly, they initiate conversation about those portions of the world they have explored. They intensify the community's sense of itself as an active part of the culture.

Facilitating this drive toward conversation, the university often serves as society's point of intellectual reference. It does this by providing classes where students learn facts about the world and various methods for classifying, evaluating, and presenting the understanding one gains through study and research. In classrooms and during study-times, teachers also continue learning about the subjects they have dedicated themselves to work with. At times the teacher even becomes the one taught.

Just as the classroom becomes a point of focus for those who come to it with different levels of experience, so, too, does that activity called research, that rigorous though sometimes serendipitous process by which one tests theories, fleshes out hypotheses, gathers data and finds patterns therein and confirms or challenges previously articulated results. Through lectures, discussions, and papers, professors bring news to their students and colleagues. This is done by way of conferences and programs such as Faculty Forum. The discussions there amount to conversations with history and even posterity, and notable effects sometimes occur as a result of those discussions. Lights and shadows often shift in the mind as opinions change while points of understanding are amplified.

One of the noblest services that a university can provide for the society that it helps describe is to move the rhythms of the conversations it sponsors beyond the walls of the academy. That, essentially, is the idea behind Midwestern State University's Faculty Forum. As soon as one recognizes the desirability of regular talk within the different portions of the academy and between the academy and the community at large, one realizes that the model for that enterprise has been present in the university all along. For those blessed with courage and curiosity, the pursuit of truth has traditionally been seen as worthy, invigorating, and necessary for the health of civilization in general and the individual in particular.

People have complained for generations now that modern society's obsession with specialization has inhibited understanding as much as it has brought about technical improvement. People in one field, the folk wisdom says, often have trouble understanding people in other fields, and even in fields related to their own. The results of such are often belligerence and insensitivity. Codelike jargon and unfamiliarity with the subject at hand are sometimes responsible for the missed connections that make effective conversation and understanding difficult or even impossible. Sometimes, though, the breaks in connection come about because one suffers from a hideously limited involvement with sustained re-

flection. Through its various programs the university helps to correct the problem.

For more than a quarter-century now, MSU's Faculty Forum has been a continuing conversation through which lay people and faculty alike learn what professionals have been discovering in various areas of scholarship. The papers gathered here come from those conversations that have taken place during the last several years. As such, they do not reflect a controlling theme or discipline. They are not intended to. Instead, they serve as guides into several areas worthy of continued exploration.

The subjects dealt with in this volume work in the contexts of politics, literature, history, psychology, social work, mass communication, music, mathematics, mythology, and painting. Faced with such a variety of interests, an editor must deal with curious options. How should the contents be organized? What style of documentation, among those current, should be used? Realizing that the spirit of the program - its genius, as classicists used to say - is its uninhibited sense of variety, I forwent the option of arranging the papers according to theme. I did not do so in rebellion against the temptation toward neat patterning, but because there was no tidy pattern to conform to. It also seemed inadequate to present the papers according to the order in which they were presented. Such would have implied a type of progress that was neither relevant nor present. The form of order I finally chose seemed serviceable if not inspired: alphabetization. That seemed preferable to cynical, or even playful, gerrymandering.

Another remark needs to be made about presentation. Affirming the sense of variety in the conversations that these papers represent, I left the styles of documentation essentially in the modes commonly used by the disciplines represented. Respect for particulars of form seemed more legitimate in a publication of this sort than uniformity.

I close these introductory remarks with appreciation for the Faculty Forum Committee that guided the program: Associate Professor of History Dirk Lindemann, Professor of English Jeff Campbell, and Professor of Biology Frederick Stangl. They and the ones who follow them in their positions - along with the wonderfully varied people who make up the audiences - are guardians and sustainers of the tradition of inquiry and discussion.

- James Hoggard

AFTER DESERT STORM: REALITY AND CHALLENGE IN AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

Fred Backhaus

"Today, America's biggest challenge is in the American mind." So contends Michael Vlahos, Director of the Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs, U.S. Department of State.¹ Immediately, this statement raises several questions. "What is the American mind? What is on the American mind?" and "What challenges this American mind?"

The American mind is that pattern of thought, that body of values, that inclination determining behavior patterns that Americans share. The American mind is, therefore, shaped by what we call the American political culture. There is no agreement on the specific design of the American cultural matrix, but it is generally accepted that the states, organized in a federation, share a general political culture. Such political culture is revealed by a more or less coherent set of values, beliefs, hopes, and sometimes fears, about how the world should work and does or does not work. As such, political culture organizes ideas that are components of ideologies, which, in turn, affect perception, understanding, and evaluation. Dolbear and Metcalf call it a "socially generated and transmitted screen or lens through which people view themselves and their social world."² Whether or not such a few is accurate matters less than the position taken in response to the perception of an issue.

Consequently, perceptions may be quite diverse, even irreconcilable, although individual and collective actions in response to perceptions may be uniform or correlated and mutually supportive. In the United States, a political culture anchored to values of individualism, freedom, democracy, equality, law (particularly moral law), property and free capitalist market economy has bred a mind-set that responds rather collectively (and predictably) to diverse perceptions of issues. While the differences in perceptions reveal the many subcultures in America, the collectivity of responses indicates America's commonality of interests in the promotion of what is to be her Common Good, that is, a good state in which all people have an undivided interest. This "Americanism" aspect of our political culture is quite strong. It dominates the image of the American mind which can be perceived as a composite of diverse American thoughts, original or derivative and frequently confrontational.

The "Americanism" aspect of the American mind entails a belief in the American mission, a sense of moral duty to proselytize, a self-perception of exclusivity and superiority that implies a nationalism of high moral order. Such a sense of nationalism is, of itself, neither conservative nor liberal. It transcends philosophical or ideological delineations, and it can constitute a revolutionary or reactionary force. In America, nationalism has been both a vision and the motor which drives political action. Nationalism has spawned romantic patriotism as well as pragmatic imperialism or even blatant chauvinism. Both tendencies are combined in the American mind where they support a platform broad enough and firm enough to uphold every interest in the whole country. The American mind understands this platform to be the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Consequently, American political culture celebrates these documents as the embodiment of the good, the right American values, the legal and moral high ground, representing the best of men's

¹Vlahos, Michael, "Culture and Foreign Policy," *Foreign Policy*, #82. Spring, 1991, p. 63.

²Dolbear and Metcalf, *American Ideologies Today*, New York: Random House, 1988, p. 4.

aspirations everywhere. Individualism, religion, private property and capitalism have thus become unquestionable values leaving Marxism, socialism, centralism, welfare state, and planned-market economy theories beyond serious discussions.

The American mind encompasses liberal and conservative traditions. In America, these traditions (strands of thought) differ mainly in their perceptions of the role of government and society. Classical liberalism envisions a minimum role to the state in the operation of the social order and the economy. Classical conservatism, however, advocates a strong state to maintain social order and authority. For the former, the core idea is "individual freedom, not social authority."³ Liberalism is premised upon individualism and "acceptance of the basic structure of state and economy . . . and . . . a belief that progress lies in the emancipation of man's mind and spirit from the religious and traditional bonds of the social order."⁴

Conservatism, on the other hand, accepts the institutional order bequeathed by history as an absolute reality.⁵ Conservative perception is that of medieval scholasticism, of an *ordo divinis* (divine order) which mistrusts reason or rationalism, which abhors secular humanism and its existential values. Classical liberalism is a child of the Age of Enlightenment whose rationalists preferred democracy, secularism and technology, the expected prosperity produced by the Industrial Revolution rather than the pre-Enlightenment, pre-industrial social order.

The fundamental values of the American political culture – individualism, freedom, democracy, equality, property, law, contracts and religion – have been widely shared but mostly in an abstract and general sense, while substantial disagreement continues to exist about their meanings and priorities.⁶ The tensions such disagreements have maintained have been healthy for the continued existence of our political institutions and the political dialogues nourishing such. This apparent consensus, however, camouflages serious underlying conflicts, for the superficial appearance masks the fact that there is no one "true" American mind or belief system, nor one "true" American political culture. The rhetoric about "Americanism" is stronger than the reality of it, yet the image of a reality projected by symbols creates strong perceptions of shared values. Such perceived sharing of values is, per se, a reality of the American culture; and it has provided strong stabilizing effects in American society and politics.⁷ The stabilizing effects are intentionally nurtured and managed through agents of political socialization: family, school, church, civic and public associations, me-

³Nisbet, Robert A., *The Sociological Tradition*, London: Heinemann, 1966, p. 10.

⁴Ibid., p. 10.

⁵Ibid., pp. 11-12, also: Anthony Arblaster, *The Rise and Decline of Western Liberalism*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984, p. 80.

⁶Dolbear and Metcalf, *ibid.*, p. 13; For more comprehensive exposition refer to:

Parrington, Vernon, *Main Currents in American Thought*, New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1927-30. (Three Volumes).

Curti, Merle, *The Growth of American Thought*, 3rd ed., New York: Harper & Row, 1964.

Person, Stow, *American Minds*, New York: Holt, 1958.

Gabriel, Ralph, *The Course of American Democratic Thought*, 2nd ed., New York: Ronald Press, 19056.

Hartz, Louis, *The Liberal Tradition in America*, New York: Harcourt Brace, 1955.

For a portrayal of the post 60's new social and intellectual history, consult *New Directions in American Intellectual History* by John Higham and Paul Conkin, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 1979; Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., "Intellectual History: A Time for Despair," in *Journal of American History*, March, 1980; Staughton Lynd, *Intellectual Origins of American Radicalism*, Pantheon Books, New York, 1968.

⁷Bartlett, Irving H., *The American Mind in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*, 2nd ed., Harlan Davidson, 1982, pp. 136, 137.

dia, civic and public leaders who assume the authority or duty to interpret American thought, giving it approbation or disapproval, rating it "good" or "bad." Nineteenth and twentieth historians such as, for example, Turner, Parrington, Hartz, Hofstadter, and Boorstin emphasized the unifying framework of ideas and values. They mostly ignored, however, the role of internal conflict in our history, as was observed, for example, by activist historians such as Wendell Phillips, Frederick Douglass, Thomas Paine, and Staughton Lynd who attempted to show that an authentic radical tradition has always existed outside this apparent superficial consensus.⁸

Political culture also embodies ideas and policies governing the political economy, for politics and economics are mutually dependent and supportive; neither can be understood without reference to the other. The ideas of a political culture generate a political will which determines not only the organization of political structures but also their function. The political will also determines the organization of the basic process of production and distribution, the "who gets what, when and how."

Agreeing on certain basic values, the American mind appears to endorse a political economic structure and policies which we call democratic capitalism. Such is not due to an historical accident, but the result of a consensus establishing property, contract, law, democracy, liberty and equality as cornerstones of the American system of government. This orientation holds firmly to the tenet that a politically free people must have economic liberties and that one without the other cannot produce or maintain societal and political stability necessary to be one nation under God and laws, with liberty and freedom for all. Democracy cannot occur without free markets, that is, a liberal capitalistic market economy. We have, furthermore, assumed that both systems are not only mutually dependent and supportive but that neither one attempts to dominate the other; in fact, there exists a presumption that both are also linked by a Christian morality which points out that democratic capitalism is within God's prescription for men to live in liberty, permitting saints and sinners to follow this free pattern, designed by God's creation.⁹

While liberalism and conservatism contradict each other on a number of important issues, particularly on the role of the state versus that of the individual, the nature and scope of freedom, especially so-called "social rights" in areas important to the concepts of equality, and the importance of familiar and religious values in society, each orientation gains from the other, producing a certain unity in political practice. This unity is well demonstrated by liberal as well as conservative criticism of the welfare state.

How can the tenet of liberal democratic capitalism be reconciled with the notions about a conservative authoritarian state? The answer lies in the circumstance that the American mind, when articulated by the *vox populi*, the voice of the people, is not troubled by theoretical sophistication, but rather operates on simple perceptions of what is "right" or "wrong," "good" or "bad." The free capitalist market system is believed to be right and good because its superior market mechanism has produced widespread, visible prosperity among "free" people. The arguments in favor of liberal democratic capitalism are based on classical economics and historical success. The arguments against the welfare state, a socialistic economy, are based mainly on rhetoric and historical failure. Freedom, for most of today's liberals and conservatives alike, is primarily understood as market freedom, a freedom that simultaneously maximizes political and economic freedom, which means, among others,

⁸Novak, Michael, *The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1986.

⁹Quoted in Richard Barnett, *Roots of War*, New York: Penguin, 1972, p. 251; quoted in Loren Baritz, *City on a Hill: A History of Ideas and Myths in America*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1964.

that citizenship rights are restricted to those that are compactible with market freedoms.

What is in the American mind? Probably foremost a feeling of exceptionalism, a belief in America's exceptional status among the people and nations of the world. A perception of America's uniqueness is deeply rooted in United States history. The founders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony proclaimed that "This is the place where the Lord will create a new Heaven and a new earth in new Churches, and a new Commonwealth together." In 1630, the colony's governor, John Winthrop, declared, that "We shall be as a City upon a Hill, the eyes of all people are upon us."¹⁰

America is believed to possess unique virtues, expressed, for example, by the statement that "America is the most caring country in the world. America's virtues are felt to be on a high moral level raising the belief in them to an article of faith in America." John Adams expressed this idea when he said that the United States "will last forever, govern the globe and introduce the perfection of man."¹¹ Too, President Woodrow Wilson proclaimed, "All the world believes in America as it believes in no other nation organized in the modern world saving the world."¹²

This belief in America's uniqueness, moral righteousness and virtue, this very American faith, is the result of a fusion of orthodox Calvinism with thoughts from the Enlightenment, the result of efforts to bring into conformity the religious idea of Calvinism with the demands of rational human beings and the discoveries of modern science. In no small measure, this transformation with ultimate fusion was due to the preachings, teachings, and writings of men such as Benjamin Franklin, Jonathan Edwards, Ellery Channing, Charles Grandison Finney, and Horace Bushnell - especially Bushnell who, turning away from the Scottish writers, found in the writings of Samuel Coleridge, and later the German theologian, Schleiermacher, and the French popularizer of German philosophy, Victor Cousin, the intellectual tools necessary to reshape orthodox Protestant theology to accommodate the spirit of a new age.

The sense of moral, virtuous exceptionalism must be distinguished from that concept of exceptionalism developed by the social sciences and the historians. The latter are primarily concerned with pointing out the nation's distant political and economic development.¹³ However, the two are related but each has a life of its own, producing different strands of perception providing frequently the philosophical basis for debates on specific policies. America's belief in her unique virtuousness is coupled with a sense of mission that has, at times, been proclaimed by American leaders with messianic fervor.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt told Congress at the beginning of 1942, "We're fighting to cleanse the world of ancient evils, ancient ills." Senator Vandenberg, as Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, declared that "Ours must be the world's moral leadership."¹⁴ President Harry Truman, in 1945, stated, "[The United States should] take the lead in running the world in the way that the world ought to be run." President Lyndon B. Johnson declared, "History and our own achievements have thrust upon us the principle responsibility for protecting freedom on earth" (1965); and President Ronald Reagan, not to be out-

¹⁰Barnet, *Roots of War*, p. 251

¹¹Quoted by David and Lynn Jones in: "City upon a Hill," *Foreign Policy* #66, Spring, 1987, p. 25

¹²See for explanation, Samuel P. Huntington, *American Politics: The Promise of Disharmony*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981.

¹³Jones, *City Upon a Hill*, p. 25.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 25.

done, proclaimed in 1980, "We in this country, in this generation, are, by destiny rather than by choice, the watchman on the walls of world freedom."¹⁵

Such self-perception has, so far, transcended partisan politics. It has not been claimed to be the exclusive property of one of the major parties, in spite of occasional partisan polemics attempting to portray one party as more "patriotic" than the other. In fact, since World War II, the rhetoric has become more grandiose, probably in response to evermore extravagant foreign policy engagements which began to strain perceptions of rationality and ideology. Vis-a-vis the use of force, or threat thereof, President Jimmy Carter described America as the Holy Grail of human rights, as a nation which defines "itself in terms of both spirituality and human liberty, a nation proudly idealist."¹⁶ President Reagan proceeded to give this image an angelic halo by speaking of a "nation of destiny," a "shiny city on the hill."¹⁷ He invoked Thomas Paine's enthusiasm (to be sure, not Paine's rationalism!) by quoting him saying that "We have it within our power to begin the world over again."¹⁸ Reagan managed to explain to the satisfaction of a broad domestic audience that the frequently illegal application of raw power was justified and moral when used by America, the "most peaceful, least warlike nation in modern history."¹⁹

The image of America as the virtuous savior of a corrupt, violent and immoral world is pervasive. The conduct and conclusion of the Middle East engagement, the so-called Desert Storm operation, has reinforced this perception of a special role in the world. President Bush has already referred to a New World Order, a new assertion of world leadership by America, without having had to define such new order specifically. Again, the specifics of the mission are less important as long as the American mind can be made to feel comfortable and secure, as long as the sense of exceptionalism and mission can be reinforced and enhanced. The conformity of yellow ribbons covers, temporarily, the existing diversity of rational analysis, but it also fosters perceptions of hypocrisy and double standards, both at home and abroad.

The Messianic calls to support secular policies, to make the world accept the relevancy of the American experience causes international conflicts to be seen in friend and foe patterns, in moral categories of good and evil. Such perceptions present stark alternatives; they introduce substantial risk factors into political institutions and policies that are ill-equipped to answer the question posed by President Reagan, "How do you compromise between good and evil? . . . How do you compromise with men who say . . . there is no God?"²⁰ The pragmatic, truly political answer would be: Tell your audience that the evil has recognized the error of its ways and, henceforth, shall be good, then, compromise on your own terms!

Obviously, proclamations of exceptionalism, of moral superiority and mission, are likely to produce popular expectations that cannot be fulfilled. Exceptionalist attitudes implicitly denigrate other cultures and systems; they militate against rational and prudent policies, both domestic and foreign. Thereby, they invite conflict and confrontation. They create

¹⁵Ibid., p. 27.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 28.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 28.

¹⁸Reported in *New York Times*, August 24, 1984.

¹⁹Quoted by George W. Ball in: *The War for Star Wars*, New York Review of Books, April 11, 1985, p. 38.

²⁰Jones, *City Upon a Hill*, p. 20.

perceptions of arrogance as well as ignorance which challenge America's professions of good will toward men. Exceptionalism also calls for periodic reaffirmation in words and deeds, for an heroic adventurism whose misdeeds or failures are rendered for a noble cause. The American mind begs for reassurance of its uniqueness for affirmation of its greatness, and demands ceaseless self-congratulation and adulation. Thus the flame of American patriotism is burning as brightly as ever.²¹ No doubt, in this sense, President Bush has kindled the flames of his thousand points of light. To some, however, such revival of self-confidence seems to be an embarrassing signal of excessive chauvinism and self-delusion. The latter perceptions have long tended to understand the American mind to be preoccupied with a public myth, with visions of a modern-day revival of Manifest Destiny.

The reference to America as a superpower that is, unquestionably, entitled to be the world's leader, the assumption of a moral right and duty bequeathed by America's uniqueness, implies a nation of an American global culture. It is assumed that all people and nations who want to be or become free are eager to accept and adopt this American global culture.²² "For most of the post World War II period, America has aggressively promoted a kind of cultural universalism, in effect, a U.S. global culture."²³ The concept of a U.S. global culture destined to be the cleansing agent of an evil world full of ancient ills serves to blindside the American mind, to keep it from recognizing not only the systemic shortfalls of domestic policies and institutions, but also from accepting the realities of persistent foreign policy failures. The popularity of American technology and American pop culture have not generated an American super-culture, globally accepted to the extent that it has taken the place of regional cultures. In spite of certain "Western" appearances, Japan and her people still are different as are many other "cultures" around the world. Europe does not play football or baseball in the "World Series, USA." These realities are constantly challenging the American mind. Standing tall and fighting for one's principles is not a message received by those who, by cultural tradition and existential predicaments, are accustomed to sit down and negotiate and trade. No doubt, others are simply tired of fighting; they prefer to talk!

The latest quadrennial survey of the American public and of elite opinion makers, sponsored by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, conducted in mid-autumn, 1990, revealed several areas in which the American mind shall be severely challenged.²⁴ The greatest challenge is gradually being envisioned, namely that of America's role as the exclusive world leader. A majority of the public and its leaders (66% and 71%) believe "that America's inability to solve its economic problems has caused the country's decline as a world power."²⁵ As the aftermath of the Desert Storm operation shows, successfully-applied military technology does not, of itself, make for peace or new world orders. Neither has the application of superior force demonstrated that it can rearrange national or regional cultural patterns, social relationships or deeply-rooted preferences or aversions. Overall power consists of more than its military components.²⁶ Fear, being scared of us, as General Powell suggests,

²¹Vlahos, *Culture and Foreign Policy* #82, p. 63.

²²Ibid., p. 63.

²³Ibid.

²⁴See: John F. Rielly, "Public Opinion: The Pulse of the 90's, in *Foreign Policy* #82, Spring, 1991.

²⁵Ibid., p. 85.

²⁶Schlesinger, James, "New Instabilities, New Priorities," *Foreign Policy* #85, Winter, 1991-92, p. 23.

is a poor and inadequate reason upon which to base, or justify, world hegemony [qtd. in *Dallas Times Herald*...1992]. The big challenge will demand an accommodation of the fact that neither globalism nor isolationism, both subversions of the sense of exceptionalism, can serve well as a basis for continued and realistic involvement in world affairs. If Americans place their country on a pedestal, they give themselves two logical policy choices; they must either preserve America's innocence by shunning involvement with corrupt foreign countries and their sordid, hopeless quarrels, or attempt to reconstruct the world in America's own image. "For the Bush Administration, the goal of global stability has become the post-Cold War equivalent of the search for the Holy Grail."²⁷

Another big challenge to the American mind will be the resolution of the question: should, will, can America continue to go to war for oil, world order, world security, and Israel? A case to fight for any or all of the above can be made, but can it be made collectively, made in such terms as are acceptable to the American mind, that is, can a case be made to rest on American consensus? The Bush Administration temporarily created the image of a broad consensus with smoke, mirrors, and lights turned off, at the same time reviving all the props needed to state a show of patriotism and national unity. After Viet Nam, such was a risky performance, successfully conducted. Is it repeatable? Most Americans believe that wars resolve issues. But after wars it is virtually impossible to simply walk away. A war's consequences are likely to be more intractable than the military engagement itself.²⁸ The good wars do can be measured ultimately only in terms of what they prevented and not by what they accomplished. It is doubtful that Desert Storm can be repeated. The public craves relief rather than the opportunities to become the world's nanny. The public mood is somewhat sour, the public is somewhat worn out by persistent, nagging domestic problems; it is disenchanted with politicians and politics "as usual." Vis-avis the hazards of global politics of engagement or intervention and its inherent costs, isolationism - America First - seems more and more attractive to mainstream American voters concerned with their socio-economic status and future.

There is also a longing for a "peace dividend and an increasing uneasiness as a result of a recognition that the foreign policy decisions of the only remaining nuclear superpower are made by a very small inner circle of trusted confidantes among whom the President is the only official accountable to the public every four years!

There is now the issue of what to do next. America must be selective in its action. It cannot take on the world's trouble. How, then, is this New World Order to be? On March 6, 1991, the President reported to Congress that "the brave men and women of Desert Storm accomplished more than even they realized. The America we saw in Desert Storm was first-class talent, and they did it using American state-of-the-art technology. We saw the excellence embodied in the Patriot missile and the patriots who made it work."

Brian Urquhart, former Undersecretary for Special Political Affairs of the United Nations (1974-1986), offers a well-reasoned, plausible assessment of the status of American internationalism in an article titled "Limits of Unilateralism."²⁹ Urquhart speaks of the skillful use of the international system, including the U.N. agencies, in the early postwar years by the United States. Later, the U.S. used the multilateral capacity of the Security

²⁷Carpenter, Ted, "The New World Disorder," *Foreign Policy* #84, Fall, 1991, p. 25.

²⁸Schlesinger, *ibid.*, p. 13.

²⁹See: "Post-Internationalist America: An Exchange, The Limits of Unilateralism," *Foreign Policy* #65, Winter, 1986-87.

Council and the Secretary General in complementing bilateral diplomacy.³⁰ An interesting aspect of this article, definitely in line with U.S. foreign policy attitudes, is the uncritical assumption of uncontested American leadership. In fact, also this sophisticated, experienced American mind takes for granted America's destiny for world leadership. Urquhart writes that "the decline of American internationalism is also a disaster for the outside world depriving the international system of a powerful, rich, and progressive country that is also a natural leader."³¹

Urquhart observes that "it is difficult for a non-American to suggest how to restore the strength of American internationalism." Self-confidence in the role and position of the United States in the world would seem to be an absolutely essential element in restoring American internationalism, but it can be achieved only with a determined attempt to reestablish the American leadership role in the International System.³² Was Desert Storm such an attempt? Both domestic and foreign reactions to the victory suggest that something may be wrong with America's sense of perspective. Could it be that an artistically created patriotic escapism may be used to excuse a national unwillingness to face up to new global realities?³³ Some wonder whether the Gulf War was worth the effort and sacrifice (See: G. Gillissen, in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, December 31, 1991).

No doubt, a case can well be made for America's leadership role in the world. The United States is presently the only remaining nuclear superpower with the technical ability to unleash its military might wherever desired. Prima facie, some arguments supporting such a role appear to be quite convincing, for instance, those advanced by William S. Lind in his essay "Defending Western Culture."³⁴ Arguments advanced by columnist Charles Krauthammer, proposing an unabashed assumption of world hegemony by "laying down the rules of world order and being prepared to enforce them,"³⁵ are simply irrational. Military power alone does not make for world leadership. Leadership requires, first of all, recognition of such, global recognition of more than military capabilities. As Martin Walker puts it, "The status of a superpower rests in the long run on the ability of its economy to produce goods that consumers as well as generals want to buy."³⁶ We may add "and can afford to buy."

Bemoaning the demise of the preeminence of American internationalism or globalism, advocating unilateralism or bilateral policies will not cause reality to go away. This reality is, simply stated, other cultures, other nations, other people having their own minds filled with perceptions, values, ideas, including prejudices. These other minds do challenge any attempt to impose leadership claims, assumption of rights or privileges claimed to rest on a superiority or exclusivity not enjoyed by any country but America. Multilateralism has presented major challenges to the American mind. It constantly challenges the popular sentiment of "hanging tough" and "taking it no more." One area in which the unilateral

³⁰Ibid., p. 40.

³¹Ibid., p. 41.

³²Ibid., p. 41-42.

³³See: Martin Walker in *Foreign Policy* #83, Summer, 1991, p. 161.

³⁴See: *Foreign Policy* #84, Fall, 1991, p. 40.

³⁵Cited by Carpenter, "The New World Disorder," *Foreign Policy* #84, p. 27.

³⁶See: footnote 34 above, p. 161.

mind-set has been severely challenged is the complex set of economic and monetary relations. It has proved to require extensive international cooperation to keep the world safe for capitalism. So far, for example, it requires the intervention of international organizations, especially the International Monetary Fund (IMF) or GATT, the Council of Seven and others. The big challenge to the American mind calls for modification of the American political culture to modernize its orientations from those traditional, pre-industrial, pre-high-tech, eighteenth and nineteenth century versions of an exceptionally good society to twentieth century perceptions that dictate the recognition of the fact that America must live in and harmoniously with societies of others, that America's strength favors her with certain privileges and duties, but not with a natural or divinely ordained right to exclusivity, to superiority among others, certainly not with the natural and divine moral right to unilaterally run the world.

There exists no such thing as an international community of good will. This vision, however, has a long tradition in American global views that prefer to believe the world is homogeneous: men of good will with noble purpose, occasionally threatened by evil men and empires. It is America's moral duty to contain or eliminate the evil. Once this is done, regardless of means, the vision assumes the world is whole again.

The American understanding of good is based on the belief that evil can be kept under control. This is a metaphysically dubious assumption. Can the depravity of human nature really be cured once and for all at least in international relations?³⁷

Keohane and Nye suggest seven maxims which may help adjust the American mind to the realities of the last decade of this century: 1) Do not try to recapture the past; 2) Ask whether the world really needs it; 3) Build on shared interests; 4) Use regimes (divide and conquer) to insure against catastrophe; 5) The best enforcement is self-enforcement (noninterference); 6) Look for the right moment (be flexible); 7) Use regimes to focus U.S. attention on the future (pursue farsighted, long-term interests).³⁸

The Persian Gulf intervention poses yet another challenge to the American mind. This challenge is concealed in the question, "What was America trying to achieve?" The Persian Gulf actions proffer at least two divergent interpretations, neither of which is promising. One is that America was attempting a bold initiative to promote multilateral collective security arrangements which were to set the pattern to be followed wherever regional destabilization occurs. America's initiative, buying multinational cooperation for action to achieve primary objectives, established, *prima facie*, America's leadership by displaying her determination and capabilities. Upon close review of the known details and circumstances connected with this crisis, particularly the modes of assembling the alliance, another interpretation cannot be discarded out-of-hand. This second major view suggests that America embarked on yet another unilateral display of her power to arrange "the world as it ought to be."

Numerous congratulatory speeches, editorials and so-called patriotic rallies could convey the impression that the second interpretation is the correct one. Pronouncements such as "The pride is back," "The Viet Nam syndrome is overcome," and American "heroes" have finally secured America's status as the sole remaining superpower are persuasive. Obviously then, the American mind's perception of exclusivity, of uniqueness, of world leadership, is undiminished so far. The appeal to it seems to be perceived by America's leadership

³⁷Siemons, Mark, "America's New World Order Clashes with Harsh Reality, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, April 12, 1994.

³⁸"Two Cheers for Multilateralism," *Foreign Policy* 360, Fall, 1985.

to be stronger than the appeal to rational, pragmatic attention to domestic problems, and international realities. It is seemingly safer for politicians to invoke the powerful emotions of a myth than to project the rather alarming scenario of reality. The more pompous exceptionalistic and globalistic rhetoric sounds to increasing numbers of Americans, the more insistently a conservative and liberal core of internationalists proclaim slogans by which they seek to remake the world in their image, at all costs if necessary.

One is reminded of Plato's men in the cave, the challenges the cave allegory poses to those in the cave and to those outside it. Who is more conformable and secure? Could this century have demonstrated that the trouble with our species is not an excess of aggression, but an excess capacity for fanatical devotion? Around the world, political systems have undergone many changes, yet ideas and ideologies seemed to have changed little and, if so, only peripherally. Democracy means different things to different people at different times. To the American mind, democracy still seems to be tethered to the notion of the "American Dream." One is not yet accustomed to demand reality, but accustomed to expect dreams to come true. Could democracy, in political practice, in reality that is, be seen as an issue of who rules and how these rulers are elected? Are traditional democratic means capable of achieving the envisioned ends? Are the changes of a dream to come true really not better or worse than those offered at the casinos? There are millions who work hard, obey the law, and fear God too, who have never seen the dream come true, in fact, who no longer have the capacity to dream and to whom daily existence has turned into a daily struggle and a nightmare. If democracy can deliver no more than theory of social choice, then political economic democracy may entail nothing more or less than questions of systems management. A political system and its institutions which relegate citizens' primary, and often exclusive, political participation to voting, may not be able to deliver to such citizens the ends which the ideological perceptions of democracy or their dreams, if they still can dream, promise.

And everybody praised the Duke,
Who this great fight did win.
"But what good came of it as last?"
Quoth little Peterkin.
"Why, that I cannot tell," said he,
"But 'twas a famous victory."³⁹

³⁹*Foreign Policy* #83, Summer, 1991, p. 160-161.

JOHN UPDIKE PULLS A RABBIT OUT OF COLUMBUS'S HAT: HARRY ANGSTROM, AMERICA, AND THE QUINCENTENNIAL

Jeff H. Campbell

Commenting on 1969's moon landing, John Updike's Harry "Rabbit" Angstrom notes that "Columbus flew blind and hit something, these guys see exactly where they're aiming and it's a big round nothing" (*Rabbit Redux* 22). Angstrom, hero of Updike's four "Rabbit" books, explores the America of the 1950s, 60s, 70s, and 80s, believing that "there is something out there that wants me to find it" (*Rabbit, Run* 127), but in many ways he, too, is "flying blind," just as Columbus did. In his four-decade quest, Harry does indeed "hit something"--but the contrast between the all-too-pervasive nothingness discovered by the man whom Updike has called his "angst-ridden Everyman" (*Hugging the Shore* 850) and the wonder and promise felt by the Admiral of the Ocean Sea provides ironic commentary on the five hundred years of so-called progress that have followed Columbus's first voyage.

Beginning with *Rabbit, Run* in 1960 and continuing through *Rabbit Redux* in 1971, *Rabbit Is Rich* in 1981, and *Rabbit at Rest* in 1990, Updike has utilized Harry to present a panorama of middle America covering the years from Eisenhower to Bush--from the Cold War through Vietnam, the energy crunch, the Reagan 80s, and into the last decade of the twentieth century.

When he published *Rabbit, Run* in 1960, Updike did not plan to continue Harry's story. But people kept asking what happened next, and, he says, "a little over ten years later, as the interminable sixties were drawing to their end, the idea that Harry . . . was still out there and running suddenly excited me." So he returned to Rabbit, now a "paunchy middle American" whose "reluctant education" offered "the parable that nobody else, in those shrill years, was offering" (*Hugging the Shore* 858). After finishing the second book, Updike publicly committed himself to two more "Rabbit" books, and decade by decade he has produced the volumes that not only, as he has said, "plausibly portray . . . a specimen American male's evolution into grandpaternity" (*Odd Jobs* 872) but also explore what Alexis de Tocqueville in 1835 called "habits of the heart" -- that is, mores that "shape mental habits" and are "the sum of moral and intellectual dispositions of men in society" (287). For as Updike has pointed out, Rabbit's story is not just about a "specimen male": "America -- its news items, its popular entertainment, its economic emanations -- is always a character" in the Angstrom tetralogy as well (*Odd Jobs* 870-871). A brief look at each of the four novels will show how the "Rabbit" books elicit not only a picture of a contemporary Everyman but also portray major characteristics of the nation that has grown to world dominance as we celebrate Columbus's quincentennial.

Rabbit, Run, Updike's second novel, published when he was just twenty-eight years old, brought him immediate acclaim as one of America's most promising young authors. In it he invented and introduced Harry Angstrom, nicknamed Rabbit for his quickness on the high school basketball court in his small Pennsylvania city. An angstrom is actually a unit of length equal to one hundred-millionth of a centimeter, used primarily to specify radiation wave-lengths, but in the 1950s *angst* was the existentialist catch-word for the anxiety and despair many intellectuals felt as they considered the absurd nature of individual human existence. Rabbit becomes, then, Updike's angst-ridden American Everyman, a representative of an individual infinitesimally small in the cosmic scheme of things, but one who views himself as the center of his universe.

Rabbit has married Janice Springer, a high school classmate who was pregnant when they married. Their son Nelson is now three years old; Janice, pregnant again, watches the Mickey Mouse Club on TV, usually with a drink in her hand, and Rabbit demonstrates Magi-Peelers in variety stores. Struck with the mediocrity of his life and believing that “there’s something out there that wants me to find it” (127), Rabbit simply runs away one night, heading south with no real plan or goal. He gets lost, however, and after driving all night returns and finds a place to stay with his old basketball coach. The coach introduces him to Ruth, a semi-prostitute, and Rabbit moves in with her.

Harry’s in-laws’ Episcopalian priest tries non-directive counseling to get Rabbit to go back to Janice, but he does not do so until the baby, a girl, is born. In a drunken stupor, Janice drowns the baby in the bath tub. The tragedy seems to unite the family once more, but at the funeral Rabbit feels that people are blaming him for the death. Insisting that Janice was the guilty one, Rabbit breaks and runs – literally this time rather than in a car – back to the prostitute Ruth. She tells him that she is pregnant and that he must make some choices. He goes out to buy sandwiches, but for the third time breaks and runs, and the book ends as he picks up speed running down the street.

Updike has said that all his books are meant to be moral debates with the reader (*Picked Up Pieces* 502). *Rabbit, Run* asks the reader to consider whether or not Rabbit is a good man, and suggests a further question, “What is goodness?” (*Hugging the Shore* 850). Updike explains:

... there is a case to be made for running away from your wife. In the late Fifties beatniks were preaching transcontinental travelling as the answer to man’s disquiet. And I was just trying to say: “Yes, there is certainly that, but then there are all these other people who seem to get hurt.” (*Picked-Up Pieces* 502)

“Kerouac’s *On the Road* was in the air,” Updike has said, “and a decade of dropping-out about to arrive, and the price society pays for unrestrained motion was on my mind” (*Hugging the Shore* 850).

In a more recent interview, Updike adds that the “threatening” success of *On the Road* and its preaching of the frenetic search for sensation was an impetus to his writing of *Rabbit, Run*, which he admits was an “anti-*On the Road*. It tried to say, yeah, it’s nice to get out on the road, but you tend to make a mess of the people you leave behind. That freedom carries its own cost” (qtd. in Farney A10).

The moral debate that is aroused by Rabbit’s self-centered running roots in what de Tocqueville, the Frenchman who visited America in the 1830s, saw as the most distinctive of the “habits of the heart” of the citizens of the then-young nation. Chief among these “habits of the heart” (today we would use the term mores) de Tocqueville noted individualism, then a new word. He wrote:

“Individualism” is a word recently coined to express a new idea. . . , a calm and considered feeling which disposes each citizen to isolate himself from the mass of his fellows. . . . Such folk . . . form the habit of thinking of themselves in isolation and imagine that their whole destiny is in their [own] hands. (506; 508)

In 1970, Philip Slater published *The Pursuit of Loneliness*, a landmark sociological study of the state of de Tocqueville’s inividualism in modern American culture. Although *Rabbit, Run* precedes Slater’s book by a decade, it illustrates Slater’s thesis that American society’s emphasis on untrammelled individualism “increasingly frustrates and aggravates” three basic human desires:

- 1) The desire for *community* – the wish to live in trust, cooperation, and friendship with those around one.
- 2) The desire for *engagement* – the wish to come directly to grips with one’s social and physical environment.
- 3) The desire for *dependence* – the wish to share responsibility for the control of one’s impulses and the direction of one’s life. (8)

Slater avers that when a society systematically frustrates these basic desires, the society’s underlying fabric is threatened. Or, as Updike said in the interview previously quoted, “That freedom carries its own cost” (qtd. in Farney A10).

Robert Bellah, Richard Madsen, William M. Sullivan, Ann Swidler, and Steven M. Tipton banded together to produce in 1985 another sociological analysis of American culture that has taken its place alongside of Slater’s *Pursuit of Loneliness* as a key evaluation of American individualism. Basing their study on careful joint research and numerous interviews of various types of Americans from coast to coast, Bellah and his associates turned to de Tocqueville for the phrase which became their title: *Habits of the Heart*. Bellah and his associates agree with Slater that the individualism first clearly defined by de Tocqueville 160 years ago may threaten the fabric of our culture. In fact, they speculate that this individualism “may have grown cancerous” (vii).

Certainly Rabbit is to be admired for believing that there is meaning beyond Mickey Mouse and Magi-Peelers. As Updike has said, he intended in the book to say “Yes . . . to our urgent inner whispers” – to the positive side of the American habit of trusting one’s individual heart’s desires. But at the same time, he was saying “but – the social fabric collapses disastrously” (*Picked-up Pieces* 503). So the reader is brought into the debate.

Updike used an epigraph from Pascal to set the tone for the book: “The motions of grace, the hardness of the heart: external circumstances.” The motions of grace suggest the sense of something transcendental that Rabbit seeks and that lifts him in some ways above the others in the book. But the external circumstances must be addressed, and it is with a hard heart that Rabbit responds to those around him. An experience that Rabbit has on his initial flight gives us a helpful guideline with which to pass judgment on Rabbit’s actions--which grow primarily out of the habits of a hardened heart.

Rabbit stops at a filling station and asks for a map. The farmer-attendant asks, “Son, where do you want to go?” (20). Rabbit confesses that he doesn’t exactly know. The man tells him, “The only way to get somewhere, you know, is to figure out where you’re going before you go there.” Rabbit, however, responds, “I don’t think so” (28). Later he does pick up a map, but he sees it as a “net, all those red lines and blue lines and stars, a net he is somewhere caught in.” He feels that the filling station attendant with his reference to maps and plans has been mocking him, mocking “the furtive wordless hopes that at moments made the ground firm” for him. He thinks: “Decide where you want to go and then go: it missed the whole point and yet there is always the chance that, little as it is, it is everything” (36). Harry is not ready to accept that little as everything, however, nor is he willing to accept the “going through” quality of Christianity as he hears it preached in the Episcopalian minister’s sermon (237). He refuses to chart a course, to carry through on a commitment to others, and at the end of the book he is still running. He is searching for a new world of meaning beyond the old mediocrity of Ozzie and Harriet in Eisenhower America, but he has found nothing. Updike intended Rabbit’s zig-zagging Odyssey to challenge readers to weigh alternative habits of the heart. Neither Rabbit nor his creator stopped searching, and ten years later Updike moved his American Everyman – and his readers – into the decade of the sixties to illuminate some very different American habits of the heart.

Updike has claimed that his “fiction about the daily doings of ordinary people has more history in it than history books, just as there is more breathing history in archeology than in a list of wars and changes of government” (*Picked-up Pieces* 501). *Rabbit, Run* is an Eisenhower-era book, its society characterized by political and philosophical apathy and conformity. But *Rabbit Redux* is set in 1969, the first of the Nixon years and the close of a tumultuous decade. Harry (almost nobody calls him Rabbit anymore), the searching, exploring individual, now finds himself forced to confront his existence as part of a wider community characterized by the Vietnam conflict and its critics, black militants and race riots, the counter-culture and drugs, women’s liberation, technological changes in the job market, and the cosmic exploration of outer space. As Harry compares the astronauts’ carefully planned and mapped discovery of the barren nothingness of the moon to Columbus’s surprising find of a rich new world he died without ever really comprehending, the reader recognizes that Harry himself in this book is thrust into worlds he never dreamed existed.

Harry has been working for ten years as a linotype operator at a small press. He and Janice and son Nelson share a typical tract house in a new development. Janice now works at her father’s used-car lot and has blossomed into a newly-independent woman. She is having an affair with Charlie Stavros, a salesman at the lot, and leaves Rabbit and Nelson to move in with him. Rabbit is conned by a black fellow-employee at the press to give sanctuary in his home to Jill, a spaced-out white run-away hippie who is a danger to the blacks who have been shielding her at a local bar. After a few weeks, Jill, Rabbit, and Nelson are joined by Skeeter, a black militant who has jumped bail and insinuates himself into their group.

Neighbors set fire to Rabbit’s house to teach him a lesson about allowing blacks into the neighborhood, and Jill dies in the fire. Skeeter gets away with Rabbit’s help. Three days later Rabbit loses his linotype job as computers are brought in to do the work. Janice calls Harry and suggests that they meet to begin to try to work things out. They go into a motel, and as they lie in bed together, Rabbit feels “the space they are in, the motel room long and secret as a burrow, become . . . all interior space” (406). In the final paragraph of the book, Harry feels himself microcosmic; running his hand over Janice’s body, “the familiar dip of her waist, ribs to hip bone, where no bones are, soft as flight, fat’s inward curve, slack, his babies from her belly. He finds this inward curve and slips along it, sleeps. He. She. Sleeps. O.K.?” (407).

The story opens on the very day of the moon launch, and the first chapter closes with the televised report of man’s first steps on lunar soil. The Vietnam war and race riots in the cities are subjects for heated debates among the characters. And with the coming of Jill and Skeeter, as Updike explained to me,

the television set invades the guy’s life. That is, these are sort of headline figures who come upon him, and I think it was true of a lot of us in the late sixties that all the things we preferred not to think about became unavoidable. So in a way he is the middle class man whose living room becomes the scene of atrocities and teach-ins and all those things. (qtd. in Campbell 286)

So we have not only history but also sociology. Slater’s *Pursuit of Loneliness* presented the sixties as a struggle between two cultures, the old and the new. According to Slater, [t]he basic assumption of the old culture is that human gratification is in short supply; the new culture assumes that it is plentiful. . . . Based on these assumptions, the old culture tends to choose property rights over human needs, competition over cooperation, violence over sexuality, concentration over distribution, producers over consumers, means over ends, secrecy over openness, social forms

over personal expression, Oedipal love over communal love, and so on. The new culture tends to reverse all these priorities. (94-95)

Jill, Skeeter, Janice, and Charlie all present and represent that new culture, while Rabbit represents the old-culture, middle American competitive individualism confronted with these new challenges.

Part of Janice's newly-found sense of self (no longer just an extension of her husband), for instance, is her acceptance of the new-culture idea that pleasure is plentiful rather than scarce or rationed. She has come to accept her body as "her toy – how strange to have learned to play – they used to tell her, everybody, the gym teacher, the Episcopal minister, Mother even . . . not to make your body a plaything when that's just what it was . . ." (55).

Charlie Stavros represents the new culture in its challenging of American imperialism. Rabbit insists on displaying an American flag decal on the window of his Falcon, but Charlie challenges him:

"I just can't get too turned-on about cops bopping hippies on the head and the Pentagon playing cowboys and Indians all over the globe. That's what your little sticker means to me. It means screw the blacks and send the CIA to Greece" (46).

Skeeter's somewhat biased view of black history stresses the old culture's disastrous emphasis on competition instead of cooperation, producers over consumers:

You really had it here, you had it all, and you took that greedy mucky road, man, you made yourself the asshole of the planet. Right? To keep that capitalist thing rolling you let all those asshole crackers have their way and now you's all asshole crackers. North and South however you look there's assholes, you lapped up the poison and now it shows, Chuck, you say America to you and you still get bugles and stars but say it to any black or yellow man and you get hate, right? Man the world does hate you, you're the big pig keeping it all down. (207)

But it is Jill who gives the most articulate and most poignant voice to the new-culture concerns. Jill introduces Rabbit to a type of thinking totally foreign to his previous experience. With her he begins to venture out on a side of life suggested by the epigraph Updike has used for Chapter II: "It's different but it's pretty out here." The words are Neil Armstrong's as he orbited around the familiar but limited earth, but they reflect Harry's own reaction to Jill, a new entity brought into his orbit. He is fascinated by her description of matter as "the mirror of the spirit . . . Inside it are these tiny *other* mirrors tilted this way and that and throwing the light back the wrong way. Because to the big face looking in, these little mirrors are just dark spots, where He can't see Himself" (143). Even so, Harry has difficulty accepting all that Jill and the other new-culture voices say. He tells Jill that she's always had it too easy, has had things handed to her, doesn't know about fear. "Fear," he says. "That's what makes us poor bastards run. You don't know what fear is, do you, poor baby? That's why you're so dead." Jill responds as true spokesman for the new culture: "People've run on fear long enough. Let's try love for a change" (152). Harry is not ready to accept all that Jill and the others represent. He responds: "Then you'd better find yourself another universe. The moon is cold, baby. Cold and ugly. If you don't want it, the Commies do" (152).

The contrasts between the two cultures, between competitiveness and cooperation, fear and love, are made very clear. Although Harry is not converted to the new habits of the heart represented by the new culture (and neither was his creator Updike, who during the decade steadfastly and in rather lonely fashion supported such old-culture causes as the Vietnam war), Harry is now a more mature American Everyman whom Updike presents as tolerantly curious, open to education. Updike has commented:

America and Harry suffered, marvelled, listened, and endured. Not without cost, of course. The cost of the disruption of the social fabric was paid, as in the earlier novel, by a girl. Iphigenia is sacrificed and the fleet sails on, with its quarreling crew. (*Hugging the Shore* 858-859)

Rabbit genuinely responds to Skeeter's lectures on black history, is impressed by the new ideas he finds in Jill's books, and grieves deeply over Jill's death. The fleet and its quarreling crew may sail on, but at least this one member of the crew has been challenged to move beyond the self-satisfied solipsism that ten years earlier found no outlet but running. The final word of the novel – the question "O. K?" – recalls the words of astronaut Neil Armstrong used as epigraph for the final chapter of the book. After following Buzz Aldrin's instructions for leaving the space craft to step onto the lunar surface, Armstrong said, "O. K., Houston, I'm on the porch." Everything about the moon shot was perfect. Outer space – empty as it may be – has been successfully conquered by man and his machines. Can inner space, the habits of the individual heart, be similarly conquered and successfully related to that outer world? Updike offers no clear answer, and has insisted that "the question that ends the book is not meant to have an easy answer" (*Hugging the Shore* 859). But Rabbit and Janice, in their small personal world, do seem to be, like Neil Armstrong, O. K. and on the porch. Since one of the meanings of *redux* is "cured," Updike seems at least to suggest that the steps Rabbit takes off that porch will be in the right direction. Harry has explored new worlds and, like Columbus, has opened the way for further discoveries.

Rabbit Is Rich finds Harry the manager of the Toyota agency inherited from his father-in-law. He and Janice have lived with Ma Springer since their own house burned a decade ago. It is now 1979, almost the end of the Carter era, a time of run-away inflation, energy crisis, and long lines at gas pumps. Both America and Harry seem to be running out of gas. Harry is not worried, however, because his Toyotas get great gas mileage and bring in good money that allows him and Janice to be an active part of the country club set.

When a young woman from the nearby town of Galilee comes in with her boyfriend to look at a new car, Harry remembers that Ruth, his mistress from *Rabbit, Run* days, lives in Galilee and that his baby she was carrying when he ran away then would be just about the age of this girl. Harry speculates about whether or not this could be his daughter and even makes one furtive trip out to Galilee to locate Ruth's house; he does not have courage, however, to go into the house and face Ruth.

Nelson has left Kent State University for Colorado, but in early summer comes home, followed later by his pregnant girlfriend, Pru. They are married in the fall, and their baby girl is born shortly after Christmas while Harry and Janice are on a Caribbean vacation with their country club friends. Harry and Janice have bought a house just before their trip, and they move into it in January. Shortly after Christmas, Harry goes once more to Galilee and this time does go through the glass door of Ruth's house and questions her about the girl. Ruth insists that she had his child aborted and that this girl is the child of her deceased husband. But if Harry is denied this daughter as well as the baby girl drowned in the first book, he is not to be denied his granddaughter. The first major get-together in the new house is on the day of the 1980 Super Bowl. As the television blinks and glares and the book concludes, Pru brings the new baby for Harry to hold.

At age forty-six, Harry is well satisfied with himself. He still pursues his habit of individualism, but now he is not so concerned with his inner longings or the challenges of a counter culture. He is, rather, a type of individualist which Bellah and his associates find uniquely typical of modern America: the manager. "With the coming of the managerial society," they write, "the organization of work, place of residence, and social status came to be decided by criteria of economic effectiveness" (46).

With a comfortable income, Harry feels himself rich and measures happiness in economic terms, as many Americans do. Harry's managerial, economically based life-style is clouded, however, by the pervading sense that all economic satisfactions are doomed by the force of entropy, sometimes called the Second Law of Thermodynamics, which hypothesizes that the basic tendency is for all matter in the universe to subside into a uniform homogeneous temperature, effectively bringing about the heat-death of the universe. Translating the thermo-dynamic concept into social terms, entropy is the doctrine of inevitable social decline and degeneration.

Rabbit Is Rich opens on this entropic note: "Running out of gas," Rabbit thinks as he stands in the showroom of Springer Motors in the first lines of Chapter One (1). Rabbit also notes that producing gas pump shrouds has become a new industry (20), and everywhere he looks in Brewer, "once the fourth largest city in Pennsylvania but now slipped to seventh, structures seem to speak of expended energy" (32). There are "great shapely stacks that have not issued smoke for half a century" and "scrolling cast-iron light stanchions not lit since World War II" (32). On a personal level, Rabbit finds that his desires and wants have shriveled. "Freedom, that he always thought was outward motion, turns out to be this inward dwindling" (97). When discussing the decline of American industry with Nelson, Harry insists that "We used to be the best," but Nelson only responds, "So I'm told" (120). Harry feels that "his own life has closed to a size his soul had not yet [quite] shrunk to fit" (285). Thinking of his father, Nelson observes that Rabbit had once "had this crazy dim faith about himself left over from basketball or growing up as everybody's pet or whatever," but now "that spark is gone, leaving a big dead man on Nelson's chest" (314). When a friend asks Harry if he's seen *Jaws II*, he responds in a way that allows Updike to turn the entropy imagery into a clever barb aimed at himself: "D'you ever get the feeling that everything these days is sequels? . . . Like people are running out of ideas" (403).

These images, only a sampling of many which could be cited, indicate that the running-out-of-gas metaphor does have an important place in the book, especially in its first three sections. But, as always with Updike, there is another side. As Updike told me in our 1976 interview, *Rabbit, Run* was "a deliberate attempt to present both the escapist, have-it-my-way will to live versus the social restraints" (qtd. in Campbell 295). And we have seen that *Rabbit Redux* showed Harry venturing out into new worlds yet still inextricably rooted in the same self, and the book ended with a question rather than an answer. So *Rabbit Is Rich* presents a sociological analysis of the pervading presence of entropy in Rabbit's personal life and that of American culture in such loving and intimate detail that a shock of recognition forces us to say, "Yes, he's right; things are running down; time is running out." But there is another side to be examined. In an interview shortly after the book was published, Updike commented that the aim of his fiction was

bringing the corners forward, or throwing light into them. . . . Singing the hitherto unsung. That's applied Christianity for that matter. I distrust books involving spectacular people, or spectacular events. Let *People* and *The National Enquirer* pander to our taste for the extraordinary; let literature concern itself, as the Gospels do, with the inner lives of hidden men. The collective consciousness that once found itself in the noble must now rest content with the typical. . . . I don't want to write gushers. I want to write books that are hard and curvy like keys, and that unlock the traffic jam in everybody's head. Something like $E=mc^2$. only in words one after the other. (*Hugging the Shore* 873-874)

Clearly, Updike intended this novel not as a dirge but as an attempt to find an equation to unlock the unquestioning acceptance of degeneration and decay which entropy seems to

predict. In 1968, Updike produced a poem which brilliantly analyzed some of the insights into reality offered by modern physics, and his Spenserian stanzas were scientifically sound enough to be printed in *Scientific American*. One of those insights that fascinated Updike was Max Planck's $E=h\nu$ equation, a formulation which defines the relationship of energy and frequency. The equation does not deny that light is made up of particles as Newton's experiments indicated, but asserts that light also must be understood as waves. I cannot claim to understand the many implications of wave theory and wave mechanics, but I do understand physicists Ernest C. Pollard and Douglas C. Huston's assertion that the "sensational" successes of the applications of wave theory are "almost mystical" (313). And it is these "almost mystical" successes that offer Updike a way of saying "yes" to entropy while adding his customary "but," examining another side of the puzzle. Physics says, "Yes, light is made up of particles," and then adds, "but it also consists of waves." Quantum theory affirms that absorption of energy is continuous (suggesting entropy), but counters that emission proceeds discontinuously in quanta of energy which depend on the frequency of the oscillation of electrons. Just so, Updike sees a regenerative force which contradicts and counteracts entropy.

One of the epigraphs Updike uses for *Rabbit Is Rich* is from a poem by Wallace Stevens entitled "A Rabbit as King of the Ghosts": "The difficulty to think at the end of the day/
When the shapeless shadow covers the sun/ And nothing is left except light on your fur. . . ." In this poem the light of the sun, representing objective perception, is gone, covered by a shapeless, entropic shadow. But there is still the "light on your fur," what Stevens elsewhere in the poem calls "a rabbit-light" (150), the moon-light power of the imagination. Through a quantum jump, the imagination emits new energy on a different frequency that transforms an insignificant rabbit to a self that, Stevens says, "touches all edges" (151).

So despite the darkness and emptiness promised by the continuing expending of energy, there is a counter force represented by the "light on your fur," an interrelationship of the poles of individualism's self concern and the world of social responsibility. Counterpointing the novel's rational and sociologically precise entropy imagery of growing darkness, there is contrasting imagery that suggests an individualism of a different kind that must be seen by a different light--the light of mystery and faith, the light of the "something out there [that] wants me to find it." Bellah characterizes this more promising type of individualism as one rooted firmly in our American origins, tracing back far earlier than the managerial, economically measured individualism that Harry and his country club friends superficially represent. Bellah calls this individualism Biblical, and finds its roots in John Winthrop and his fellow Puritans. For them individualism was taken for granted, but the individual was seen first of all as a member of God's covenant community, not as a mere economic functionary or as a solipsistic self server. For this type of individualism, "the fundamental criterion of success was not material wealth but the creation of a community in which a genuinely ethical and spiritual life could be lived. . . ." According to Bellah, this type of individualism has given "the American experiment as a whole a utopian touch that it has never lost, in spite of all our failings" (28-29).

There are several scattered images in the novel that suggest this more idealistic and Biblical view of the individual. As Rabbit looks at the girl that he thinks may be his daughter, he finds it "wonderful to think" of "a secret message carried by genes all that way through all these comings and goings all these years, the bloody tunnel of growing and living, of staying alive" (34). The world may be running out of gas, but the secret messages of the genes will continue the life process.

On another occasion, Rabbit reflects that "although the world keeps ending . . . new

people too dumb to know it keep showing up as if the fun's just started" (88). He may echo fashionable ideas of decay and loss of energy, but fundamentally Harry affirms the continuation of human vitality. And as he looks down the hill at Ruth's house in Galilee but cannot get the courage to actually confront her, he crowds against a tree and is struck with "the miracle of it: how things grow, always remembering to be themselves" (113). Later he comments, "What a threadbare thing we make of life! Yet what a marvellous thing the mind is, they can't make a machine like it, . . . and the body can do a thousand things there isn't a factory in the world can duplicate the motion" (139) And he thinks, "Funny about feelings, they seem to come and go in a flash yet outlast metal" (163).

It is Part V, the concluding section of the novel, however, in which the regenerative images are dominant. His granddaughter has been born, and Rabbit and Janice have just moved into a house of their own after having lived with Janice's mother for twelve years. It is January, the beginning of a new year and the new decade of the eighties. Furthermore, it is Super Sunday, the day of the Super Bowl football game. Rabbit feels that the emptiness of his furniture-less new house is "a species of new possibility" (431) which excites and pleases him. In this new house one has to step down into the den. Harry thinks that in this room he "might begin to read books, instead of just magazines and newspapers, begin to learn about history, say." The "small difference in plane hints to him of many reforms and consolidations now possible in his life, like new shoots on a tree cropped back" (453). Although he is aware that he has no habits (of the heart or otherwise) to cushion him in this new house, that his life seems to stretch emptily on all sides, and that "moving in any direction he's bound to take a fall" (456), he nevertheless feels that on this Super Sunday he is "king of the castle" (446). He feels that "maybe God is in the universe the way salt is in the ocean, giving it taste" (462). He also notes that even at this dead point of winter the days have already "begun lengthening against the grain," and that "the planets keep their courses no matter what we do" (463).

But it is the new granddaughter whose presence in the last paragraph of the book provides a final moment which manages to include the inescapable truth of the Second Law of Thermodynamics while challenging it with a quantum jump of new energy:

[Pru] comes softly down the one step into his den and deposits into his lap what he has been waiting for. Oblong, cocooned little visitor, the baby shows her profile blindly in the shuddering flashes of color jerking from the Sony, the tiny stitchless seam of the closed eyelid aslant, lips bubbled forward beneath the whorled nose as if in delicate disdain, she knows she's good. . . . Through all this she has pushed to be here, in his lap, his hands, a real presence, hardly weighing anything but still alive. Fortune's hostage, heart's desire, a granddaughter. His. Another nail in his coffin. His. (467)

Rabbit's daughter-in-law steps down into the new plane which suggests reform, consolidations, and new shoots, and gives him what he has been waiting for – a sign that as the days lengthen against the grain, so does life; human individuality, uniqueness, keep coming. A visitor, not unlike Wordsworth's child trailing clouds of glory, the baby brings a new individual spirit into a world using up its energy prodigally, a world which is illuminated by shuddering flashes from Japanese rather than American technology. The stitchless seam of her eyelids, the bubbling of her lips, and her whorled nose defy and transcend all technologies, whether American or Japanese. Although she weighs little and has no force or energy to be measured in material terms, she knows she's good, has somehow pushed to be here--a real *presence*.

This new baby is what Rabbit has been waiting for. Updike has said that "Ever since his

baby girl drowned in *Rabbit, Run*, Harry has been looking for a daughter. It's the theme that has been pressing forward, without my willing it or understanding it exactly, through these novels" (*Hugging the Shore* 871). So this new baby is the daughter he has wanted, his heart's desire, a hostage to fortune--she is his; she can belong to no one else in quite the same way. Her presence does not change the outward reality of the empty house where he is bound to take a fall, nor does she reverse the aging process--she is another nail in his coffin, another sign of his moving closer to his own eventual death. Rabbit is running down. All things run down. But there is still the rabbit-light on one's fur that affirms the real presence of an audacious, unique, human, God-given personality looking out from the midpoint of its own universe. Or as Updike told me more succinctly, "Entropy may triumph in the eventual heat-death of the universe, but not in human lives" (qtd. in Campbell 146).

As it turns out, neither America nor Rabbit was even close to running out of gas in 1980. *Rabbit at Rest* opens just after Christmas 1988, the last year of "Reagan's reign" (6). Rabbit and Janice are spending their fifth winter in their Florida condominium since Nelson has taken over the Toyota agency in Pennsylvania. Nelson, Pru, and their two children arrive for a visit. Nelson explains the new philosophy of the eighties to his father: "People don't make money an hour at a time any more; you just get yourself in the right position and it comes" (39). Although Nelson is unusually jumpy, the visit goes well enough until Rabbit takes his granddaughter sailing and the boat capsizes. The exertion of righting it and getting them safely to shore precipitates a heart attack, and Rabbit is in the hospital when Nelson and family head back north.

When Rabbit and Janice return to Pennsylvania, Rabbit finds out that Nelson is stealing from the Toyota agency to support his cocaine addiction. Nelson agrees to go to a Philadelphia detoxification program and leaves the same day Rabbit gets out of the hospital after having angioplasty, but the Japanese insist on giving the franchise to another dealer. After his treatment, Nelson returns, talking about becoming a social worker and maybe turning the car lot into a treatment center.

Rabbit goes back to Florida alone just before Labor Day, eating all the fried and salty food he can find on the way. The doctor in Florida says he must exercise, so he begins walking into the older part of the city and discovers a basketball court where black boys allow him to play with them. The next day he returns to find only one young man on the court. Rabbit challenges him to a game of "horse" and recovers some of his old grace and skill--but as he makes one final jump shot, crushing pain strikes him down. He regains semi-consciousness in the hospital, but is unable to talk when Janice comes in. To Nelson he says, "[A]ll I can tell you is, it isn't so bad." He thinks that maybe he should say more since Nelson seems to expect and need more, but his final thoughts are: "... enough. Maybe. Enough" (512).

Nelson's comment about getting one's self in the right position so that the money just comes is perhaps the ultimate expression of the managerial/economic individualism of the eighties. Nelson's cocaine addiction which leads him to sacrifice the family business for his own personal indulgence is also a telling example of the final results of a shallow individualism practiced not only by Nelson's father when he was seeking to avoid the mediocrity of Mickey Mouse and Magi-Peelers, but by many Americans from the Eisenhower years on through the Bush era.

Nelson does, however, seem to learn something from his drug treatment program. He talks of becoming a social worker, thus devoting himself to helping others. Such a goal is certainly a real improvement in Nelson's habits of the heart, but Robert Bellah, et al., warn

that the change may not be so positive as it might first appear.

The model that Nelson seems to have adopted is what Bellah, et al., call “the therapist” (47). The therapist is really not too different from the manager or economically determined individual, they insist. Both are “specialists in mobilizing resources for effective action,” the difference being that the therapist uses internal resources and measures his effectiveness by “the elusive criterion of personal satisfaction” (47). Like the manager, the therapist “takes the ends” of society “as they are given; the focus is upon the effectiveness of the means” (47), not on any ultimate or absolute standards of value. For the therapist, according to Bellah, et al,

the center is the autonomous individual, presumed able to choose the roles he will play and the commitments he will make, not on the basis of higher truths but according to the criterion of life-effectiveness as the individual judges it. . . . The very term *therapeutic* suggests a life focussed on the need for cure. But cure of what? In the final analysis, it is cure of the lack of fit between the present organization of the self and the available organization of work, intimacy, and meaning. . . . Its genius is that it enables the individual to think of commitments. . . as enhancements of the sense of individual well-being rather than as moral imperatives. (47)

Nelson does not follow through on his plans to become a therapist, but Rabbit does seem to achieve a significant revival of some of the earlier, more positive individualism he clumsily voiced in *Rabbit, Run* – one that recognizes a transcendent imperative.

In saving his granddaughter’s life, Rabbit overcomes some of his earlier self-centered hardness of heart. He selflessly pushes himself to the limit to be sure that at least this little girl is not drowned. In the midst of the struggle he remembers once telling “a prying clergyman, *somewhere behind all this there’s something that wants me to find it.*” Now, he realizes, “Whatever it is, *it* has found *him*, and is working him over” (136). When Janice asks exactly what is wrong with Rabbit’s heart, the doctor replies: “It’s tired and stiff and full of crud. It’s a typical American heart, for his age and economic status et cetera” (166).

But this American heart has habits other than bad dietary practices. When a friend urges Rabbit to consider by-pass surgery because “You’re just a soft machine,” Rabbit thinks differently. He sees himself as a “God-made one-of-a-kind with an immortal soul breathed in. A vehicle of grace. A battlefield of good and evil. An apprentice angel” (237). Some of the Biblical-type individualism is left.

This type of individualism does not dominate the modern American psyche, though, as Updike points out. He seems to agree with Bellah that there is much that is cancerous in contemporary American practices. The Japanese representative who withdraws the Toyota dealership offers some insightful comment on what has happened to American individualism since the days of John Winthrop and Thomas Jefferson. He discusses the struggle he sees between order and freedom:

“Everybody mention freedom, all papers terevision anchor people everybody. . . . Skateboarders want freedom to use beach boardwalks and knock down poor old people. Brack men with radios want freedom to self-express with super-jumbo noise. Men want freedom to have guns and shoot others on freeways in random sport. In Carifornia, dog shit much surprise me. Everywhere, dog shit, dogs must have important freedom to shit everywhere. Dog freedom more important than crean grass and cement pavement. In U.S., Toyota company hope to make ireands of order in ocean of freedom. Hope to strike proper barance between needs of outer world and needs of inner being, between what in Japan we call *giri* and *ninjo.*” He leans forward and, with a flash of wide white cuff, taps the page of

figures on Harry's desk. "Too much disorder. Too much dog shit. Pay by end of August, no prosecution for criminal activities. But no more Toyota franchise at Singer Motors."

"Springer," Harry says automatically. "Listen," he pleads, "No one feels worse about my son's falling apart than I do."

Now it is Mr. Shimada who interrupts. . . . "Not just son," he says. "Who is father and mother of such son? Where are they? In Florida, enjoying sunshine and tennis, while young boy prays games with autos." (393-394)

So again we have a conflict of values; again as readers we are drawn into the moral debate.

Although on his last trip south Rabbit tries to see again the station where the old man told him he should know where he was going before he went there, the station is now a real estate office. Rabbit is not bothered, however, because he thinks that now he knows the road and has figured out his destination. But his last words to Nelson indicate that he, like Columbus, dies without ever fully comprehending the meaning of his odyssey. Each book in his saga has an open ending. In the first, he is running with no fixed destination. In the second, we are left with a serious question about whether our American Everyman is really O.K. In the third we see a new life but one which heralds the passing of the older generation. In this final book all Rabbit knows is that "it isn't so bad." And he believes that that is enough – maybe.

Updike says that he has sensed a spiritual emptiness at the core of American life. "Our condition is basically one of anxiety, of lostness," he says. Life is a search for "a sense of having found home," yet the very dynamic that drives Americans to dream and seek--the sense of "wanting" – "tilts against resignation and happiness" (qtd. in Farney A10). Robert Farney points out that "[t]hrough Rabbit Mr. Updike poses the classic American choice. How best does an American translate freedom into fulfillment? Through commitment to others or by going it alone? By rooting down or by running away?" (A10).

As we have seen, Rabbit begins by running, and although he learns some valuable lessons, he never seems to *arrive*. The conclusion of Rabbit's saga, however, does make one final comment on American habits of the heart. As Rabbit drifts in and out of consciousness, he marvels "that in its gaps the world is being tended just as it was in the centuries before he was born. . . . The red cave he thought had only a front entrance and exit turns out to have a back door as well" (511). When Nelson shouts at him, "Don't *die*, Dad, *don't!*", all Harry can say is, "Well, Nelson, . . . all I can tell you is, it isn't so bad." "[He] thinks he should maybe say more, the kid looks wildly expectant, but enough. Maybe. Enough" (512).

Rabbit at Rest, Updike has said,

is an attempt to show a happy death, at least a man content in some ways to die. . . . An arrival has been achieved. . . . The number of already rich men who were willing to commit crimes during the 1980s to get even richer proved there was no enough. There was no enough. Maybe that's one of the words Americans have a very hard time learning: the word enough. (qtd. in Farney A10)

Unlike Columbus, who sailed into new, strange waters, Updike's Rabbit never left familiar American ground but nevertheless has through four decades explored and uncovered new meanings for readers willing to enter into the moral debate. Rabbit may lack the heroism and purity of Natty Bumppo, the moral depth of Hester Prynne, the breadth and tragedy of Ishmael, the naive but stubborn idealism of Jay Gatsby, and the communal commitment of Tom Joad, but he is perhaps more representative of American society than any of them. For Updike has deliberately not sought the heroic, but has chosen to present the

ordinary, or as he himself has put it, “the whole mass of middling, hidden, troubled America” (qtd. in Farney A1). In creating Rabbit Angstrom, Updike has challenged us to examine American habits of the last forty years. From the metaphorical hardness of the heart in *Rabbit, Run* through the literal hardened arteries of Rabbit’s “typical American heart” in the final book, Updike calls us to explore with him the questions of what is a good man and how he can balance the claims of the individual with the claims of community and order.

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THE LEGEND OF JEDEDIAH SMITH: MOUNTAIN MAN, EXPLORER, WANDERING SPIRIT

Michael L. Collins

The ghostly stories about the Great Stony Mountains did not scare him. Not Jedediah. The tall tales of grizzly bears and Blackfoot war parties did not frighten him. Neither did the prospect of dying on some distant crag. Nothing terrified such a man who lived each day just to see for himself what lay on the other side of the mountain. Nothing truly troubled him, nothing – unless it was the fear of living without purpose or meaning.

On a cold February morning in 1822, a tall figure in his twenty-third year stepped from a flatboat on the banks of the Mississippi and strolled through the fur trading outpost of St. Louis. Perhaps even before he set foot west of the Mississippi for the first time he had already read the following announcement in the *Missouri Gazette and Public Advertiser*: “To all enterprising young men. The subscriber wishes to engage one hundred men, to ascend the river Missouri to its source, there to be employed for one, two, or three years. For particulars enquire of Major Andrew Henry, near the Lead Mines, in the County of Washington (who will ascend with and command the party) or the subscriber at St. Louis.” Signed--William Henry Ashley.¹

Surely one such enterprising young man would answer Ashley’s call. His name was Jedediah Strong Smith. Born on January 6, 1799, in the forests of southern New York, near the village of Jericho, Jedediah was the fourth of thirteen children born to Jedediah and Sally Strong Smith. Like the men of his father’s family, Jedediah grew tall in manhood, strikingly handsome, with piercing blue eyes and shoulder-length brown hair. From his mother, he inherited a strong will and a Calvinist theology which instructed him in the virtues of piety, prayer, and proselytizing the heathen to the “true faith.” An abstemious and Bible-toting Methodist who studied the classics and read the scriptures to anyone who would listen, he carried the Gospel in one hand and a rifle in the other. As one writer put it, “he never allowed his belief in one to interfere with his use of the other.” Hardly the rude, raucous, and vulgar type who populated the fur-trappers frontier, Smith was nevertheless as resolute and resourceful as any of the roistering Mountain Men who made their way west. This brash, young “knight in buckskin,” as one admirer called him, was a natural leader, for he not only held an unflinching faith in God, but also in himself.²

Joining Ashley’s brigade of “free trappers,” young Smith ventured for the first time that spring up the Big Muddy, the broad Missouri River, into the country of the Mandan, the Arikara, the Crow, and the Blackfoot. On to the valley of the Yellowstone River, that land of legends where men had long told of mountains of crystal and rivers of fire. After first wintering with Major Henry on the Musselshell River in present-day Montana, in the spring of 1823 Smith led a small trapping party into the ancient mountains of the Northern Rockies,

¹Dale Morgan, *Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1953), p. 19. Morgan’s study of the life of Smith is the most definitive published to date; for a second reliable and readable account of Smith’s career, see Don Berry, *A Majority of Scoundrels: An Informal History of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1961).

²Harvey L. Carter, “Jedediah Smith,” in *Mountain Men and Fur Traders of the Far West*, edited by Leroy R. Hafen (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), pp. 91-95.

into a spectacular wilderness where few white men had ever trod. From the friendly Crow, Smith and Henry first learned of a broad plain to the South, a pass which served as a natural portal to the far West. It was also said to be the passage into the beaver-rich, white water rivers which gouged their way through the high country of Wyoming and Colorado. After returning to Fort Kiowa (near present-day Pierre, South Dakota) on the upper Missouri, Smith struck out again that autumn with eleven trappers, among them the restless James Clyman and the indefatigable Thomas “Broken Hand” Fitzpatrick.³

Smith was determined to locate this pass – if indeed it existed. He first led the party of Mountain Men across the Badlands of Dakota, skirting the Black Hills and continuing on to the terraced outcropping of peaks known as the Big Horn Mountains, then on toward the hauntingly beautiful Wind River valley.

While crossing the Powder River basin that autumn, Smith survived a near-fatal encounter with the mighty lord of the Great Rockies – the grizzly. Advancing along a path--leading the way, as usual – Jedediah suddenly found himself face to face with the towering figure of a giant bear, nine feet in height. Before he could react, the bruin leaped upon him with a vengeance, taking the man’s head in his powerful jaws and crushing his ribs with the single swipe of a paw, before hurling the limp and lifeless body to the ground. After one of Smith’s comrades placed a shot in the grizzly’s head, sending the great bruin into death agony, the shocked onlookers gathered around the broken and bleeding figure of Jedediah. His scalp had been savagely ripped from his left eyebrow to the crown of his head, and his right ear lay dangling, nearly torn loose from his skull. Somehow, after regaining consciousness, a stunned and moaning Smith maintained enough presence of mind to instruct the others to retrieve water from the river in order to wash his wounds, then he directed Clyman to take needle and thread to stitch up the ghastly gashes which covered his head and torso. As Clyman, who had no previous surgical knowledge or experience, recalled in his journal, “this gave us a lesson [sic] on the character of the grizzly Baarr [sic] which we did not soon forget.”⁴

Following two weeks of convalescence, Smith and his party pushed on to the Wind River, where they established winter camp among the Crow. Not content to wait out the winter there, but determined to press ahead, Smith’s weary band mounted up again and led their pack ponies southward toward the North Platte. Braving howling winter squalls, enduring blinding blizzards, negotiating deep banks of drifting snows, men and animals alike suffered from frostbite and hunger. Yet they survived the worst that this wilderness had to offer. Then in February, 1824, near the waters of the North Platte, not far west of present-day Casper, Wyoming, Smith and company located, explored, and mapped what was soon to be called South Pass, that gateway into the Far West which would, within twenty years, become the well-traveled highway for thousands of overland immigrants bound along the Oregon and California trails. Beyond Independence Rock, through the “Devil’s Gate”, and on the Sweetwater they rode, thus making them the first party of English-speaking Americans known to have traversed the pass from east to west.⁵

Later that spring, after the melting of the snows, “Captain” Smith, as he was respectfully called, marked out a new trade route into the spectacular Green River country of Colorado.

³Ibid., pp. 94-96.

⁴James Clyman, *Journal of a Mountain Man* (Missoula, Montana: Mountain Press Publishing Company, 1984), pp. 20-23.

⁵Morgan, *Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West*, pp. 90-95.

After a successful spring “hunt,” he and his fellow trappers returned to Fort Kiowa, their long strings of pack horses weighted down with beaver pelts. Had Jedediah never accomplished anything else for the remainder of his days, he could rest in the knowledge that his place in history had been secured, and that he would be rightfully credited as the explorer who had made the effective discovery of South Pass.

But Jedediah was not a man who even knew the meaning of the word “rest.” The cold and timeless mountains still beckoned. With the fur traders, Thomas Fitzpatrick, William Sublette and David E. Jackson, he formed an enterprise known as the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, which for a few glorious years was destined to challenge the supremacy of John Jacob Astor’s American Fur Company and the British Hudson Bay Company of Dr. John McLaughlin, the so-called “White Eagle” of the Great Northwest.

Such a man as Jedediah, stricken with an instinctive wanderlust, gazed west toward the big waters of the Pacific and wondered what awaited beyond the Great Stony Mountains and the deserts of the Great Basin. Whether or not Smith’s legendary Southwestern Expedition of 1826 resulted from a conscious desire to open an overland trail to California, or simply from that natural human impulse to venture into the unknown, or as some have insisted, from a well-conceived plan to find an alternate, southerly route to Oregon, will never be known. The answer to this vexing question lies buried with the man.

What we do know is that, in early August, 1826, at the Bear River Rendezvous, near Soda Springs, one hundred miles above the Great Salt Lake, Smith, Jackson, and Sublette met and discussed the necessity of dividing company, with Jedediah agreeing to strike out to the south and west. Simply put, Smith later wrote in his journal, “my purpose was exploring the country S. W. of the Salt Lake which was entirely unknown to me and of which I could collect no information from the Indians who inhabit its borders.” Characteristically a man of few words, Smith recorded in his diary: “What the great and unexplored country might contain we knew not, but hoped to find parts of the country as well stocked with beaver as some of the waters of the Missouri.” Then he admitted, “in taking the charge of our S Western Expedition I followed the bent of my strong inclination to visit this unexplored country and unfold those hidden resources of wealth and bring to light those wonders which I readily imagined a country so extensive might contain. I must confess that I had at that time a full share of that ambition (and perhaps foolish ambition) which is common . . . to all,” he continued. “I wanted to be the first to view a country on which the eyes of a white man had never gazed and to follow the course of the rivers that run through a new land.”⁶

Thus driven, not only by the prospect for profit, but also by his own romantic sense of adventure, Smith set out with fifteen fellow trappers on August 7, 1826, his destination uncertain, his motive unclear. They were a motley band of buckskin-clad Mountain Men. The column of horsemen included the half-breed Laplant; the blacksmith Silas Gobel; the large, bearded trapper Robert Evans, the chronic complainer; the contentious Scotsman John Wilson (described by Smith as “crazy and malicious”); the Virginian Harrison G. Rogers who, like Jedediah, was a devoutly religious man who clung to the virtues of civilization while rejecting the vices and temptations of savagery; Peter Ranne (or Raney), said to have been “a man of color” (the debate goes on as to whether or not he was Black); Marion, the Umpquah Indian slave; Nipisang, a Christianized Indian guide who, like the rest, had never crossed the Great Basin; the French *coureur de bois* known only as Robeseau; Manual, listed by Smith as “a native Mexican”; and several others, who appear as mere

⁶George R. Brooks, ed., *The Southwest Expedition of Jedediah S. Smith: His Personal Account of the Journey to California, 1826-1827* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977), pp. 36-37.

entries in Smith's journal and Harrison Rogers' diary of 1826.⁷

For many days the party of trappers rode across the arid salt plains of Utah, across a desolate wasteland that Smith termed a "country of starvation." The blazing sun burned overhead, blistering their skin and draining men and horses of their strength. The wind-blown alkaline sands stung their eyes and singed their nostrils, throats, and lungs. And all that loomed ahead was the shimmering heat rising from the desert. With each passing mile, there was little sign of life, only scattered cactus, a lonely lizard scurrying across the cracked earth, the skull of some unfortunate creature, an occasional, disinterested gull flying overhead.

Understandably, after a week of trekking across this desert, dissension surfaced, as more than one of the disgruntled and thirsty travelers began to openly question and even challenge Smith's authority as well as his judgment. Then, as if Jedediah's prayers were answered, in southwestern Utah they came upon the welcome sight of a village of Paiutes, primitive "digger" Indians who shared their corn with the hungry strangers and even offered them such desert delicacies as grasshoppers, grub worms, and tarantulas. Nearby Smith's expedition came upon the Virgin River of Nevada, which led southward, through the appropriately-named "Valley of Fire," and on to the rust-colored rapids of the Colorado River. Smith observed of this discovery: "I believe that I am now on the same river I struck two years ago about 500 miles northeast" of here. Indeed, the perceptive explorer had stumbled upon the very same river he had earlier encountered on another adventure near the headwaters of the Green River. The Colorado led them past present-day Lake Mead, where the Hoover Dam is now located, toward the forbidding Mojave Desert, not far from the future site of Needles, California.⁸

After they turned west from the river, for days they staggered across the windswept emptiness. As the horses collapsed from lack of water, Smith ordered them shot, not only to end the animals' suffering, but to provide the men with a needed supply of meat. Then one day the Captain went ahead to locate water, searching for hours before he managed to find a dry creek bed where he took out a knife and dug for signs of some precious moisture for himself and the others who were straggling behind. As they walked over the featureless landscape of the Mojave, their lips and faces began to crack open, their feet became heavy, their vision blurred, and in their delirium they saw green valleys and blue lakes – mirages which vanished as quickly as they had appeared.⁹

As Jedediah began to question whether or not anyone could survive in such a forsaken country, he and his wretched little band encountered a hunting party of tall, naked, and heavily tattooed Mojave tribesmen. As the Indians approached, Jedediah held up an open palm, hoping that the natives understood this universal sign of peace and friendship. For a few tense moments, the brown-skinned bowmen and the American trappers stared at one another curiously, then one of the natives raced forward and drew an arrow at Smith's throat. Slowly, Jedediah reached into his "possibles" pouch to retrieve a few gifts--strands of ribbon, a flint, and a razor.

The Mojaves befriended the gaunt and exhausted Mountain Men and led them to their

⁷Harrison Rogers' account of the Southwest expedition of 1826-1827 may be found in "Harrison G. Rogers Daybook," in Brooks, ed., *The Southwest Expedition of Jedediah S. Smith*.

⁸Brooks, ed., *The Southwest Expedition of Jedediah S. Smith*, pp. 59-68.

⁹John G. Neihardt, *The Splendid Wayfaring: The Story of the Exploits and Adventures of Jedediah Smith and His Comrades* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1920), pp. 235-243.

squalid lodges and vegetable gardens near a clear stream on the fringes of the desert. But no sooner had the exhausted travelers settled into the comfort of the Mojave dugouts than Smith began talking about pushing on. For he soon learned through an interpreter, who communicated with the Indians in broken Spanish, that the coastal valleys of California lay only two weeks' march ahead.

With fresh mounts, which they had acquired from the Indian villagers, Jedediah and his men advanced across the Mojave, through one of the most barren deserts known to man. At last, weakened, weather-beaten, and weary, the explorers emerged at the foothills of the Sierra Nevadas, that great wall of snow-capped peaks which erupted from the sands of the Mojave. They crossed Cajon Pass and descended into the fertile and scenic San Bernardino Valley (40 miles east of Los Angeles), where their lungs could breathe the cool Pacific breezes and their stomachs could enjoy the many fruits of this Garden of Plenty. Understandably, Jedediah scribbled in his journal: "No man, though he traveled the whole majesty of the world, could set eyes on a more pleasant . . . and beautiful land."¹⁰

On November 27, 1826, almost four months after departing the Bear River rendezvous, Jedediah and party rode upon the San Gabriel Mission, where they were embraced by a gentle and pious Franciscan priest, Father Jose Sanchez, who fed and sheltered them through the winter. Of this merciful man of God, Jedediah wrote, "he was the most Christian man I ever met," no doubt a compliment coming from a Methodist with a fundamentalist mindset. But not all residents of this Pacific province welcomed the unwashed Americans with open arms. In San Diego, the Mexican Governor of California Don Jose Maria de Echeandea, upon hearing of these intruders, insisted that they must be *filibusteros*, or filibusters, soldiers of fortune who had come to reconnoiter the region for the land-hungry *Norte Americanos*. So Echeandea had Smith and company detained, disarmed, and brought to him in San Diego, where they were placed under house arrest to await interrogation.¹¹

Smith assumed that his letter of introduction from none other than General William Clark would convince Mexican officials that he was no soldier of fortune, and that he had trekked more than 800 miles for one reason only – to trap beaver. But he was mistaken. A skeptical Echeandea was convinced that the *Americanos* were spies, and thus he ordered Smith and his compatriots to leave California at the first sign of spring, and to leave by the same way they had entered!

But Jedediah had no intention of going back, at least not yet, and certainly not by way of the tortuous Mojave. After the hardships and suffering they had endured, his men would not stand for it. Owing to the intercession of several New England sea captains, who had apparently gained the trust of Echeandea, Smith and the others were released. But instead of leading his party back toward Cajon Pass and the land of starvation, Smith turned northward in April, 1827, through the pastoral setting of the San Joaquin Valley, and by May to the Stanislaus River, which was crawling with elk and teeming with beaver.¹²

On the 27th of May, Smith, Evans, and Gobel left the other free trappers in this Pacific paradise, and they ascended into the peaks, one of which Jedediah called Mount Joseph, in

¹⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 93-96; Desmond Wilcox, *Ten Who Dared* (Boston: Little Brown Company, 1977), pp. 160-166.

¹¹Recently discovered correspondence in the Mexican archives reveals much new evidence about Smith's trek into California and the reaction of Mexican officials, from Monterey to Mexico City. See David Weber, *The Californios versus Jedediah Smith, 1826-1827: A New Cache of Documents* (Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1990).

¹²Morgan, *Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West*, pp. 208-215.

honor of the saintly Father Sanchez. Through the treacherous and rugged passes of the Sierras, which seemed to hold the snows of a thousand winters, the three men struggled. Near the summit of the range, they nearly froze to death in a late winter storm. Two of their pack animals died of exposure to the cold, and another horse fell over one thousand feet to its death before they finally persisted in finding a way to the eastern slopes.

There what is known today as Walker Lake sprawled below them. And beyond stretched the vast, devil-like deserts of Nevada. The return trip to the Great Salt Lake held even more hardship and suffering than the ordeal of the previous year. On the windswept wastes south of the Humboldt River, no water could be found – anywhere. Three more horses died of thirst, and Smith and his two companions pulled the last two mounts behind them. After traveling several days and nights with little sleep and no water, Evans lay down to die in the sun. “It now seemed possible,” Jedediah later recalled, “that we might perish in the desert, unheard of and unpitied.”¹³

Smith and Gobel found enough strength to go on, hoping for a sign of water. They left what little food they had with Evans and continued their journey. Hours later, Gobel could do nothing but lie down in a shallow hole which Smith had dug for him, and there he surrounded himself with the cool earth. Smith left the last of his provisions with his friend and walked on again. Not one hour later, by chance, he found it – a water hole. Filling his leather pouches with the life-giving water, he hurried back to Gobel, then to Evans. And in each case he found that men near death could be instantly rejuvenated by water. To Jedediah’s way of thinking, their survival was a miracle. And maybe it was.

On July 3, 1827, the three emaciated explorers rode into the annual rendezvous at Little Lake, north of the Great Salt Lake. Their friends and fellow trappers could hardly recognize them. Jedediah’s journal concludes, “My arrival caused a considerable bustle in camp for myself and party had been given up as lost. A small cannon brought up from St. Louis was loaded and fired for a salute.”¹⁴

At the age of 28, Smith had already done more than most men might dare to dream in a dozen lifetimes. He had been the first to cross the Great Basin and to locate an overland route to California. And he had lived to tell about it. But it was not enough. After only ten day’s rest, he set out again for California, to return as promised to the trappers he had left behind.

After traversing the deserts of the Great Basin and the Sierra Nevadas again in 1827, he headed north to explore the Oregon Country and the valley of the great Columbia River. By early 1830 Smith would return to what he considered to be civilization, the tiny outpost of St. Louis. Not content, however, to go back east and lead a family life, or even to settle down on the border country of Missouri, Smith again decided that it was time to move on.

So early in 1831 he joined a caravan of mule- and oxen-drawn wagons bound along the storied Santa Fe Trail. For weeks the experienced plainsman guided the wagon train across the prairies of Kansas, toward the sun-scorched, semiarid country of the Cimarron Desert. On the borders of southwestern Kansas and Indian Territory, a seventy-mile expanse of windswept plains stretched out ominously as if it were the entrance to hell. After three days without even a sign of water, with men and animals alike dropping from heat, exhaustion, and dehydration, the captain of the caravan asked for a volunteer to seek out a water hole. It

¹³Smith’s journal cited above is the only extant source detailing his arduous trek as he returned across the deserts of the Great Basin.

¹⁴Morgan, *Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West*, pp. 215-217.

was Jedediah who stepped forth. Leaving the wagons behind, as was his practice, Smith rode off ahead to locate water on the desolate plains. He was never seen again.

But from a band of Comanches who later related the details of Jedediah's end, we know that he came upon the Cimarron and dismounted to dig for water in the dry channel, unaware that a hunting party awaited nearby to ambush him. Perhaps he approached them with upraised palm, a gesture of friendship, or so the Comanches later told. Maybe he realized immediately that the menacing horsemen wanted all his valuables and his scalp. Whatever the case, he was overcome by a swarm of warriors – but as he tumbled from his horse, his body littered with arrows, a knife deep in his side, a lance lodged in his chest, he first leveled his musket and fired, killing the leader of the Comanche band with a musket blast.

After stripping and scalping him, the Comanches took his horse and weapons and rode away, leaving Jed's bloodied body for the carrion-eating animals. The pages of Smith's journal for 1831 were scattered by the winds over the prairie, and neither these papers nor the explorer's body were ever recovered, though a few Comanches who rode into Santa Fe that summer told of the death struggle with the tall American who fought like a demon possessed.

One biographer offered a fitting eulogy to Smith: Jedediah "stood alone among the Mountain Men, and it was alone that he died." Historian Ray Allen Billington once described Smith as occupying "a place in immortality as the most venturesome of all American explorers." So it is not surprising that in 1976, when Time-Life released a series of films and an accompanying monograph on great explorers entitled *Ten Who Dared*, Smith assumed his rightful place alongside such figures as Christopher Columbus, Captain James Cook, and Henry Morton Stanley.¹⁵

Historian William Goetzmann summarized Smith's towering accomplishments by concluding that "he had seen more of the West than any other man, and with a natural genius for geographic detail . . . he had understood much of what he saw in geographic terms." Surely Smith's adventures were long forgotten, or ignored, and others such as John C. Fremont and Kit Carson were given credit for his towering achievements. Today, however, the record stands corrected: Smith's explorations earned for him the distinction of being the first Euro-American to locate, explore, and map South Pass (and "Smith's Trail" was to become the well-traveled Oregon Trail and northern California Trail); his was the first party to cross the Great Basin of Utah and Nevada and to travel overland to California; the first to cross the Sierra Nevadas; the first to explore the fertile Willamette River country of Oregon. Smith deserves then to hold the honored title, "the greatest of the American explorers."¹⁶

Months before his death, Smith had penned in a letter to his brother the haunting words which were to be his own epitaph. "It is that I may help others that I face danger. It is for this that I traverse the mountains of eternal snows. It is for this that I deprive myself of the privilege of society . . . and my friends."¹⁷

History teaches us that all fame and glory are fleeting, just as the poet reminds us that we are all mortal. In his 1942 lyric tribute to the great explorer, entitled "The Song of Jed

¹⁵Carter, "Jedediah Smith," p. 108; Wilcox, *Ten Who Dared*, contains essays on "great" explorers, from Columbus to Amundsen.

¹⁶William Goetzmann, *Exploration and Empire: The Explorer and Scientist in the Winning of the American West* (New York: Vintage Books, 1966), pp. 141-145; Weber, *The Californios v. Jedediah Smith*, pp. 9-10.

¹⁷Morgan, *Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West*, p. 312.

Smith," John G. Neihardt wrote of his own search for the site of Smith's death, somewhere among the dunes and dry beds of the Cimarron River:

Three horseback days below
the Arkansaw, and twelve from Santa Fe
I crossed the Cimarron; another day
Beyond the waterholes, and that was where
He left the wagons.

All around me there
Was empty desert, level as a sea,
And like a picture of eternity
Completed for the holding of regret.
But I could almost see the oxen yet
Droop, panting, in the circled wagon train;
the anxious eyes that followed on the plain
A solitary horseman growing dim;
And riding South, I almost sighted him
Along the last horizon--many moons
Ahead of me.

Where he died
His brothers, even, didn't rightly know,
Recalling, with already seasoned woe,
How he went hunting water for the train,
And how they watched until the lonely plain
Went empty in the shimmer of the sun
Forever.¹⁸

Jedediah Strong Smith, mythic Mountain Man, American adventurer, wandering spirit. Perhaps in death, as in life, he went ahead, alone, one last time to explore the unknown, and to see for himself what lay on the other side of the mountain.

¹⁸For the entire poem, see John G. Neihardt, *The Song of Jed Smith* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1941).

WHO ARE THESE PEOPLE? WHAT ARE THEY DOING HERE? AND WHERE ARE WE?

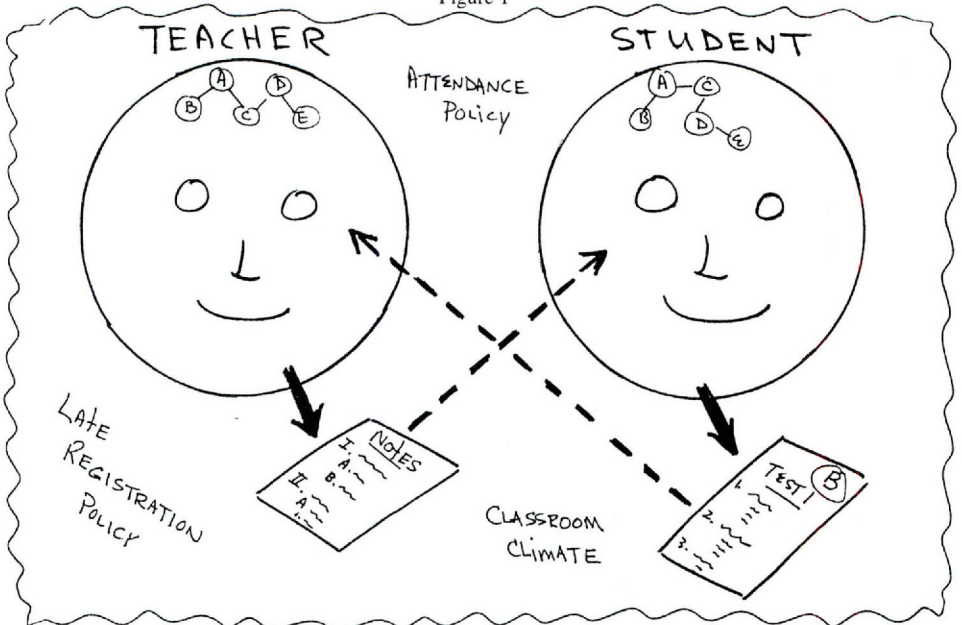
George M. Diekhoff

INTRODUCTION

The kind of research that proceeds most smoothly is guided by some theory or model. As is sometimes said, "There is nothing so useful as a good theory." The model of the educational enterprise that has guided the research summarized in this paper is captured in Figure 1. Briefly, the process begins with a knowledgeable teacher, someone whose understanding includes both a sense of the meaning of individual concepts within a domain as well as an appreciation for the relationships that link these concepts into a cognitive network. One of the teacher's main tasks is to somehow convey to students this knowledge structure, in the hope that students might assimilate it, or parts of it, into their own world views. Most often, teachers accomplish this by translating their cognitive structures into something verbal, the vehicle by which knowledge is conveyed to the student. Lectures, outlines, books, and the like are the major forms of this verbal medium. Unfortunately, the serial nature of language often makes it difficult to convey adequately the nonserial aspects of knowledge, i.e., the interrelationships of concepts.

The student's role in the educational enterprise is to learn. In large part, learning consists of translating the teacher's verbal presentation back into a cognitive structure that is consistent with the requirements and constraints of human memory. Although students are typically capable of identifying and defining the individual key concepts from a domain, they have greater difficulty identifying the relationships that link the concepts. I suspect that students' failure to understand concept interrelationships is often a consequence of our failure to teach this structural information.

Figure 1



Continuing to examine Figure 1, we find the test. Conceptually, testing can be distinguished from teaching and learning, but the overlap between these activities is more important. Testing is an important component of teaching. Tests are as important as lectures in guiding the learning process. If we test regularly, students study regularly. If we test over definitional knowledge, students learn definitions. Most tests, certainly multiple choice tests at the introductory level, seem to emphasize definitions. Thus, not only do we usually not teach about the structural interrelationships in a domain, we also fail to test this knowledge. This practically guarantees that students will fail to acquire structural knowledge.

Once a test is taken, it must be graded. At the simplest level, grading tests requires that the teacher translate the student's test responses into an implicit cognitive structure. This structure is evaluated for adequacy and a grade is assigned. The grade is an important feature of the educational enterprise. It serves to reinforce students for good performance and punishes those who have not performed up to standard. Grades give the student feedback as to areas of strength and weakness in his or her knowledge structure.

Teaching, learning, testing, and grading do not occur in a vacuum. The context within which these activities run their course is an important determinant of the success of the activities, much as the oil in an automobile engine enables the moving parts to function effectively. Figure 1 lists only a few of the components of the educational context--the university's late registration policy, the individual instructor's attendance policy, and classroom climate, the psychosocial milieu of the classroom.

INSTRUCTION

Perhaps one of the most serious weaknesses with traditional methods of instruction is their failure to convey adequately structural understanding. Because language is linear and sequential, our lectures and texts tend to present first concept A, which leads to B, then C, and finally D and E. Too often teachers do not explicitly describe the indirect linkages that exist in their cognitive structures. Concept A is not just linked to B, it has linkages, direct and indirect, to every other concept in the network. Thus, instead of presenting knowledge as a network of interrelated ideas, we too often misrepresent knowledge as a sequential string.

Some years ago, our research group began to search for an alternative teaching method that would emphasize concept interrelationships. The essential elements of this teaching strategy are illustrated in Figure 2.

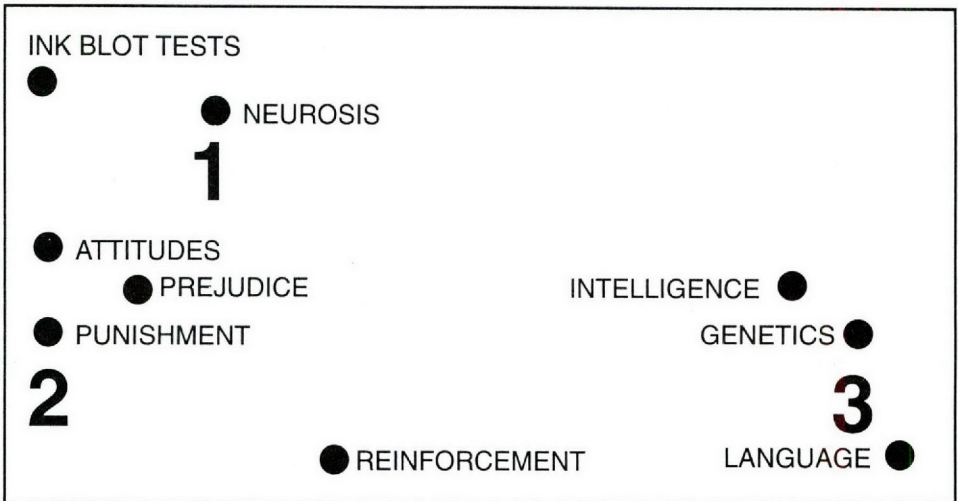
We began by asking instructors to identify the key concepts from the material being taught, e.g., intelligence, genetics, and the other concepts listed in Figure 2. These concepts were next presented in all possible pairs to instructors who were told to rate the "strength of relationship" between the concepts in each pair using a 1-10 scale (where 1 = little or no relationship; 10 = extremely strong relationship). Next, through the statistical method of multidimensional scaling, instructor "cognitive maps" were created. In these maps, concepts are represented as points and relationship strengths are represented as distances, such that strongly related concepts are proximate and less related concepts are distant. Instructors then used their cognitive maps to guide classroom discussions of the structural interrelationships between concepts. Although the specifics of these discussions varied with the topic areas under consideration, they usually involved considering why certain concepts clustered together and why other concepts were not as related.

In several separate evaluations of this teaching method we found that students who were exposed to their instructor's cognitive maps performed better on tests than did students who

Figure 2

Instructor's Cognitive Map

	INTELLIGENCE	GENETICS	REINFORCEMENT	PREJUDICE	NEUROSIS	ATTITUDES	PUNISHMENT	INK BLOT TESTS	LANGUAGE
INTELLIGENCE	1.0	.8	.3	.5	.5	.4	.2	.1	.8
GENETICS		1.0	.5	.2	.6	.1	.1	.1	.8
REINFORCEMENT			1.0	.8	.4	.8	.9	.1	.8
PREJUDICE				1.0	.6	.9	.4	.2	.1
NEUROSIS					1.0	.7	.8	.9	.1
ATTITUDES						1.0	.7	.5	.1
PUNISHMENT							1.0	.1	.1
INK BLOT TESTS								1.0	.1
LANGUAGE									1.0



were not so exposed. This was particularly true on tests that focused on structural knowledge.

LEARNING

The second element in the educational model being followed here is learning. The best teaching in the world will be for naught if students do not learn. Happily, surveys conducted by our research group found that most college students are quite adept at many of the basic tasks of learning. They can identify key concepts, define them, and most students are fairly good at thinking of examples and applications of the concepts. Where students are weak is in their inability to identify relational linkages between concepts.

Our research group sought to develop a learning strategy training program that would correct this weakness. In the five-hour training program that we developed, students were taught four skills: identification of key concepts, defining key concepts, concept elaboration, and concept linkage. Here I will focus on the last three components of this learning strategy.

Figure 3 provides examples of the structured definition worksheets that we used to train students in concept definition. These worksheets were designed to require students to search for as many different pieces of defining information as possible.

Figure 3

Structured Definition Worksheets

+ REINFORCEMENT	EXTINCTION
CHARACTERISTICS administering a desired stimulus	CHARACTERISTICS withholding a desired stimulus
ANTECEDENTS behavior (desired)	ANTECEDENTS behavior (undesired)
CONSEQUENCES increased occurrence of behavior	CONSEQUENCES decreased occurrence of behavior
EVIDENCE a frequently occurring behavior	EVIDENCE a behavior that occurs infrequently
SUBSETS intrinsic, extrinsic	SUBSETS
SUPERSETS behavioral consequences, reinforcement	SUPERSETS behavioral consequences
ELABORATION Ex: praising a child's behavior	ELABORATION Ex: ignoring misbehavior

Elaboration, completed at the bottom of each definition worksheet, involves thinking of “real life” applications, examples, or even drawing simple illustrations that capture the meaning of the defined concepts. The purpose of elaboration activity is to make abstract concepts more concrete by linking them into the student’s own experience.

Figure 4 provides an example of a structured comparison worksheet used in training the last component of the learning strategy. Students were trained to use worksheets like this one in systematically comparing and contrasting pairs of previously defined concepts. The hope was that this activity would lead students to discover concept interrelationships that they might otherwise not have considered.

Several separate evaluations of this learning strategy training program revealed that students who were trained in the method obtained higher test scores on material studied using the strategy than did students who were not trained. This effect was particularly strong on tests which focussed on structural knowledge.

Figure 4

Structured Comparison Worksheet

+REINFORCEMENT SIMILARITIES	EXTINCTION DIFFERENCES
CHARACTERISTICS	
both involve a stimulus extinction=withholding	reinforcement=giving
ANTECEDENTS	
behavior is the antecedent of both	reinforcement=good behavior extinction=bad behavior
CONSEQUENCES	
both affect frequency of behavior	reinforcement=increases extinction=decreases
EVIDENCE	
behavioral frequency is evidence of both	reinforcement=high frequency extinction=low frequency
SUBSETS	
	there are no "types" of extinction
SUPERSETS	
both are kinds of behavioral consequences	
SUMMARY	
+Reinforcement and extinction are both behavioral consequences that have opposite effects. Extinction is the withholding of + reinforcement.	

TESTING

Because the tests we use to assess our students shape their learning, it is important that we exercise care in our approach to testing. Consistent with the preceding emphasis on the teaching and learning of structural knowledge, our research group has also devoted much attention to the development of tests that assess knowledge at this level. It is most likely that students' cognitive structures will be well integrated if we teach and test concept inter-relationships and if they have mastered learning strategies appropriate to the acquisition of this kind of knowledge.

We have developed and evaluated three testing formats for use in assessing structural knowledge in introductory level college courses. The first of these is illustrated by Figure 5. In this approach the instructor selects several pairs of concepts from the domain being tested and rates the strength of relationship in each pair. The test consists of giving students the same concept pairs with similar instructions to provide judgments of relationship strength. The premise of this method is that the overall similarity between the relationship judgments of a student and instructor reflects similarity between their cognitive structures. It is also assumed that, at least at the introductory level, the more similar a student's cognitive structure is to the instructor's, the more knowledgeable is that student. In Figure 5, the correlation between student A's relationship judgments and those of the instructor ($r = +.92$) reflects strong similarity between the two sets of judgments. In contrast, student B's rather low, negative correlation ($r = -.52$) indicates that this student actually sees as unrelated those concepts which the instructor sees as highly related, and vice versa. Accordingly, student A should be assigned a higher grade than student B.

Figure 5

*Measuring Structural Understanding
With Relationship Judgments*

INSTRUCTOR				STUDENT A		STUDENT B	
INTELLIGENCE - GENETICS	8			INTELLIGENCE - GENETICS	9	INTELLIGENCE - GENETICS	5
INTELLIGENCE - INK BLOTS	1			INTELLIGENCE - INK BLOTS	1	INTELLIGENCE - INK BLOTS	8
GENETICS - LANGUAGE	8			GENETICS - LANGUAGE	3	GENETICS - LANGUAGE	7
PUNISHMENT - LANGUAGE	2			PUNISHMENT - LANGUAGE	4	PUNISHMENT - LANGUAGE	5
ATTITUDES - INK BLOTS	5			ATTITUDES - INK BLOTS	3	ATTITUDES - INK BLOTS	9
NEUROSIS - ATTITUDES	7			NEUROSIS - ATTITUDES	7	NEUROSIS - ATTITUDES	4
NEUROSIS - INK BLOTS	9			NEUROSIS - INK BLOTS	8	NEUROSIS - INK BLOTS	3
INTELLIGENCE - PUNISHMENT	2			INTELLIGENCE - PUNISHMENT	3	INTELLIGENCE - PUNISHMENT	7
		$r = .92$	$r = -.52$				

Although it can be argued that this method of testing is aimed more at reinforcing intellectual conformity than originality, we do not believe this to be a serious problem in the lower-division courses for which the testing method was developed. In these courses, disagreement between student and instructor is less likely to reflect an informed difference of opinion than a simple lack of understanding on the part of the student.

Figure 6 depicts a multiple-choice format for testing students' structural knowledge. In each of these examples, the correct response is "D," since in each case, concepts A, B, and C are relatively highly related and concept D is the least related of the group.

Figure 7 shows a true-false format for testing structural knowledge. The instructor selects several highly related concept pairs and an equal number of concept pairs having little direct relationship. Students are tested by having them identify concept pairs of these two types.

Figure 6

*Measuring Structural Understanding
With Multiple-Choice Questions*

INSTRUCTIONS: IN EACH OF THE FOLLOWING ITEMS, SELECT THAT TERM WHICH DOES NOT BELONG WITH THE OTHERS.

1. A. REINFORCEMENT
B. ATTITUDES
C. PUNISHMENT
* D. PROJECTIVE TESTS
2. A. INTELLIGENCE
B. GENETICS
C. LANGUAGE
* D. PREJUDICE
3. A. ATTITUDES
B. NEUROSIS
C. REINFORCEMENT
* D. INTELLIGENCE

Figure 7

*Measuring Structural Understanding
With True-False Questions*

INSTRUCTIONS: ANSWER EACH OF THE ITEMS BELOW "TRUE" IF YOU THINK THE TWO CONCEPTS ARE MODERATELY TO STRONGLY RELATED. ANSWER "FALSE" IF YOU THINK THE TWO CONCEPTS HAVE LITTLE OR NO RELATIONSHIP. THERE ARE AN EQUAL NUMBER OF "TRUE" AND "FALSE" ITEMS.

- (T) 1. INTELLIGENCE - GENETICS
- (T) 2. NEUROSIS - INK BLOTS
- (F) 3. INTELLIGENCE - INK BLOTS
- (T) 4. GENETICS - LANGUAGE
- (F) 5. INTELLIGENCE - PUNISHMENT
- (F) 6. PUNISHMENT - LANGUAGE

Our research group has evaluated the validity of all three testing formats. In these evaluations, students' structural knowledge was first evaluated through exhaustive essay testing. These essay tests required that students describe in detail the nature of the concept interrelationships within the domain being examined. Students next completed one or more of the experimental tests of structural knowledge described above. We have obtained substantial positive correlations between scores on essay tests of structural knowledge and scores obtained on the three experimental testing formats described here, consistent with the interpretation that our formats, like the traditional essay examination, measure structural knowledge.

GRADING

Once tests are taken, they are graded, and these grades become an important element of the educational enterprise. This being so, we should consider carefully what we are grading. In most cases, we grade students on the basis of performance. The student who correctly answers 80% of the questions posed is graded higher than the student who correctly answers only 70% because the 80% represents a higher level of performance than the 70%. But what determines performance? What are we really grading?

I believe that performance is determined by four limiting variables:

$$\text{Performance} = \text{Ability} \times \text{Effort} \times \text{Support} \times \text{Health}$$

Ability includes such things as intelligence, study skills, and the like. Effort is just that--how much effort the student expends in studying and preparing for examinations. Support refers to support structures that are available to the student, like a supportive family, availability of help, and so on. The importance of health in performance seems self-apparent; all other things being equal, a student in poor health will perform at a lower level than one whose health is good.

Of these four limiting factors, most are not easily controlled by the student. Ability includes many components, like intelligence, that are certainly beyond one's control. Similarly, students can exert only limited control over their support structures. Health, too, is largely outside of one's control. Of the four limiting factors, effort is the one that is most controlled by the student. Students can choose for themselves how much effort they will expend.

If performance is determined by ability, effort, support structures, and health, it can be argued that when we grade students on the basis of performance we are grading them largely on things that they cannot control. Perhaps it would make more sense to base grades on effort. In this way we would reinforce students for their effort. Theoretically, this should encourage students to expend greater effort.

The problem is in finding a way to measure student effort. We have seen above that effort is not synonymous with performance, but that effort does figure into performance. Our research group has begun work on a method of measuring student effort that has born some fruit. Effort is measured by the "effort quotient" as illustrated in Figure 8. Briefly, the effort quotient is based on the idea that we can assess effort by comparing a student's actual performance (obtained test score) against his or her potential performance (test score predicted on the basis of ability).

This approach requires, of course, that we be able to measure a student's ability and that we be able to predict how well that student should perform on a test based on his or her

ability. Our research group has examined test scores from several hundred introductory sociology and psychology students along with their ACT and SAT scores. Using ACT and SAT scores as measures of student ability (“aptitude”), we have developed equations that will predict any given student’s score on any given introductory sociology or psychology test from that student’s ACT or SAT score. These predicted scores enter into the denominator of the effort quotient formula in Figure 8.

Effort quotients are computed for three students in Figure 8 to demonstrate how the measure works. The three students are of equal ability--all are predicted to score 70 on an examination. But the students perform at different levels. Student A has scored above what one would predict on the basis of his or her ability. Why? Perhaps because the student expended extra effort. (Of course there are other explanations, such as the student had extra good support structures in place or was in exceptionally good health, but at least we can say that the student’s higher-than-predicted performance is consistent with his or her having expended extra effort.) This extra effort is reflected in an effort quotient over 100. Student C, in contrast, has performed below what one would expect on the basis of ability. That the student failed to achieve the level predicted by his or her ability is consistent with the interpretation that not enough effort was expended (again, other possibilities notwithstanding). This is reflected in an effort quotient of less than 100. Student B’s performance, exactly equal to that predicted by ability, earns an effort quotient of 100.

In several separate evaluations of the effort quotient, students in introductory psychology and sociology classes have been selected to receive effort quotient feedback in addition to their usual test scores and grades. Our research thus far indicates that students who receive this feedback do not perform significantly higher on tests than students who do not receive the feedback. Students, however, who receive effort quotient feedback have shown significantly better class attendance than those not receiving the feedback. Too, students tell us that they like the feedback. Compared to students that did not receive effort quotient feedback, those that did reported more positive sentiments about the classes in which they received the feedback, the instructors in these classes, and themselves.

Figure 8

Computing The Effort Quotient

$$\text{EFFORT QUOTIENT (EQ)} = \frac{\text{OBTAINED TEST SCORE}}{\text{SCORE PREDICTED BY ABILITY}} \times 100$$

STUDENT A

STUDENT B

STUDENT C

$$\text{EQ} = \frac{80}{70} \times 100 = 114$$

$$\text{EQ} = \frac{70}{70} \times 100 = 100$$

$$\text{EQ} = \frac{60}{70} \times 100 = 86$$

THE CONTEXT: CLASSROOM CLIMATE

The context within which educational efforts occur can determine whether or not these efforts will be fruitful. Our research group has studied several elements of this context, including faculty salary compression, perceptions of and the influence of the Hardin Professorship, perceptions of the work-reward contingency in faculty salaries, university policies and practices influencing faculty research, and other elements. In this paper, though, I will report only on our findings as they relate to the contextual elements of classroom climate, the university's late registration policy, and instructor attendance policies.

Classroom climate, sometimes referred to as classroom environment, can be defined as the psychosocial milieu of the classroom. This is the "personality" of the classroom. When faculty members describe whole classes as "eager, energetic, and polite" or "rude, lazy, and insolent," they are describing classroom climate.

The focus of our research effort in the area of classroom climate has been to develop a typology of climates at Midwestern. The driving question here is "How many basic climates are there in our classrooms?"

Our research in this area began with surveys distributed to forty Midwestern faculty members. Each faculty member was asked to list three to six adjectives to describe one of his or her specified introductory level classes. From these lists we were able to compute a measure of inter-classroom similarity as shown in Figure 9. The similarity between classes 1 and 2 (s_{12}) is equal to the number of adjectives used by both instructors in describing their classes (N_{12}) divided by the sum of the number of adjectives used in describing class 1 (N_1), the number of adjectives used in describing class 2 (N_2), and the number of adjectives used in common (N_{12}). Thus, the more adjective overlap, the greater the similarity.

Figure 9

Computing A Measure Of Classroom Similarity

$$S_{12} = \frac{N_{12}}{N_1 + N_2 - N_{12}}$$

<u>CLASS 1</u>	<u>CLASS 2</u>
ATTENTIVE	HELPFUL
EAGER	POLITE
EXCITED	EAGER
	FRIENDLY

$$S_{12} = 1 / 3 + 4 - 1 = .17$$

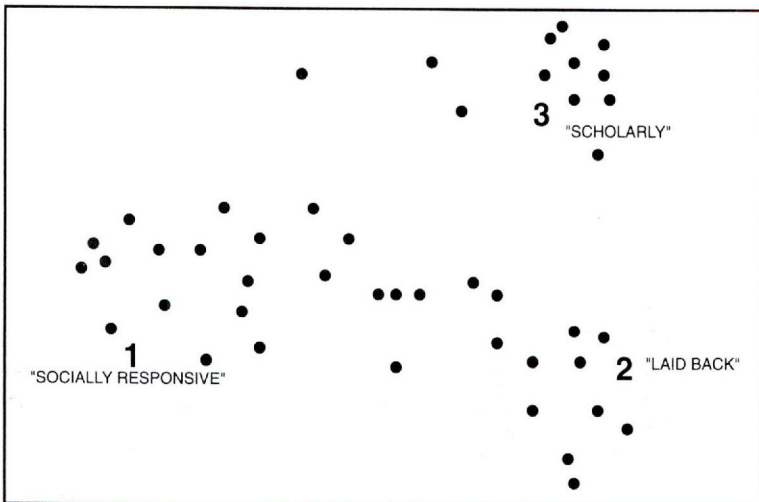
These interclass similarities were next analyzed through multidimensional scaling analysis and hierarchical cluster analysis to determine if the classes grouped into natural clusters, and if so, how many. The results of the multidimensional scaling analysis are depicted in Figure 10. In this figure, each point represents a classroom and distances between points reflect interclass similarities, such that similar classes are located near each other and dissimilar classes are located further apart. Three distinct clusters appear in this figure and were confirmed by the cluster analysis. These three clusters captured 83% of the classes studied, suggesting that most classes fall into one of three basic climate types.

We identified the climate types by examining the adjective lists generated for the classes in each cluster. The largest of the clusters we labeled “Socially Responsive.” Classes in this cluster were most frequently described with adjectives like “friendly,” “open,” and “involved.” Cluster 2, the second largest, was labeled “Laid Back.” Classes in this cluster were most frequently described as “pleasant,” “nice,” “casual,” but “unmotivated.” Finally, the smallest climate type is represented by the third cluster, labeled “Scholarly.” Classes in this small cluster were described by professors as “attentive,” “committed,” “concerned,” and “eager.”

A number of questions present themselves once classroom climates are identified. For instance, what effect does climate have on academic outcomes? How do climates affect the professors in those classes? Too, we wondered what causes classes to develop the climates that they do. Our data suggested one possible answer to this last question. In addition to collecting descriptive adjective lists, our survey of faculty members asked the faculty to rate their classes on several specified attribute rating scales. The faculty members next rated themselves on those same scales. We were interested to find a strong positive correlation between faculty ratings of their classes and ratings of themselves, suggesting that faculty perceptions of their classes are similar to self-perceptions. Perhaps classroom climate is imposed on the classroom by an instructor’s attributive projection. If this is so, two instructors in the same classroom may experience very different climates. This does not mean that there is no such thing as classroom climate. It does mean that the climate in an instructor’s classes may be partially of his or her own making.

Figure 10

Classroom Climate Map



THE CONTEXT: LATE REGISTRATION AND ATTENDANCE POLICIES

The final elements of the educational context to be discussed in this paper are the university's late registration policy and the attendance policies of individual instructors. How these policies are related will soon become apparent.

Midwestern's late registration policy is similar to that of many colleges and universities. Ninety-five percent of all colleges and universities allow students to register late, and between 2% and 10% of all college students register late. At Midwestern, about 5% of our students register late each semester, though a disproportionately large number of these students are freshmen and sophomores enrolled in introductory level courses.

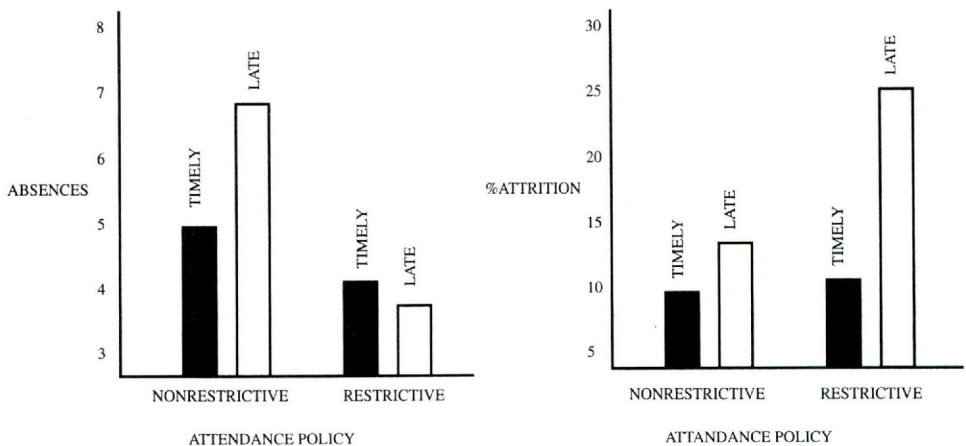
Despite the large numbers of students who register late, relatively little information is available about these students. Who are they? How do they fare academically? My own interest in late registrants was piqued recently when four of five late registrants in one of my introductory classes either failed the course or dropped out.

Our research group investigated the academic outcomes of late registrants by examining my grade records for introductory psychology classes for the past 14 years. During this time, 128 students, slightly over 8% of the total, registered late enough to miss at least the first two class sessions. An equal-sized group of timely registrants from the same classes was selected for purposes of comparison. It should also be noted that about half of my classes during this time period placed no restrictions on students' absences, while about half did place some upper limit on absences.

In comparing late and timely registrants, we found no differences in scores on the first test of the semester, nor in course grades. However, the groups differed significantly on both absenteeism and attrition. Figure 11 summarizes these differences and shows that late registrants accumulated significantly more absences than timely registrants unless absenteeism was restricted. When absenteeism was restricted, however, late registrants dropped out at a rate more than double that of timely registrants.

Figure 11

Academic Outcomes For Timely and Late Registrants



Clearly, late registrants are at academic risk, compared to timely registrants. What remains to be determined is why these people are at risk. What are their special circumstances and characteristics?

CONCLUSION

Educational outcomes are not determined simply. A multitude of teaching, learning, testing, grading, and contextual variables converge to affect outcomes.

The research that has been summarized here is only a thumbnail sketch of the efforts of a dozen graduate students and faculty members, and this thumbnail sketch barely glimpses the complexity that one encounters when working in applied educational research.

Who are these people? What are they doing here? And, where are we? If this paper has provided a few answers, good. If it has raised some questions, even better. Answers, after all, begin as questions.

PROBLEMS OF PARENTING: SOLUTIONS OF SCIENCE

Gary A. Fashimpar

ABSTRACT

Two theoretical approaches to training parents, Adlerian and Behavioral, were compared as to their effects upon parenting attitudes, parent-child relationship problems and family system functioning. The study included two treatment groups and a comparison group. Commercially developed videotape parent training programs, *Active Parenting Discussion Program* and *Winning!*, represented Adlerian and Behavioral parenting theories, respectively. Parent groups trained in either *Active Parenting* or *Winning!* improved in their attitudes toward physical punishment of children. Only behavioral training resulted in the most dysfunctional parents improving in their attitudes toward developmental expectations, empathy, family roles and physical punishment. Above average parents developed less appropriate attitudes toward child development and punishment as a result of Adlerian parent training. Training in both programs led to a reduction in clinically severe parent-child relationship problems. The behavioral approach was more helpful with less severe relationship problems. *Active Parenting* had a greater positive effect on family system functioning than did *Winning!*.

Parent Training

Social work with families is one of the profession's oldest fields of practice (Morales & Sheafor, 1992). Today, it is still one of the most important and challenging (Satir, 1972). When practicing family social work, a social worker is often asked to change the symptomatic behavior of a child or adolescent. To accomplish this, parent training is a frequently chosen, effective intervention. A review of 83 articles in social work journals showed most authors claiming positive results for parent training interventions (Polster, Dangel, & Rasp, 1987).

Social Work Literature on Parent Training

Currently, there are serious weaknesses in the social work literature on parent training. Many of the journal reports do not describe the interventions in specific operational terms or are otherwise poorly designed (Polster et al., 1987). The result is that many successful interventions cannot be replicated by researchers or applied by practitioners. More often than not, multiple interventions have been offered families, ranging from individual counseling, to parent training, to housing assistance (e.g. Berry, 1992), making it impossible to determine the relative contribution of each to changes in parenting. Typically, social work research reports have relied upon professional judgment as to whether or not parenting has improved, rather than on more objective measures. A further weakness is that few of these reports compare and contrast the differential effects of the various parenting theories and programs currently guiding family social work practice. To date, only a few articles have appeared in the social work literature regarding the use of video tape technology in parent training (e.g., Mastria, Mastria, & Harkins, 1979) and no evaluations of commercially produced video parent training programs have been published in professional journals. This has not harmed the sales of video programs nor has it seriously deterred professionals and

parents from joining with each other in group parent training programs. For example, Active Parenting Publishers claim that over 20,000 parent trainers have trained over 1,000,000 parents in the past decade with the Active Parenting Discussion Program (Rozzo, 1992).

The literature suggests that certain changes are likely to occur in trained parents. Attitudes have changed (Bavolek, 1989; Moore & Dean-Zubritsky, 1979; Newlon, Barboa, & Arciniega, 1986; Nystul, 1982; Schultz, Nystul, & Law, 1980), parent-child and child behavioral problems have lessened (Dangel & Polster, 1984; Forehand & King, 1974; Freeman, 1971; O'Dell, 1974; Pinkser & Geoffrey, 1981; Summerlin & Ward, 1981; Williams, Omizo, & Abrams, 1984), and aspects of family functioning have altered (Bavolek, 1989; Karoly & Rosenthal, 1977; Palmer & Cochran, 1988; Schaefer & Bell, 1958).

Behavioral and Adlerian Parenting Theories

Two models of parent training, Adlerian and Behavioral, are widely used by social workers in intervening in families in which there are parent-child problems or a deficit in parenting skills (Wolf, 1983). Several popular and widely used video training programs are based upon these two theories. The Adlerian model is based, generally, upon Alfred Adler's theory of individual psychology (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Specifically, this parent training model developed out of the application of Adler's theory to parenting by Dreikurs and Solz (1964) in *Children: The Challenge*. Adlerian parenting theory is based philosophically on mutual respect among family members within a democratically run family. In Adlerian training, parents are taught how to raise responsible, courageous and cooperative children through encouragement, building their child's self-esteem, and by creating a relationship with the child based upon active listening, honest communication and problem solving (Popkin, 1983a). Parents are also taught to use natural and logical consequences to reduce irresponsible and unacceptable behaviors.

The Behavioral parent training model initially appeared a technique at a time when clinical case studies of the application of behavioral theory to parenting were reported in scientific journals (Bernal, Durgee, Pruett, & Burns, 1968; Bernal, 1969; Boardman, 1962; Hawkins, Peterson, Schweid, & Bijou, 1966; Shah, 1967; Williams, 1959). Comprehensive behavioral parent training programs followed. Two early books which have been widely applied in practice and research are *Living With Children* by Patterson and Guillon (1968) and *Parents are Teachers* by Becker (1971a; 1971b). The heart of behavioral parenting theory is the management of children's behavior. Parents are taught how to increase their children's desirable behaviors by using positive reinforcers like attention, praise and the granting of rewards and privileges. They are taught another set of skills, based upon punishment and negative reinforcement, which they can use to decrease the occurrence of undesirable behaviors. This set includes time out, extinction, punishment, and removal of rewards and privileges (Dangel, Yu, Slot & Fashimpar, 1993).

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to measure the differential effects of two videotape parent training programs, one Behavioral, the other Adlerian, upon parenting attitudes, the parent-child relationship and family functioning. The *Winning!* (Dangel & Polster, 1980a) video parent training program was chosen to represent Behavioral theory, while *Active Parenting Discussion Program* (Popkin, 1983b) was chosen to represent Adlerian theory. Each of these represents the best theoretical and empirical knowledge currently available. Prior to this report no empirical evidence has been presented in a professional journal regarding the specific effects of these video training programs.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1

Subjects will have more appropriate developmental expectations for children after completing the *Active Parenting* or the *Winning!* program. Untrained subjects will not significantly change their developmental expectations for their children.

Hypothesis 2

There will be an increase in subjects' empathy with their children by the completion of *Active Parenting* and *Winning!*. Untrained subjects will not change in their ability to empathize with their children.

Hypothesis 3

Subjects who complete *Active Parenting* and *Winning!* will report a devaluing of physical punishment. Untrained subjects will not change their attitudes toward physical punishment.

Hypothesis 4

Subjects who complete *Active Parenting* or *Winning!* will have a decrease in attitudes consistent with family role reversal. Untrained subjects will not change in their attitudes toward parent-child roles.

Hypothesis 5

Completion of *Winning!* or *Active Parenting* will result in a reduction in the severity of parent-child problems. Untrained subjects will not change in the severity of parent-child problems reported.

Hypothesis 6

Completion of *Winning!* or *Active Parenting* will move families toward a more balanced functioning on the linear dimension of balanced, midrange, and extreme family types. Untrained subjects will not report their families as having achieved movement toward a more balanced functioning.

Methods and Procedures

Parenting Instructors

Five parent trainers taught Adlerian parenting classes and five taught Behavioral parenting classes. With the exception of the author, who taught both, trainers taught only one program. Some of the trainers were nonprofessionals: undergraduate social work majors, agency volunteers, paraprofessionals. Other trainers were professionals with baccalaureate, master's or doctoral degrees.

Parent Training Methods

Trainers were told to deliver each program in pure form; to teach only the theory, knowledge, and skills offered by each program. Trainers were expected to become familiar with their program by themselves, received no training in the use of their program, and were not exposed to other video training programs. Most were teaching parenting classes for the first time.

Sample

Voluntary subjects were recruited through employee assistance programs, social service agencies, self-help groups, a rural daycare center, a church, private proprietary practices, and a university. Involuntary subjects were recruited from child protective service (CPS) units in several communities. The comparison group was comprised of subjects who signed up for parent training but could not attend due to a factor unrelated to motivation to attend (e.g., a change in work schedule, illness). These subjects were put on a waiting list.

The drawn sample included 133 subjects who completed the initial assessment and attended at least one parent training class or who completed the initial assessment while on the waiting list. The obtained sample consisted of 109 experimental subjects who completed preassessments and completed parent training and waiting list subjects who completed both the pre and post assessments. Completion of parent training was defined as attending 50% or more of the classes in the parent training program in which the subject was enrolled.

The obtained group size for the two treatment groups and the comparison groups were: Adlerian parent training group (APT) - 37, Behavioral parent training group (BPT) - 45, and Comparison group - 27. The typical subject had a high school diploma or some college credit, was Caucasian, about 33 years of age and married with two children. About three-quarters of the subjects were female. The typical subject belonged to a 'normal' family, as 79% of the families were balanced or midrange in their Family Adaptability and Cohesion Evaluation (FACES) scores. The subjects' Index of Parental Attitudes (IPA) scores also supported the position that these were mostly normal families.

Statistical Equivalence of Groups

Subjects enrolled in parent training at the various business, social service agency, mental health clinic, daycare center, church, and university sites at which the training was offered. Thus, the sample lacked randomization and the groups lacked random assignment. Nevertheless, the groups were equivalent on all measured variables with one exception. For ethical reasons, the comparison group contained no parents with active CPS cases. The *Active Parenting* and *Winning!* groups each contained 13% active CPS cases.

The composition of the three groups into which the sample was divided were equivalent with respect to gender ($X^2=.66$, $p=.7$), age ($F=.14$, $p=.9$), formal education ($X^2=6.4$, $p=.6$), marital status ($X^2=2.5$, $p=.87$), the number of children in the family ($F=.16$, $p=.85$), and the number of subjects trained by professional and nonprofessional trainers ($X^2=.02$, $p=.9$). Seventy-four percent of the APT group and 85% of the BPT group completed parent training ($X^2=3.8$, $p=.2$). The groups were equivalent racially ($X^2=.85$, $p=.2$), were primarily Caucasian, but contained Black, Hispanic and other racial minorities. Statistically, the groups' FACES scores were no different from the distribution of family types (balanced, midrange, or extreme) ($X^2=5.4$, $p=.3$), the distance from center (ideal) score ($F=.24$, $p=.8$), or distribution into quadrants by which the families could be categorized ($X^2=5$, $p=.54$). A comparison of the IPA scores for the groups revealed them to be equivalent at pretest ($F=.9$, $p=.4$). Within each group there were subgroups of parents with Nonclinical and Clinical parent-child problems. There was no difference among the groups with respect to the severity of parent-child problems ($X^2=1.9$, $p=.4$). Only 34% of the APT group, 24% of the BPT group and 17% of the comparison group had parent-child problems of clinical significance at pretest.

Assessment Procedures

Parents were required to complete three instruments prior to beginning and upon completion of training. Family members' ability to adapt to change and the degree of emotional closeness within the family was measured with The Family Adaptability & Cohesion Evaluation Scales III (FACES) (Olson et al., 1985). The severity of parent-child problems was measured with The Index of Parental Attitudes (IPA) (Hudson, 1982). The Adult-Adolescent Parenting Inventory (AAPI) (Bavolek, 1984), was used to measure attitudes and beliefs toward four parenting constructs: parental expectations, empathy, value of physical punishment, and parent-child roles. After assessment, training proceeded in *Active Parenting* (Popkin, 1983a) classes for seven weeks and in *Winning!* (Dangel & Polster, 1980b) classes for eight weeks.

Data Analysis for Groups and Subgroups

Each hypothesis was tested for acceptance or rejection for each treatment condition and for the comparison group as well. Next, each hypothesis was tested for acceptance or rejection for subgroups within the treatment and no treatment groups, when appropriate. One way in which treatment groups were divided into subgroups was with respect to AAPI standard ten (sten) scores. Based upon pretest subscale scores, subjects in each group were divided into Below Average, Average, and Above Average subgroups. Subjects were assigned to the Below Average subgroup if their pretest sten score was four or less, to the Average subgroup if their sten score was a five or six and to the Above Average subgroup if their sten score was seven to ten. Hypotheses one through four were then tested for each subgroup based upon their AAPI subscale sten scores. Hypothesis five was tested for Clinical and Nonclinical subgroups based upon IPA scores. Using the range of a minimum score of 0 and a maximum score of 100, subjects were assigned to the Clinical subgroup if they had a score of 25 or greater and to the Nonclinical subgroup if their score was less than 25.

Results

The hypotheses tested directly concerned the effects of *Active Parenting*, *Winning!* and no treatment upon (1) four parenting constructs as measured by the AAPI: developmental expectations for children, empathy for children, attitude toward physical punishment, and family roles; (2) parent-child relationship problems as measured by the IPA; and (3) family system functioning as measured by FACES III. Indirectly, the hypotheses concerned the effects of Adlerian and Behavioral Parenting Theories on the aforementioned.

Parenting Attitudes

Experimental and control groups

Treatment groups improved their attitudes toward physical punishment but demonstrated no improvement in empathy for children, appropriateness of developmental expectations for children, or in family roles (see Table 1).

Table 1

The Effects of Parent Training on Adult-Adolescent Parenting Inventory (AAPI) Subtest Scores Between Pretest and Posttest

	AAPI Subtest t Values ^a				
	n	Expectations	Empathy	Punishment	Family roles
<i>Active Parenting</i>	37	1.4	.7	3.5**	.4
<i>Winning!</i>	45	.3	.2	1.9*	.9
No Treatment	27	3.3##	.3	1.1	.7

^a One-tailed test for positive changes, two tailed test for negative changes

* $p < .05$, significant change in a positive direction

** $p < .01$, significant change in a positive direction

$p < .01$, significant change in a negative direction

Parenting Subgroups

Below average parenting attitudes.

Parents who had below average attitudes toward developmental expectations, empathy for children, physical punishment, and family roles developed significantly more functional attitudes in all four areas as a result of being trained in behavioral parenting skills through *Winning!* *Active Parenting* produced a more appropriate attitude toward physical punishment, but Adlerian parenting theory had no effect upon the other three parenting constructs.

Average parenting attitudes.

Neither *Active Parenting* nor *Winning!* produced significant change in parents with average attitudes.

Above average parenting attitudes.

Active Parenting had insignificant impact upon parents with above average empathy, developmental expectations, family roles and physical punishment attitudes. In sharp contrast, subjects trained in *Winning!* had significantly less appropriate parenting attitudes at posttest regarding developmental stations and punishment (see Table 2).

Table 2

Effects of Parent Training Programs on Above Average, Average, and Below Average Subgroups on the Adult Adolescent Parenting Inventory (AAPI)

Program	AAPI t values ^a			
	Expectations	Empathy	Punishment	Family roles
<i>Active Parenting</i>				
Below Average	.00	.8	4.2**	.9
Average	1.6	.8	1.1	1.6
Above Average	.6	.5	1.2	.4
<i>Winning!</i>				
Below Average	3.3**	2.7**	3.7**	2.0*
Average	.1	1.8	.3	1.1
Above Average	3.3##	1.1	4.6##	2.0

^a One-tailed test for positive changes, two tailed test for negative changes

*p<.05, positive change

**p<.01, positive change

##p<.01, negative change

Parent-Child Problems

At the group level and with the clinical subgroup both *Winning!* and *Active Parenting* produced a significant reduction in parent-child problems. Only *Winning!* significantly impacted upon parent-child problems which were more normal in degree. Subjects who did not receive treatment did not experience an improvement in parent-child problems (see Table 3).

Table 3

The Treatment Effects of Active Parenting, Winning!, and No Treatment on IPA Scores for Groups and Subgroups

Index of Parental Attitudes ^a		
Program	n	t
<i>Active Parenting</i>	33	3.4**
IPA Subgroups		
Clinical	10	5.0**
Nonclinical	23	.8
<i>Winning!</i>	41	3.5**
IPA Subgroups		
Clinical	15	3.5**
Nonclinical	26	1.8*
No Treatment	22	.3
IPA Subgroups		
Clinical	3	.9
Nonclinical	19	.1

^a One tailed test

* $p < .05$, positive change

** $p < .001$, positive change

Family System

At the group level *Active Parenting* had a greater positive effect upon family system functioning than did *Winning!*, while untrained families became increasingly dysfunctional (see Table 4). None of the aforementioned changes in family functioning were statistically significant.

Table 4

*The Effects of Active Parenting, Winning!, and
No Treatment on FACES Scores From Pre to Post Training*

FACES			
Program	n	t ^a	Mean Change
<i>Active Parenting</i> - Group	35	1.3*	.20*
IPA Subgroups			
Clinical	10	.9	.30
Nonclinical	25	.9	.16
<i>Winning!</i> - Group	40	.8	.10
IPA Subgroups			
Clinical	15	.3	.30
Nonclinical	25	.8	.07
No Treatment - Group	25	.5	-.08
IPA Subgroups			
Clinical	3	.0	.00
Nonclinical	22	.5	-.09

^a One-tailed test

*p<.1

Discussion

Winning! and *Active Parenting* accomplish more than the mere teaching of parenting skills. APT democratizes the family system through altering communication patterns, family rules, sharing power within the family, and increasing respect among family members. BPT teaches parents skills to effectively control their children's behavior, thereby supporting the traditional family power structure. Behavioral training supports parental authority and Adlerian training democratizes the family. Both approaches improve family system functioning, but the data in this study indicate democratizing the family produces the larger improvement.

In the absence of training, clinical parent-child problems cannot be expected to improve. In contrast, either *Winning!* or *Active Parenting* can be confidently chosen as a training program by a social worker who wants to decrease the severity of clinical parent-child problems. Parents with more normal parent-child problems had less need for improvement and, therefore, received less benefit from parent training. Still, *Winning!* produced significant change in normal parent-child relationship problems while *Active Parenting* did not. Improvement is probably a result of parents learning techniques designed to elicit from their children desirable behaviors and from the positive change in the family system as a result of training.

To the extent that other Behavioral and Adlerian video training programs teach the same parenting skills it is possible that the effects are similar to that of *Winning!* and *Active*

Parenting. It remains for future research to determine the relative effectiveness of the various commercially available video parent training programs.

For parents who have unrealistic expectations for their children, training in either of the tested programs is superior to no training. The data suggest that in the absence of parent training, expectations of children can become increasingly inappropriate.

Parent training, as demonstrated by this study and other studies (Alvey, 1975), is effective in reducing reliance on physical punishment. *Winning!* and *Active Parenting* devalue the use of corporal punishment and positively present alternatives. Without parent training, the data suggest that reliance on physical punishment as a method of child discipline does not change.

With parents for whom trainers have concerns regarding role reversal and lack of parental empathy for children, whose AAPI score is below the 31st percentile, *Winning!* can be an effective intervention. The statistically insignificant improvement in parents above the 31st percentile is not a serious weakness of *Winning!*, as those parents are less in need of intervention. Improvement in family functioning may have continued to occur in both experimental groups after this study concluded. Further studies of longer duration will be needed to fully assess the impact of parent training on the family system.

Neither of the tested video training programs significantly improved the attitudes of average or above average parents toward developmental expectations, physical punishment, empathy and family roles. While not harmful, Adlerian *Active Parenting* might not meet the expectations of good parents wanting to become even better parents. The behavioral management techniques taught in *Winning!* have been demonstrated in many studies to lead to better parental control of children's behavior and to a reduction in unacceptable behavior in the children. It is therefore not surprising that parents trained with *Winning!* reported a reduction in the magnitude of parent-child problems. Far less research support exists for the reduction of child behavior problems by Adlerian training. While this approach may not be effective with normal parent-child problems, this study certainly supports the effectiveness of APT with clinic populations.

Conclusions

This study demonstrated that the tested programs are: (1) differentially effective with certain dysfunctional parenting attitudes, (2) ineffective with others, (3) effective with serious parent-child relationship problems, (4) differentially effective with normal parent-child relationship problems, (5) differentially capable of producing unintended harmful attitudinal changes in better than average parents, and (6) able to improve family functioning. It is advisable that social workers accurately assess clients prior to intervening in parent-child relationships, family system functioning or attitudes toward child rearing. Based upon IPA, FACES or AAPI scores client families can be matched with parent training which best suits their needs. To date, no other research study has provided such specific diagnostic information. The *Winning!* and *Active Parenting* video parent training programs are efficient, resulting in important clinical gains in only seven to eight contact hours for parents trained in groups.

If assessment includes FACES, and the treatment contract between a social worker and his client is to improve the cohesion and adaptability of the family, then *Active Parenting* is the treatment of choice. For the general population of parents, *Active Parenting* will provide greater movement toward improved functioning than *Winning!*

As over 50% of American families with children are either midrange or extreme (Olson et al., 1985), *Active Parenting* could potentially benefit a huge number of families.

When both family dysfunction and clinical parent-child problems are present, either *Active Parenting* or *Winning!* can be expected to cause some positive improvement in family functioning and a decrease in parent-child problems. If parent-child problems are subclinical in severity, yet targeted for change, *Winning!* is the treatment of choice and can be expected to improve family functioning as an additional benefit.

When the treatment contract is to improve the parent-child relationship and assessment with the IPA indicates that the parents to be trained have both normal and clinical parent-child relationship problems *Winning!* is the better choice. *Active Parenting* is ineffective with subclinical parent-child problems.

Winning! is also the treatment of choice for parents whose AAPI scores indicate below average attitudes in two or more of the following areas: developmental expectations, physical punishment, family roles or empathy. *Winning!* significantly improves below average parents in all four of these attitudes. If only attitudes toward physical punishment are targeted for change, either program is appropriate. *Winning!* is contraindicated, however, for parents with above average attitudes (69th percentile or above), as the training may lead to inappropriate attitudes being adopted. If the goal is to improve empathy, reduce role reversal or make developmental expectations more appropriate, *Active Parenting* will produce disappointingly little improvement.

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ISABELLA AND LA MALINCHE: TWO WOMEN, ONE NEW WORLD

Linda L. Hollabaugh

In this year [1992] that marks the quincentenary of the encounter of Spain and America, it is especially fascinating to reflect upon the roles played by two women--one from the Old World, one from the New--in the creation of a new reality. At first glance Queen Isabella I of Spain and the Indian woman La Malinche seem to have little more in common than serving as facilitators for the conquest of the New World. Indeed, the contrasts between the two are many. Upon a closer look, however, some interesting parallels in the lives of these two women may be drawn; and attributes that are atypical of females in a patriarchy become apparent in each. The present study briefly explores the individual lives and historical roles of these two women, their character development vis-à-vis the society from which each emerged, and societal portrayals of each as an archetype.

Isabella I is known universally as the Catholic queen who heralded an intellectual rebirth and granted Christopher Columbus the permission and means by which to undertake his great mission. During her reign she was also responsible for expelling the Moors from Spain. She was known to be a beautiful, intelligent woman who possessed a great amount of political acumen and an even greater share of religious fervor. Although she did not participate in battle or develop military strategy, Queen Isabella was actively involved in the Reconquest ("La Reconquista"). It was she who convinced Ferdinand that the Moors should be driven from Spain, and she personally took charge of provisions and frequently visited the troops.

During the final months of the Reconquest Christopher Columbus made his first petition to the Catholic Monarchs. A committee was formed to determine the value of such an enterprise; but after a long wait and presumably unfavorable response from this committee, Columbus all but abandoned hope of sailing under the Spanish flag. However, Queen Isabella, convinced by her former confessor of Columbus' piety, requested him to return to the court. Of her reaction to him Columbus wrote in later years, "In all men there was disbelief . . . but to the Queen, my lady, God gave the spirit of understanding and great courage, and made her heiress of all as a dear and much-loved daughter."¹ Certainly Columbus impressed the queen with his charming ways and poetic manners; but his request for the title of Admiral, reserved only for nobility, and his demands for one-tenth of the wealth acquired from the new lands were too absurd for the monarchs to give serious consideration to his venture. Aware of Queen Isabella's religious fervor and evangelistic spirit, however, Columbus made one final effort. He appealed to Santangel, Ferdinand's financial advisor, to petition the queen on his behalf. Whether Columbus bribed Santangel or merely convinced him that his mission was divine is a matter of conjecture. What is certain, however, is that Santangel was able to influence the queen to change her position on the matter, assuring her that little was to be lost and much could be gained. Queen Isabella, thus persuaded that Columbus' mission was a divine directive and unwilling to allow any other nation to profit in the event he should succeed, provided Columbus with the means by which to set sail on the first of four voyages to what came to be known as New Spain.

How ironic it seems that while she was purging Spain of Moorish and Jewish blood in the

¹William Thomas Walsh, *Isabella of Spain: The Last Crusader*. (New York: Robert McBride, 1930) 337.

name of the Church, this devout Catholic woman was laying the groundwork for the mixture of Spanish and Indian blood! Yet it must be remembered that Queen Isabella's motivation during the Reconquest was rooted in religion, not racism. Previous attempts at converting the Jews and Moors to Catholicism had largely failed, and she felt that their banishment was vital in order to ensure the purity of Catholicism in Spain.

It was due to this same religious fervor that Isabella continued to be sympathetic to Columbus' requests and dreams. Her gratefulness to the man whose discoveries had made possible the dissemination of Christianity to a world heretofore unknown is evident in her financial support of his voyages – even after it had become apparent to others that there was little or no wealth or gold in the lands that he had discovered and that he had failed to find a western route to the Indies. It is said that when Columbus was recalled to Spain for mismanagement of Hispaniola, he approached Queen Isabella at the Alhambra with tear-filled eyes. Upon seeing this once-spirited, adventuresome, and brazen man, now aged and demoralized, Isabella also wept. The link between the two was strong; for Isabella “more than the King ever favored and defended him and so the Admiral trusted especially in her.”² This relationship based on mutual benefit, between kindred spirits, was not unlike the La Malinche/Cortés relationship.

Comparatively little is known about the life and historical role of La Malinche; and there is much speculation especially about her name and origin. The most substantial account available is that of the chronicler Bernal Díaz del Castillo, although the total veracity of his *True History of the Conquest of New Spain* is dubious.³ However, it is generally believed that, as affirmed by Bernal Díaz del Castillo, La Malinche, or Malina or Malinal, as she was then called, was born the daughter of an Aztec chieftain who died when she was young. Malina's mother subsequently remarried and bore a son by her second husband. Because her mother and stepfather favored the son and wanted him to be sole heir to the inheritance to which Malina was entitled, they fabricated the tale that Malina had died. Apparently a slave girl of approximately the same age had recently died, and her corpse was used as evidence of Malina's death. Her mother then sold Malina to some traders from the neighboring village of Xicalango who, in turn, sold her as a slave to the Tabascans. Malina at this time was probably around twelve years of age and, naturally, learned the Mayan language and customs.

When Hernán Cortés arrived on the mainland of Mexico in 1519, Malinal was among twenty slave girls given to him by the Tabascans as tribute. It was quickly learned that she could speak Nahuatl, the language of the Aztecs, when Jerónimo de Aguilar, a shipwrecked Spaniard who had learned the Mayan language and whom Cortés had rescued, tried to communicate with the Aztecs. A rather complex system of communication between the Spaniards and the Aztecs was then devised. Cortés would speak to Jerónimo de Aguilar in Spanish who in turn would speak to Malinal in Mayan. She would then speak to the Aztecs in Nahuatl.

Malinal quickly adopted the Christian faith and Spanish language and was baptized doña Marina (Malina). Her service to Cortés was invaluable, for she was both linguistically gifted and politically strategic. On at least two occasions she uncovered conspiracies against

²Nancy Rubin, *Isabella of Castile: The First Renaissance Queen*. (New York: St. Martin's, 1992) 380.

³Bernal Díaz del Castillo, a common foot soldier, wrote many years after the Conquest and, perhaps, embellished his chronicle in an effort to laud the underdogs (such as himself). Much has been written about his incredible memory which allowed him to recall minuscule details, such as horses' names. Some have suggested that his tendency toward hyperbole reflects a direct influence of the novels of chivalry so popular in his day.

the Spaniards and prevented their being severely wounded or totally annihilated. According to all accounts she was also beautiful and respected by both Spaniards and Indians: “She was a beautiful woman, and her noble ways were of great spirit and her complexion so beautiful [that] it was immediately known that noble Aztec blood ran through her veins.”⁴ The Indians called her Malintzin, a combined form of Malinal (which refers to the day on which she was born) with the suffix *tzin* which denotes respect. The Spaniards corrupted the pronunciation and called her Malinche. The Indians also called Cortés Malintzin, or Malinche, presumably because La Malinche was constantly at his side. In the famous linen cloth paintings of Tlaxcala, La Malinche is a predominant figure, thus illustrating the importance and respect accorded her by the Tlaxcalans. Cortés, however, mentions La Malinche only twice in his letters to Charles V, and only once by name, leaving historians to question Cortés’ judgment of her. Some affirm that to Cortés she was merely an object to be used and then discarded when no longer needed. Others argue that in those brief lines where Cortés made mention of her, the depth of his appreciation to her is evident. Cortés’ marriage arrangement of La Malinche to the Spaniard Juan Jaramillo in 1525 is also perceived variously as an act of riddance or an act of extreme gratitude.

Whether love was a component of the relationship between La Malinche and Cortés can only be surmised. La Malinche did, however, bear Cortés a son; and it is this evidence of sexual intimacy with the conquistador that has tarnished her reputation for centuries.⁵ If La Malinche was not in love with Cortés, she was at least grateful to Cortés, according to Díaz del Castillo. On his expedition to Hibueras en Honduras, the last time La Malinche accompanied Cortés, they passed through Coatzacoalcos, La Malinche’s supposed home. There La Malinche saw her mother and brother; and rather than showing anger and resentment toward them for their previous unjust and cruel treatment of her, she compassionately forgave them, converted them to Christianity and lavished them with many gifts. On this occasion she expressed to them her appreciation of the man who had given her a new way of life.⁶

The roles played by Isabella and La Malinche in the Discovery and Conquest may be more fully understood by examining the societal background and educational formation of each. Although one was a Caucasian, the other an Indian, born fifty years apart on different continents separated by an immense ocean, both were of noble heritage and received an education befitting their social station. Significantly, in both cases, this education was based almost entirely on religion and was extremely rigid. In fact, many aspects of Christianity and the Aztec religion coincided; and the religious training and upbringing of the Catholic Queen and the Indian woman molded their characters in similar ways.

One of the most influential educational tools used in Isabella’s early childhood was a manual of perfection entitled *El Jardín de las nobles doncellas* and written by the austere and exemplary friar, Martín de Córdoba, upon the request of Isabella’s pious mother, the queen-widow Isabella of Portugal. Written especially for noble ladies, “this book was not for the exclusive use of future queens, however, but rather a code of conduct suitable for all

⁴Presbítero y Lic. Manuel Gil y Sáenz. Quoted in Mariano G. Somonte, *Doña Marina, “La Malinche”* (Mexico City: Edimex, 1969) 60. This translation from the Spanish is mine.

⁵Martín Cortés was born around 1522 and has traditionally symbolized the Mexican “mestizaje” or mixture of Spanish and Indian blood.

⁶Little is known about La Malinche after this last expedition she made with Cortés. Most historians agree that she spent her final days in Mexico City with Juan Jaramillo, to whom she bore a daughter, and fell victim to an epidemic of smallpox in 1527.

women to observe and following rigorous Christian ethics.”⁷

The first part of Martín de Córdoba’s book treats the relationship between a man and a woman. The friar believed that the female was tender and malleable and should be submissive and obedient. In the second part of his book, Martín de Córdoba treats the physical and psychological domain. According to this rigid cleric, women must have three essential qualities: “modesty, piety, and obedience” (Demerson 145). Furthermore, as evidence of her chastity, a young girl “keeps her eyes lowered, her ears closed to indecent or crude remarks, her hands wisely crossed one over the other, and her tongue and conduct calm. It is also modesty that advises decent dress and incites women to cover their head and bosom, to use long skirts, in order to escape any criticism” (Demerson 145).

Martín de Córdoba states that women are by nature compassionate and more devout and charitable than men. Nonetheless women are prone to moodiness, chatter, and inconstancy. Because they have less reasoning ability than men and are more flesh than spirit, they do everything to the extreme. Martín de Córdoba believed that women are ever-changing and can only overcome this inherent weakness by cultivating their powers of reason. Since women are naturally excessive – although it is impossible to be excessive in one’s devotion to God--they must strive for balance. Concerning marriage, Isabella’s tutor taught her that the female was given to man for procreation and that pain in childbirth was God’s punishment to the female for the original sin. She was also taught that the husband was in charge of outside activities, while the wife’s place was inside the home. Furthermore, the mother was in charge of nurturing her children in the ways of the Catholic Church.

The third part of *El Jardín de las nobles doncellas* treats a variety of themes. The devout friar felt that men can overcome their carnal desires by participating in outdoor sports, such as hunting. Women, however, have no such outlets. The Virgin Mary is to be the female’s role model, for chastity is of the utmost importance. Women are encouraged to keep pure tongues and to speak in moderation. They are instructed not to be hypocritical in their dress or to wear makeup. They should not imbibe and are taught that divorce is unacceptable.

Although Isabella and her younger brother Alfonso spent part of their early childhood in Arévalo with their mother where, in addition to their religious training, they learned to hunt and ride horseback; they were brought to King Enrique’s court when Isabella was about ten years of age. For Isabella, this experience was traumatic. By her account she was wrenched from the arms of a loving mother and entrusted to the care of Enrique’s lascivious wife, Juana. At Enrique’s court, the Archbishop of Toledo, Alfonso de Carrillo de Acuña, took charge of the youngsters’ education. While Isabella’s brother was trained in the classics and affairs of the state, she was trained in religion and domestic affairs.

Although Castilian law did not prohibit a female from inheriting the throne, it was uncommon for women to be more than regents for young male heirs; and it was, therefore, considered unnecessary for women to be given a complete education. Furthermore the influence of St. Thomas Aquinas was prevalent in late Medieval thought, and the belief that women were morally and intellectually inferior to men was universally accepted. Consequently, women had to be thoroughly steeped in the doctrine of the Catholic Church so that they would be well-armed against temptation. It is easy to understand Isabella’s religious fervor, then, in light of the constant indoctrination to which she was subjected.⁸

⁷Paulette Demerson, “La `Doncella a Dios’ de Martín de Córdoba,” *Bulletin Hispanique* 86 (1984): 144. This and all subsequent citations from this article are my translations from the French.

⁸Curiously, in spite of the fact that education for women was not considered important, Isabella became interested in Latin, French, and the Classics when she became involved with her five children’s education (four of whom were female). As a result of this interest she was responsible for the founding of a number of convents, monasteries, and universities; and an educational renaissance was begun in Spain.

Although no historical accounts are extant that treat La Malinche's education, it may be safely assumed that since she was the daughter of an Aztec chieftain, she attended the "calmecac" school for girls. The "calmecac" schools were for the education of the elite of Aztec society, both male and female, and were under the direct control of the religious authorities. The school buildings were attached to the temples, and the ambience was akin to that of a monastery or convent. In his study, *Everyday Life of the Aztecs*, Warwick Bray states that the primary mission of these schools was to teach "good habits, doctrine, and exercises,"⁹ and the curriculum emphasized "self-control, humility, and unselfishness" (Bray 64). In general, the "calmecac" schools prepared boys to lead and girls to be domestic. The school buildings for girls were surrounded by high walls, and the teachers were aged priestesses. Whenever the girls went out they were chaperoned by old women, and were forbidden to speak to boys. At meal times no talking was allowed, and during the day there were periods of compulsory silence--the most severe form of discipline which one could inflict on little girls. By day they received instruction in religion and the women's crafts of weaving and embroidery, and at night they had to get up several times in order to pray and offer incense (Bray 64). Bray's citation of a mother's advice to her daughter also lends insight to the understanding of the Aztec female's educational formation:

When your parents give you a husband, do not be disrespectful to him; listen to him and obey him, and do cheerfully what you are told. Do not turn your face from him; and if he did you some hurt, do not keep recalling it. And if he supports himself by your industry, do not on that account scorn him, or be peevish or ungracious, for you will offend God, and your husband will be angry with you. Tell him meekly what you think should be done. Do not insult him or say offensive words to him in front of strangers or even to him alone, for you will harm yourself thereby, and yours will be the fault. (Bray 66)

Although the Catholic queen and the Indian woman had similar educational backgrounds and responded in like ways to their socio-political situation, they have been traditionally portrayed as diametrically opposed archetypes. For centuries Queen Isabella has been perceived as a Virgin Mary or Joan of Arc figure. La Malinche, on the other hand, has popularly been associated with the figure of either Eve, the perpetrator of original sin and cause of man's perdition, or La Llorona, the weeping woman who, according to Mexican legend, is a terrifying phantom that roams the streets at night wailing for the souls of her suffering children whom she allegedly betrayed. Queen Isabella has been customarily depicted as the ideal mother and Christian woman -- especially during the Franco era. By contrast, La Malinche has been regarded as a whore and traitor. La Malinche, then, is not the Virgin Mother, but rather, the violated Mother.

In his essay "The Sons of La Malinche," Octavio Paz associates La Malinche with the mythical "La Chingada" (the violated one). He states: "The 'Chingada' is the Mother forcibly opened, violated or deceived. The 'hijo de la Chingada' is the offspring of violation, abduction or deceit."¹⁰ According to Paz: "Doña Marina becomes a figure representing the Indian women who were fascinated, violated or seduced by the Spaniards. And as a small boy will not forgive his mother if she abandons him to search for his father, the Mexican people have not forgiven La Malinche for her betrayal" (Paz 86). The pejorative

⁹Warwick Bray, *Everyday Life of the Aztecs*. (New York: Dorset, 1968) 64.

¹⁰Octavio Paz, *The Labyrinth of Solitude: Life and Thought in Mexico* (New York: Grove, 1961) 79.

term, "malinchistas," which obviously derives from La Malinche, refers to "those who want Mexico to open itself to the outside world: the true sons of La Malinche, who is the 'Chingada' in person" (Paz 86).

Interestingly, the traditional archetypes of Isabella and La Malinche have changed radically in recent years, due to changing attitudes toward women in both the Spanish and Mexican societies and subsequent historical revisionism. For example, in his 1976 novel, *La reivindicación del Conde don Julián*, Juan Goytisolo demythifies Queen Isabella as the ideal Christian mother. According to Phyllis Zatlin, "Isabella the Catholic was idealized in Franco's Spain to represent the perfect wife and mother, her historical roles as active political and military leader apparently being ignored for this purpose."¹¹ Goytisolo's novel depicts Queen Isabella as a many-faceted figure, not the least shocking of which is that of a lascivious *mulata*.¹² Goytisolo's purpose, of course, is to denigrate the Catholic value system imposed by the Franco regime.

Peter Podol observes an interesting trajectory in the Queen Isabella paradigm over the past twenty-five years in his study of three historical plays entitled "Three 'Stages' in the Life of Isabel." He notes that in Alberto Miralles' 1968 play, *Colón (Columbus)*, Isabella is presented at first as a farcical character due to her religious fervor. As the play progresses, she becomes a dominant figure, finally triumphing over her husband Fernando. Like Goytisolo, the writer intends to demythify one of the great legends of Spanish history. The second play studied by Podol is Manuel Martínez Mediero's *Juana del amor hermoso* (1982). Here the queen-mother is portrayed as a victim of a male-dominated society like her daughter, Juana, whose ascension to the throne was almost usurped by her power-hungry husband, Philip of Flanders. In Concha Romero's 1987 play, *Las bodas de una princesa (The Wedding of a Princess)*, Isabella is depicted as an admirable woman, for both her historical role and her liberated ways. Each of the plays demythifies Spanish tradition; yet in the most recent of the three plays, Isabella emerges, not as a ridiculous or pathetic figure, but rather as a contemporary, liberated woman. Podol concludes that these three plays move "from the least to the most realistic, become increasingly feminist in viewpoint and exhibit an evolution in their approach to demythification, attenuating their negative portrayal of Isabel in favor of creating a new myth of the modern, liberated and fulfilled woman" (Podol 30-31).

Interestingly, the development of the La Malinche archetype is similar to that of Queen Isabella. In her study *La Malinche in Mexican Literature: From History to Myth*, Sandra Messinger Cypess examines the evolution of the Malinche paradigm in Mexican literature. She notes that the portrayal of La Malinche has unfolded in accordance with changing socio-political attitudes. For example, La Malinche is rarely treated in literature of the Colonial period. The Mexican Baroque poetess, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, mentions Queen Isabella in an enumeration she makes of history's great women but makes no mention of La Malinche, one of her own compatriots. After the War of Independence "the identity of Doña Marina was subsequently transformed from its Spanish cultural form to a version circumscribed by the patriarchal culture developing in a newly independent Mexico."¹³

¹¹Quoted in Peter L. Podol, "Three 'Stages' in the Life of Isabel: Plays by Alberto Miralles, Manuel Martínez Mediero and Concha Romero," *Estreno* 16 (1990): 28.

¹²See Alicia Ramos, "La polifacética figura de Isabel la Católica en *Reivindicación del Conde don Julián*," *Insula* 40 (1985): 20.

¹³Sandra Messinger Cypess, *La Malinche in Mexican Literature: From History to Myth* (Austin: U of Texas P, 1991) 9.

Since the nineteenth century, the personage of La Malinche has been treated variously as a traitor or temptress, a romanticized noble being predestined by the gods to betray her people, and a maternal symbol of the Amerindian mestizaje or the Eve figure as fertile mother. Carlos Fuentes reconstructs, or perhaps deconstructs, the popular, negative La Malinche figure in his 1970 play *Todos los gatos son pardos* (*All Cats are Gray*) and portrays her as a stronger character than either Cortés or Cuauhtemoc; but, according to Cypess, Fuentes' Malinche still acquiesces to patriarchy by seeking salvation for her people through a male figure--that of her unborn, mestizo son.

Most recently, La Malinche has become an icon of the cultural heritage of Mexicana and Chicana women. According to the Chicana writer Adelaida Del Castillo, "Any denigrations made against her indirectly defame the character of the Mexicana/Chicana female. If there is shame for her, there is shame for us; we suffer the effects of these implications" (Cypess 12). The Chicana poet Carmen Tafolla powerfully expresses a new perception of La Malinche in her poem entitled "La Malinche:"

Yo soy la Malinche

My people called me Malintzin Tenepal
The Spaniards called me Doña Marina

I came to be known as Malinche
and Malinche came to mean traitor.

They called me – chingada
Chingada!
(Ha – Chingada! Screwed!)

Of noble ancestry, for whatever that means, I was sold
into slavery by MY ROYAL FAMILY--so that my brother
could get my inheritance.

... And then the omens began – a god, a new civilization,
the downfall of our empire.
And you came.
My dear Hernán Cortés, to share your
"civilization" – to play god, ... and I began to dream ...
I saw,
and I acted!

I saw our world
And I saw yours
And I saw
another.

And yes – I helped you – against Emperor Montezuma
Xocoyotzin himself! I became interpreter, Advisor,
and lover.

They could not imagine me dealing on a level with
you – so they said I was raped, used
chingada
Chingada!

And history would call me
chingada.

But Chingada I was not.
Not tricked, not screwed, not traitor.
For I was not traitor to myself –
I saw a dream
and I reached it
Another world ...
la raza.
La raaaaaaa-zaaaaa ...¹⁴

Chicana writers generally perceive La Malinche as a kind of spiritual mother; for she was a woman between two cultures--the Spanish and the Indian. Chicana women often find themselves similarly estranged, belonging neither to the Mexican culture, nor to the Gringo culture. They commonly view La Malinche as a symbol of acculturation – not as one who betrayed her people; for the Mexican people as such, that is the mestizos, did not exist during her day. But why did La Malinche assist Cortés in the Conquest of Mexico? Some Chicana writers, such as Adelaida del Castillo, affirm that La Malinche was motivated entirely by religious faith, not by love of the conquistador as many have assumed. Since she had been removed from Aztec society and adopted into a culture that abhorred the Aztecs because of their bloodthirsty God that demanded frequent and numerous human sacrifices, La Malinche likely perceived Cortés as a God, a kind of savior, who could effectuate the redemption of the Mexicans. She, like Queen Isabella, must have felt a compelling need to evangelize.

This recent new perspective of La Malinche that Mexicana and Chicana writers offer is analogous to the literary revisionists' view of Queen Isabella, summarized above. What is underscored in these new portrayals of La Malinche and Queen Isabella is that both women possessed unusual attributes for females in a male-dominated society. Indeed, it is likely because of their self-assurance and emotional fortitude that each has been labeled as a "mujer-varonil" or manly woman. Interestingly, both women endured a traumatic childhood and adolescence; they were literally orphaned by the death of their fathers in early childhood and emotionally orphaned by their mothers during late childhood, each being forced from their home before they reached their teen years. Some might argue that, perhaps as a means of spiritual and emotional survival, each compensated by developing a strong "animus," which in the Jungian sense refers to the inner masculine part of the female personality. Whatever the source, it is this strength of character which enabled Isabella and La Malinche to achieve their personal goals and for which they are to be admired – not so much so for their historical accomplishments – for opinions on the value of these deeds are ever-changing.

¹⁴Quoted in Carmen M. Del Río, "Chicana Poets: Re-Visions from the Margin," *Revista canadiense de estudios hispánicos* XIV-3 (1990): 436-37.

The new feminist perspectives of these two women are indicative of changing societal views both in Spain and in Mexico and, undoubtedly, signal a more participatory role on all fronts for women of both continents. Historically, Isabella and La Malinche were engaged in the creation of the new reality of the "mestizaje" that is Mexico. In contemporary times they have become role models for the creation of yet another new reality--the liberated Hispanic woman.

CULTURAL IMPERIALISM IN CÔTE D'IVOIRE: WHO'S TO BLAME?

Mitchell Land

Deep in the bush of Côte d'Ivoire^a, animal-skin drums still thunder through the dark night convoking villagers to join in the funeral rites of a tribal leader or a common peasant. Pulsating rhythms break the stillness of dusk to remind each one that death – though feared, avoided and revered – is not an individual journey, but one shared collectively and across eternity. Such drums also resound in urban areas inviting neighbors to join the community wake of the deceased. While the tam-tams continue their relentless pounding, young and old file into concentric circles to dance on paved streets, under street lights in front of high-rise apartments, crowded tenements or one-room shanties sandwiched together in compounds with too many families. Competing with the drums, another episode of "Dallas" or "Dynasty" blares from the neighbors' television sets, enticing their hooked viewers to another J.R. conspiracy against Bobby Ewing or one more sultry scene with Alexis and her boy lover. The synthesized sounds of superstar Michael Jackson follow the viewers' favorite series to invite the youth to more titillating death rites in the song "Thriller." Here, the dead not only rise from their graves in macabre exaggeration to taunt the living, but gyrate in modern rhythms that challenge the best of the ritual death dances of the Ivoirien past.

The electronic media compete with these ancient rituals of communion, communication and collective solidarity threatening to make them obsolete. The African tam-tam may indeed be destined for extinction like the traditional modes of communication in the West – smoke signals, homing pigeons, the pony express and the telegraph. Communication technologies in Africa, unlike their evolution in the First World whose cultural expressions adapted themselves to the new media of film, radio and television, arrive fully developed along with their slick Western imports that challenge the very cultures that produce the African drum.

The worldwide glut of imported television programming, mainly from the United States, has been the concern of a number of researchers, particularly since the uproar occasioned by the New World Information and Communication Order movement. Varis' empirical studies of worldwide television flows demonstrated a one-way flow from the developed countries to the developing countries, with entertainment-type programs dominating. Although some researchers, like Straubhaar, indicated a trend away from Western imports in Latin American countries, Varis (51) noted a bleaker picture in sub-Saharan Africa, where more than half of the programs broadcast continue to be imported from other countries, mainly from the United States and the United Kingdom. Charting media flows in this way, though certainly helpful, may only reveal part of the picture, however, since they usually stop short of examining at close range the programs government-controlled media systems call imported and local. To what extent, for example, are so-called local programs saturated with foreign content? Are local programs truly productions or are they mainly studio talk shows or low-cost variety shows? And how do strictly local programs, mixed local programs (with foreign content), and imports compete at prime-time both at a given period and across time?

^aAlthough Côte d'Ivoire is still better known in English as the Ivory Coast, I use this designation throughout because of a formal request by the Ivoirien government that the country's name not be translated into other languages. This means that the adjectival form changes from Ivorian to Ivoirien, without attempt for gender agreement with English nouns.

Other researchers, like Schiller, Tunstall and Hamelink, expressed concern for countries whose cultures they claimed were the victims of U.S. cultural imperialism through imported cultural products like television programs. Blame for such cultural imperialism is often laid at the doorstep of the Western culture industries driven by the principles of capitalism, but too little attention has been given to specific countries to discover why they choose or choose not to purchase imported programs. Indeed, the cultural imperialism thesis tends to conceptualize external economic interests on an equal footing with sovereign states, some of whom own and operate their media systems. The policies of individual states should be considered in an effort to determine whether and/or why they welcome or resist the one-way flow of exogenous cultural fare.

Indeed, every state does not behave in the same way with regard to external influences. Real observed that Nigeria follows a deliberate anticolonial policy of supporting indigenous cultural enterprises while Liberia provides a classic illustration of media and cultural dependency. The Varis study (49) confirmed Nigeria's reluctance to import television programs: Only 31 percent of its broadcast time is occupied by imports. However, the struggle there is ongoing. Even Nigerian television, according to Ugboajah, has been accused of replacing successful local series with foreign programs. In addition, local Nigerian radio disc jockeys were blamed for privileging the influx of American music, threatening the impact of indigenous music on the country. Cruise O'Brien learned that policies in Senegal fail to articulate thoroughly a role for television in development efforts while television continues to depend heavily on imported programs; local programs provide only 25-30 percent of broadcast time per week. Although Varis' 1984 study indicated important dominating television program hours in Kenya at 52 percent versus 48 percent for local programs (46), Heath reported that leaders in Kenya have resisted commercial control of broadcasting for fear that radio and television would fall into the hands of those who would challenge state policies or introduce alien ideas. These leaders insist on the necessity of government monopoly of broadcasting in order to promote national unity and development and to minimize foreign cultural influence. These apparent differences among sub-Sahara countries in Africa with regard to television imports point to the need for individual country studies for a better understanding of the problem.

Certainly, the actions of individual governments motivated by cultural policies are important considerations in understanding the imbalance of international media flows and the concomitant threat of cultural imperialism, but what about the viewers themselves? What do they think about their media systems? After all, they are the ultimate victims of cultural imperialism.

The purpose of this paper is to focus on one country in West Africa, Côte d'Ivoire, whose television equilibrium at first glance appears healthy in terms of local production. A brief summary of the Ivoirien television system and an analysis of its program schedules for 1971, 1984, 1987 and 1988 form the core of this paper. Opinions from viewers and others in Ivoirien society along with a brief summary of Ivoirien cultural policy are included to shed light on the Ivoirien television schedule and on Côte d'Ivoire's willingness to import television fare from the West. The following questions, then, serve to propel this study: What is the background of Ivoirien television? What is the importance of television in Côte d'Ivoire? How have locally produced programs competed with foreign imports? What constitutes "local programs" and do they really dominate the broadcast schedule? If not, why the imbalance? What do Ivoirien viewers think about their television system and the image it portrays? How does official cultural policy encourage or discourage cultural self-determination?

This paper was written on the basis of a field study conducted in Côte d'Ivoire between September 1987 and June 1989 for a period of about 19 months. During that time, the program analysis was conducted to assess the changes in program schedules over time. In addition, a qualitative in-depth survey was conducted with Ivoirien people to understand what they think about their television system. Structured interviews were conducted at five levels: 1) with television personnel; 2) with Ivoirien scholars and other professionals involved or interested in the production of Ivoirien cultural expressions; 3) with Ivoirien performers; 4) with newspaper journalists; 5) and with 100 television viewers. Although this paper does not attempt to report from all of these interviews, certain findings will be brought in from the survey of television viewers to help interpret Ivoirien television.

Certainly, it is recognized that Ivoirien television exists in a culture that is dynamic. Social and political conditions may greatly alter the findings of this study. What may seem to hold true today on the basis of this paper could change tomorrow.

The Television System: Colonial Context

It is impossible to analyze Ivoirien television broadcasting, owned and operated by the government, without reference to its colonial heritage. This heritage poses a formidable challenge to the country's cultural self-determination, imprinting itself upon the Ivoirien information sector. Based on the assumption that all men are equal and thus should be treated alike, France followed a colonial policy of cultural assimilation. Equal treatment in this instance, however, translated into equitable distribution of French culture. Gibbons noted that assimilation meant extension into the colonies of the French language, institutions, laws and customs. This cultural dominance was further reinforced by an indigenous elite trained in French administrative practices. These elites formed an intermediary group between the French and the rest of the Ivoirien population, providing a ready-made structure for the classic modernization paradigm.

By the late 1950s and in the wake of the French Algerian War that resulted in total independence for Algeria, the fires of independence blazed through the West African zone. The momentum virtually thrust independence upon a reluctant Houphouët-Boigny and his political cohorts. Although Houphouët-Boigny preferred a French confederation to include Côte d'Ivoire with other colonies of French West Africa, he led the country to declare independence from France in August 1960, but maintained strong economic ties with France.

French foreign policy rewarded this amicable separation by sending an army of French technical advisers who became the bureaucratic backbone of the newly "independent" Côte d'Ivoire. French technocrats joined the new Ivoirien ministers who depended on their expertise for decision making. Pasquet noted that although many of the advisers at the ministerial level have departed after more than 30 years, French specialists still advise the Ministry of Information, including an adviser for the director of Ivoirien television.¹

Kucera showed that the broadcasting systems eventually established in the colonial territories of Africa reflected the national character and colonial policies of the metropolitan countries. France stressed the use of the French language and the evolution of Africans into Frenchmen with black skins, known in their frank terms as "*evolvés*" ("those who have evolved," presumably toward a better, more Gallic standard). Indeed, Gibbons observed in

¹Pasquet said that at the beginning of this new relationship, there were about 80 advisers in the country. By the end of 1970, there were more than 4,000 French advisers in Côte d'Ivoire. At present, more than 1,300 "cooperants" teach in the secondary school system. Eight French advisory positions exist at the Ministry of Information.

1974 that the highest qualification an African broadcaster could earn was perfect mastery of classical French. French continues to be the dominant broadcast language. Ivoirien journalist Monique Edjime praised the new female television announcers for 1989 for speaking the "language of Molière."

France, then, played a determining role in the installation of Ivoirien radio and television. The French government established Ivoirien radio in 1950 and helped the Ivoirien government install television in 1963. According to the Ivoirien historical record, France appointed radio's first director and provided staff for both radio and television. Hatchen (191) noted that veteran French newsman, Pierre-Jean Laspeyres, headed a joint news staff for radio and television in 1962. Since 1970, radio and television have operated under separate mandates, each having its own director. Two French media specialists still occupy leadership positions at the television center, and two French technicians oversee equipment maintenance. No French advisers presently assist Ivoirien radio.

Former director of Ivoirien television, Mamadou Ben Soumaharo said that in the early years of television, France provided its former African possessions with about five hours of carefully chosen programs per week, free of charge. Soumaharo said that in the beginning imports from these sources dominated the schedule with only a few local programs produced as live broadcasts. In addition, the Société Radiophonique de la France d'OutreMer (SORAFOM) provided training for Ivoirien television personnel at its studio school, Ecole Lafitte in Paris. SORAFOM also negotiated directly with American distributors on behalf of Côte d'Ivoire for American imports.² According to Ivoirien program director, Koffi Yobouet, France still sets the import agenda for its former African possessions. Although Ivoirien television personnel do their own bargaining at the MIP-TV negotiation, they cannot get around the French connection. The availability of French-dubbed U.S. products is determined by their marketability first in France. If an American program has not been dubbed for use in France, it is not available to French-speaking Africa. The latest thrust of French influence on Ivoirien television was the installation in June 1989 of satellite equipment at the Ivoirien television center in Abidjan. This impressive gift of the French government, via Canal France International, reported Dally, made possible direct transmission for rebroadcast of four hours of French programs per day.³

The Television System: Expansion of Infrastructure

The influential place of television in the Ivoirien cultural matrix is evidenced by its rapid expansion and accessibility to the Ivoirien population. Ivoirien television has made giant steps since its inception in 1963 when it broadcast only about five hours of programs a week with the help of five French technical assistants and 43 Ivoiriens. Gibbons noted that by 1972, four provincial relay stations gave the country the most sophisticated television network in French-speaking Africa with signals reaching 70 percent of the country's villages with more than 20,000 government-owned televisions spread throughout the country. Ivoirien researcher Faustin Yao attributed these impressive figures to the massive educational television service launched in the 1970s. The government, along with UNESCO, the World Bank and the governments of France and Canada made major investments in the educational television (ETV) project that came to an end in the early 1980s.⁴

²Soumaharo began working for Ivoirien television shortly after completing his training at Lafitte in 1966 and has served in a number of positions for Ivoirien television. He served as director of television from 1981 to 1987.

³The government magazine reports the "gift" made by France via Canal France International, rationalizing it on the basis of Côte d'Ivoire's right to information.

In 1978, President Houphouët-Boigny signed an ambitious plan for the renovation of the radio-television network to be implemented through a cooperative effort between the Ivoirien Ministry of Information and the French Ministry of Industry at a cost of 7.68 billion CFA francs (\$27.2 million). According to Apete, the impetus for this project was derived from the president's desire that television coverage be extended throughout the national territory. A second channel was added in 1985 which broadcasts from the television center in Abidjan to within 30 kilometers of the city. The television's staff has expanded to about 750 persons countrywide. By 1988, according to Pierre Lorn, the director of transmissions for Ivoirien television, the country boasted 13 transmitting centers, 24-relay stations and 7 delayed broadcasting centers transmitting over 85 percent of the land surface and reaching potentially 90 percent of the population (See Appendix I). Lack of electrification and the cost of receivers to users are the only obstacles that prevent the total population from viewing television. And with electrification, television always follows. After South Africa and Nigeria, Côte d'Ivoire has the largest number of televisions per capita in Africa with five per 100 population.⁵

Although it is true that people in urban centers have greater access to Ivoirien television than those who live in rural areas, exploding urbanization means more people than ever will be watching television in the years to come. Antoine, Dubresson and Mano-Savina report that urbanization has increased in Côte d'Ivoire at an average rate of 9.5 percent annually since independence. Organization was projected to continue from 1980 through 1990 at an annual rate of 8 percent. In 1980, 39 percent of the total population lived in urban areas. By 1983, 42 percent lived in urban areas. Projections are that 55 percent of the population will live in urban centers by 1990. Abidjan's population was estimated at around 2 million inhabitants in 1983 or roughly one-quarter of the total population of the country (46).⁶ The rapid expansion of television's infrastructure along with rapid urbanization has been matched by the audience's growing interest in Ivoirien television.

The Television System: The Audience (See Table 1)

A 1987 national-random survey of the Ivoirien audience, conducted by a private research institute based in the country, the Institut Ivoirien de l'Opinion Publique (IIOP), found that a significant portion of the population has access to television sets and watches programs. The results showed that 78 percent of the urban population and 22 percent of the rural population own a television set.⁷ An impressive 92 percent of the urban population watches

⁵Yao reported that despite the careful studies and projections which encouraged heavy international support, the cost of Ivoirien ETV far exceeded expectations. Not only did public support for the project fade, but it had become an unwanted financial burden on the government. So "the world's most ambitious educational project to date" ended in disappointment.

⁶The U.S. Department of Commerce, International Trade Administration reported in 1981 that Côte d'Ivoire had 650,000 radio receivers, about 30 percent with FM capability, and around 160,000 domestic television receivers (Country Market Survey: Communications Equipment, Ivory Coast. U.S. Department of Commerce, International Trade Administration, April 1981). In July 1986, the Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations Statistical Office reported that in 1982, there were an estimated 1,100,000 radio receivers and 350,000 television receivers in use. However, Ivoirien television reported 600,000 television sets in the country (*La Télévision Ivoirienne, un quart de siècle*, Ministry of Information, Abidjan, December 1988, p. 10). The population was officially estimated at 8,262,300 in 1980.

⁷The source for population statistics reported in the Antoine et al. study was *Population de la Côte-d'Ivoire, analyse des données démographiques disponibles*, Direction of Statistics, Ministry of The Economy and Finance, 1984.

television and 77 percent attends to television regularly (at least once a week). The study indicated that 53 percent of those in the rural areas watch television occasionally and 33 percent watch at least once a week (see Table 1). Appendix II illustrates graphically the audience's growing assiduity. These figures support Varis' observation in this 1984 study that audience size and coverage are steadily increasing worldwide. Given the importance of television to Ivoirien society in terms of its expansion and availability, what are viewers being exposed to and what do some of them think about it?

The following program analyses and excerpts from the researcher's audience study provide some insights into what viewers have been exposed to since 1971 and what they think about their television programs. A concluding discussion of the official cultural policy may help to shed light on the following analyses.

Table 1

**The Ivoirien Television Audience
Percentages of the Population**

Monday through Friday	% in Urban Centers	% in Rural Areas
Viewers in general	92	53
Channel 1	92	53
Channel 2 (Abidjan only)	53	
Regular viewers (at least once each week)	77	33
Saturdays		
Viewers in general	94	57
Channel 1	94	51
Channel 2 (Abidjan only)	51	
Regular viewers (every Saturday)	82	41
Sundays		
Viewers in general	91	50
Regular viewers (every Sunday)	72	32

[Data Source: Institut Ivoirien de l'Opinion Publique, May 1987.]

⁷The Ministry of Information, Culture, Youth and Sports commissioned the institute to study the media habits among the country's urban and rural populations. The study was conducted between April 25 and May 23, 1987. A representative cross section of the population (those 15 years and older) was interviewed in both urban and rural settings. Foreign nationals were not included in the sample. However Institute Director Jacques Delanoë cautioned that rural figures favor those areas nearest to urban centers.

TELEVISION PROGRAM ANALYSES

Program Dates Studied and Source

Although no other television system is available to the vast majority of the population, competing voices do invade the airwaves through television imports. Regular broadcasts of such programs as *Dallas*, *Dynasty*, *Wild Wild West*, *Bewitched* and, until recently, *Jimmy Swaggart*, are offered to the public. Yet it appears at first glance that this same public attends to an impressive number of local programs.

A comparison between three broadcast weeks, the third week in December, selected from 1971, 1984 and 1987, shows what Ivoiriens have been exposed to in general and indicates percentages of broadcast hours for imports versus local programs. The year 1971 was chosen because it was the first year that records of schedules were kept. Thorough and regular schedules of television broadcasts were not published in the one national newspaper during the 1960s. The years 1984 and 1987 were chosen to compare changes in local programming versus imports over time and to present as current a picture as possible. The third week in December for all three years was selected to control for any variations due to seasonal influences and because December 1987 was the most recent time period when analysis began. A cursory follow-up analysis was conducted on programs broadcast the third week in December 1988 to note any changes in the data. *Télé-Miroir*, an annotated program guide published by the Ministry of Information, Culture, Youth and Sports, was used as primary source for 1984 and 1987. The same periodical, though sponsored by the Ministry of Information only, was used to analyze the 1988 schedule.⁸ The 1971 schedule was obtained at the television station in Abidjan. Where information was lacking on origin and program type, television personnel and viewers were consulted for clarification.

Qualitative Audience Survey

After the first program analysis for the years 1971, 1984 and 1987 was conducted, 100 Ivoirien television viewers were interviewed to get some idea of their opinion of Ivoirien television. At the same time, ongoing interviews were being conducted with television personnel, performers, educators and journalists. Although no attempt was made to select randomly the 100 interviewees (thus no absolute claim of generalizability), care was taken to vary the subjects according to a matrix of population indicators so that respondents represented percentages of the population corresponding to sex, age and location.⁹ Also, since only sites with access to the television signal were considered, it is impossible to generalize responses to the entire population. But urban, suburban and rural sites were entered according to the population matrix to get as broad a picture as possible of viewer opinion. In most cases, members of the group were not acquainted with each other, as interviews were conducted individually rather than in a group context. Interviewees were chosen on the basis of acquaintances, third-part contracts and, often, were selected from passersby and neighbors in the selected areas.

To minimize "foreign" researcher contamination of the data which might have occurred if this researcher had entered the field, a local informant was used to conduct the audience

⁸The ministries of culture and sports had become separate by 1988.

⁹Demographic statistics were obtained from *The World Bank Atlas*, The World Bank, Washington, D.C., 1985, and from Ph. Antoine, A. Dubresson, A. Manou-Savina, *Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire*, Editions Karthala, Paris, 1987. From these statistics, demographic characteristics such as age, sex and geographic distribution were determined as a guide for selecting the interviewees.

interviews. Securing the assistance of a local was in keeping with a recommendation made at a UNESCO-sponsored meeting on the development of television in Africa in 1964. The Ivoirien assistant was briefed on the nature of qualitative research to reduce the possibility of bias: First, the assistant was instructed to be completely honest about his role as interviewer, stressing to respondents that he was not a state official or from national television, but that he was conducting an independent study on how people feel about their television system. Second, the assistant was instructed on the importance of allowing the interviewee to express his/her honest opinions without prompting from the interviewer to do so in a relaxed context. Third, the informant was warned against injecting his own opinions of Ivoirien television and its role in society which would influence his respondents' answers. A questionnaire was devised in consultation with the informant to assure cultural appropriateness. It was subsequently pre-tested with ten individuals and revised. The questionnaire was not given to the interviewees to fill out like a survey. Rather, it was used by the interviewer to maintain the focus on the project's major concerns and to provide a standard by which to compare responses. Observations from the survey will be inserted where appropriate in the following discussion of findings from the program analyses.

Program Classification (Table 2)

Two broad categories seemed to characterize the television schedules: Entertainment and Information. Entertainment-type programs included films, plays, series, musical variety shows, children's cartoons and sports programs. Information-type programs consisted of those that report facts, events and ideas. They also included news bulletins, commentaries and programs dealing with political, economic, scientific, education, cultural and social matters (e.g., documentaries and debates).

Table 2

Program Classification

Entertainment

General	Music and comedy variety shows, games
Series	Weekly programs, dramatic and comic
Movies	Feature-length and made-for-television movies
Children	Cartoons and special programs for children
Sports	National and foreign sports including wrestling

Information

General	Documentaries, educational programs and debates
News	French and vernacular news broadcasts of current events
Religious	Imported and local religious programs

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Television Transmission Hours (Table 3)

Ivoirien television was broadcasting a total of 38 hours a week in 1972. But by 1984, Ivoirien television was broadcasting 55 hours weekly, an impressive 45-percent increase. Weekly broadcast hours three years later, in 1987, were only 59 hours, representing only a 7-percent increase when only channel 1 is calculated. But with the addition of channel 2's 15 hours of weekly transmission, Ivoirien television was broadcasting 74 hours a week, increasing television's weekly broadcast hours by 34 percent from 1984.^b For the entire 16 years, weekly broadcast hours jumped from 38 to 59 hours for channel 1, an increase of 55 percent. But when channel 2 is added to the total, television's weekly broadcast hours jumped from 38 hours in 1971 to 74 hours in 1987, an impressive 95-percent increase in television's weekly broadcast hours. The 1988 update showed an overall decrease of only four hours from the 1987 figures.

Table 3

Television Transmission Hours Per Week

Broadcast 1971	Broadcast 1984	Broadcast 1987	Broadcast 1988
38	55	Channel 1: 59	57
		Channel 2: <u>15</u>	<u>13</u>
		74	70

[Data Source: 1971 program archives, RTI and *Télé-Miroir*, an annotated TV guide published by the Ministry of Information, Culture, Youth and Sports, 1984, 1987, 1988.]

Television Content (Table 4)

Entertainment is steadily overcoming information-type programming in Ivoirien television. The data show an even distribution of entertainment fare and information-type programs in 1971. Thirteen years later in 1984, entertainment fare dropped three percentage points in favor of informational programs. But the 1987 figures show that entertainment programs surpassed informational ones at 52 versus 46 percent. Channel 2 increased entertainment's dominance further to 56 percent of the week's total hours versus 42 percent for information.^c

While news broadcasts show an increase from 27 percent in the 1971 schedule to 34 percent in the 1984 schedule, it lost this share of broadcast hours in 1987 to a level below the 1971 figure. When channel 2 is added, broadcast hours for news dropped by almost half the 1984 percentage.

A cursory check of the third week in December 1988 for channel 1 supports this trend toward more entertainment programs; the proportion of entertainment fare to information-type programs stayed about the same during the same period. In 1988, entertainment fare dominated strictly information-type programs at 55 versus 45 percent of total program hours for both channels.

^bChannel 2 is available to viewers within a 30-kilometer radius of Abidjan. While its geographic reach is limited, it should be remembered that about one-fifth of the entire population lives within this reach.

^cThe percentages here do not add up to 100 percent because of missing data in the 1987 television guide.

If Ivoirien television tends to entertain, Ivoirien viewers tend to like it. The Ivoirien viewers we talked to prefer entertainment television. When our Ivoirien viewers were asked to name their favorite television genres, most chose an entertainment genre. When asked to specify their favorite television program, the overwhelming majority of viewers chose an entertainment-type program. Therefore, most of the respondents are more attracted to programs that entertain than to those which provide primarily information.

Religious broadcasts gained in 1987, an increase which may be explained by the Swaggart biweekly broadcasts. The French Adviser to the television director, Gerald Dupuy, said that the Swaggart programs had become extremely popular with the Ivoirien audience. Children's programs also show an increase from 4 percent in 1971 and 5 percent in 1984 to 10 percent in 1987. The 1988 update for channel 1 showed basically the same program categories as 1987 because no significant changes were made in the 1988 program schedule. Names of programs changed, television hosts moved to different shows, and new imports replaced old ones with negligible effect on the television schedule.

Table 4

Television Program Content
Percentages of Television Program Hours

	1971	1984	1987 Ch. 1 + Ch. 2	1988 Ch. 1 + Ch. 2
Entertainment	50	47	52	55
General	15	22	18	20
Series	10	7	7	9
Movie	18	9	11	15
Children	3	5	10	8
Sports	4	4	6	4
Information	50	53	46	45
General	21	18	13	15
News	27	34	23	18
Religious	2	1	8	6

[Data Source: 1971 program archives, RTI and *Télé-Miroir*, an annotated TV guide published by the Ministry of Information, Culture, Youth and Sports, 1984, 1987, 1988.]

Television Programming Languages (Table 5)

Several observations are suggested regarding vernacular broadcasts. First, ethnic languages did find a place in the schedule after 1971, albeit a paltry 8 percent of weekly broadcasts hours in 1987 increasing to 12 percent in 1988. No ethnic languages are broadcast on the weekends. Second, the only official space made available to ethnic languages on Ivoirien television is the 55-minute news program, "Nouvelles du Pays," broadcast nightly at 6:30 p.m. It consists of a news summary based on television's "Ivoire Info," broadcast in French at 8 p.m. the night before and at 1 p.m. on the same day. Only 13 different languages of the country's more than 60 dialects were given time on "Nouvelles du Pays" the third week of December 1987 and only 10 in 1988. During the entire month of December 1988, only 15 different languages were used in *Nouvelles du Pays*, and in all cases, the same languages are used. For example, Guere, Adjopukrou, Neyo and Senoufo are usually broadcast consecutively during the 55-minute segment on Mondays. Ebrie, Koulango and Dida are broadcast in the same way on Tuesdays. Baoule, Attie and Krou are broadcast on Wednesdays. Gouro, Yacouba and Dioula are usually broadcast on Thursdays, and Bete, More and Abe are usually broadcast on Fridays. The second channel broadcasts no programs in ethnic languages.

Third, the fact that ethnic languages find their only expression through government-controlled news indicates a one-way flow of information from the top down. Although the language of communication at 6:30 p.m. is ethnic, the contents are prescribed by the government. While local languages are expressed in the lyrics sung by Ivoirien vocalists appearing on television, either through traditional music or in popular songs set to modern rhythms, local linguistic expression occupies no other cultural space on Ivoirien television. No plays, talk shows, variety programs, comedy shows or documentaries are broadcast in any of the 60-plus languages spoken in the Côte d'Ivoire. Thus, while national television seems willing to provide a window onto the outside world in some of the languages of its viewers, it makes no effort to provide a mirror to reflect their cultural realities in these languages. Television's brownout on linguistic expression further undergirds the potential for continued French cultural hegemony.

Table 5

**Television Programming Languages
Percentages of Television Program Hours**

Source	1971	1984	1987 Ch. 1 + Ch. 2	1988 Ch. 1 + Ch. 2
French	100	92	92	88
Ethnic Languages (13 dialects only)	0	8	8	12

[Data Source: 1971 program archives, RTI and *Télé-Miroir*, an annotated TV guide published by the Ministry of Information, Culture, Youth and Sports, 1984, 1987, 1988.]

Imports versus Local Programs (Table 6)

Local programs include both pre-taped material as well as live broadcasts and the daily news reports. Local programs were those prepared by Ivoirien personnel and broadcast from the television center in Abidjan: Live studio talk shows, pre-taped variety shows, talking-head interviews outside the studios and full productions like "Télé Pour Tous" and "La Voix du Paysan." "Télé Pour Tous," produced and financed by the ministry of education, was created as a result of the ambitious educational television project in the early 1970s. The bi-weekly program targets the rural population with programs on development issues. "La Voix du Paysan," produced by the ministry of agriculture, is a monthly documentary featuring various regions of the Côte d'Ivoire. Local programs reported in this table were not further differentiated according to content. Imports were those that come fully packaged from outside sources to include series, films and documentaries. These programs have no Ivoirien input.

The third week in December of 1971 showed local programs only slightly outnumbering imports at 53 versus 47 percent of total broadcast hours. But the balance changed significantly 13 years later in favor of local programming. Imported programs represented only 26 percent of the scheduled hours (a 45-percent drop from 1971) versus an impressive 74 percent for local programs in December of 1984. This impressive shift in the balance was probably due to the introduction of new programs by aggressive show hosts, Georges Benson and Roger Fulgence Kassy under the leadership of Television Director Mamadou Ben Soumaharo. By 1984 the popular programs "Comment Ça Va," "Theatre Chez Nous," "Mensonge d'Un Soir," "Podium," "RFK-Show," "Digital," "Nandjelet" and "Super Star Station-SSS" and many others were on the air. "Comment Ça Va," one of the most popular programs on television and hosted by comedian Leonard Groguhet, is broadcast weekly and consists of 20 minutes of skits and commentary on social issues. "Theatre Chez Nous," broadcast monthly, consists of a one-camera, wide-angle recording of a stage play presented by one of the many theatrical troupes in Côte d'Ivoire. "Mensonge d'Un Soir," a weekly 30-minute staging of the traditional village story-telling custom is broadcast entirely in French. "Podium," RFK-Show," "Digital," "Nandjelet" and "Super Star Station-SSS" were monthly or bi-weekly variety shows which have continued under different titles but with basically the same content.

Although the 1987 schedule three years later did not indicate a dramatic change in the level of imported programs compared to locally produced programs, the balance did show a slight shift back toward imported programs with a 67 versus 33 percent breakdown. And with the additional of a second channel, the balance slid further toward imported programs at a total of 56 percent local versus 44 percent imported. The 1988 update analysis also revealed an increase in imported programs over local programs by one percentage point. According to table 6, local programs have dominated the Ivoirien program schedule since 1971, showing a dramatic increase in 1984. But after 1984 and with the addition of a second channel, television imports have been gaining ground, pushing local programs back to their 1971 levels.

Table 6

**Television Programming Local vs. Imports and
Origination Percentages of Transmission Hours**

Source	1971	1984	1987 Ch. 1 + Ch. 2	1988 Ch. + Ch. 2
Imports total	47	26	33	44
France	37	10	3	4
U.S.A.	7	9	21	24
Others	3	7	9	16
Local	53	74	67	55

[Data Source: 1971 program archives, RTI and *Télé-Miroir*, an annotated TV guide published by the Ministry of Information, Culture, Youth and Sports, 1984, 1987, 1988.]

Television Import Origination (Table 6)

A significant change is indicated in the origination of imported programs. Imports from the United States in 1971 came to only 7 percent of the total hours for that week while French programs dominated imports at 37 percent. However, by 1984, French imports fell to 10 percent of the weekly program schedule while U.S. imports rose to 9 percent to almost parity with French programs. But U.S. programs increased to 21 percent of the program week in 1987, representing a 133-percent increase between 1984 and 1987, almost reversing the picture from 1971. French programs no longer dominated imports. In fact, French imports dropped to only 3 percent by 1987, while imports from other countries increased from 3 percent in 1971 to 16 percent by 1988. Not only did imports rise to 33 percent of broadcast time in 1987, but most of those imports originated in the United States. The United States continued to dominate imports in 1988.

Although the data in table 6 show local programs still dominating, imports are steadily gaining ground and most of them come from the United States. But are local programs really dominating the television broadcast schedule?

A number of reasons prompted both a closer analysis of programs defined as "local" and a look at transmission hours during the prime-time viewing period. First, estimates of local versus foreign programming quoted by former television director Mamadou Ben Soumaharo disagreed significantly with the official 60:40 ratio. Soumaharo said that television produced only 30 percent of its total programming. Second, from interviews conducted with intellectuals, local artists and other Ivoiriens, a consensus of opinion emerged that national television is more foreign than local. Third, of the 100 television viewers we talked to, 78 agreed with this assessment. They felt that Ivoirien television privileges a foreign image over a local image. Some 58 said that television does not reflect Ivoirien life sufficiently, and 52 viewers felt that television does not target the rural sector. Another 55 said all Ivoirien social classes are not served by national television. Finally, when viewers were invited to air their feelings on what they thought about Ivoirien television generally, most articulated frustration at so much foreign content at the expense of local programs.

The obvious foreign image that national television seemed to have in as many minds did not correlate with the official position that has always maintained that there is a balance in

favor of local "productions" over imported programs.¹⁰ But when "productions" and "programs" are more thoroughly defined, the picture is not so favorable. Most Ivoirien programs consist of studio-produced talk shows or variety shows taped or broadcast live with a minimum of prior planning or the camera is sent on location to record talking-head interviews with individuals. But if production is defined as coming up with an idea, writing a script, hiring talent, scouting locations and professionally recording an exportable product (at least exportable to the French-speaking countries neighboring Côte d'Ivoire), those programs called productions are not productions. If this definition of "production" is applied rigorously to Ivoirien television programs, then only about six programs qualify out of some 60 different local programs broadcast during a month, and their percentage of total broadcast hours is negligible.

The paucity of local productions is due to the fact that no funds from the national budget are allocated to the television system specifically for television productions according to Boni-Claverie, Soumaharo and Yobouet. A number of local productions are sponsored by ministries outside the information sector. "Télé Pour Tous" and "La Voix du Paysan," as noted previously, are sponsored by the ministry of education and the ministry of agriculture respectively. "Le Temps du Social" deals with social concerns and is sponsored by the ministry of social affairs while the monthly health program, "Droit à la Santé," is financed by the ministry of health. On the other hand, budgeted funds are available to purchase imports. Boni-Claverie said that slightly more than \$1 million in 1988 was allocated to purchase imported programs: \$576,923 for channel 1 and \$480,766 for channel 2. A few local programs (not productions) are modestly sponsored by a private industry while most are put together using scarce operating funds. Although official discourse claims 67 percent local productions, the fact is that far from 67 percent can be considered production. Therefore, it is more accurate to say that, currently, Ivoirien television broadcasts local programs (not productions) 67 percent of broadcast time.

A closer look at local programs according to content, then, was necessary to explain why television tends to project a foreign image. First, the program schedule for the entire month of December 1988 was analyzed to compare percentages of programs of strictly local content with local programs of mixed content. Then, the schedule was analyzed at prime-time for the third week of December 1987 and 1988 to measure imports, strictly local and mixed programs. Mixed programs were those, including all news broadcasts, which always contain foreign content. The extent of foreign content in mixed programs varied. Ideally, each program's "rundown" should have been analyzed to determine level of foreign content for a much more detailed analysis. However, the television center does not keep these on file. Local variety shows like "Videostars," "Nandjelet," and "RFK Show," may vary between 6 to 100 percent foreign content. "Videostars" is a weekly MTV-type show hosted by an Ivoirien announcer. The program imitates a similar program on French television called "Top 50" in which the host comments briefly between music-video clips and often encourages audience participation in selecting favorite performers. Although a few Ivoirien clips are sometimes broadcast, most are music videos from U.S. or European performers. "Nandjelet," another program hosted by an Ivoirien announcer, deals with the concerns of

¹⁰The percentage of local television "productions" over imports is frequently evoked when Ivoirien television is discussed publicly. For example, Ibrahim Savane, "Sponsoring," *Fraternité-Matin*, May 25, 1988, p. 7; "La Télévision Ivoirienne, un Quart de Siècle," Ministry of Information, December 1988, p. 10; also, in almost every press interview, the director of television, Danielle Boni-Claverie, stresses the 67:33 balance in favor of local productions. See, for example, Leon Francis Lebr, "A la Recherche d'Investissements pour les Productions Ivoiriennes," *Fraternité-Matin*, April 20, 1989, p. 2.

Ivoirien youth, but offers a heavy dose of imported music videos. One segment in October 1988 featured a full program of Michael Jackson. The sports program "Télé Sports," although broadcasting highlights of current Ivoirien sports events, may contain as much as 70 percent foreign content while the documentary "Planètek" that reports on places from around the world, is entirely of foreign content, with the exception of the announcer's brief commentaries.¹¹ In other cases, like the national news, local variety shows and the noon talk show, a smaller percentage is made up of foreign elements. The weekly children's show, "La Ronde des Enfants," brings in children from various schools or day-care facilities to play games, sing and talk with three Ivoirien female hosts. The program includes imported cartoons along with a brief clip from the French children's program "Fôret Magique de Chantal Goya." In all mixed programs, the viewer is obliged to attend to foreign images in varying degrees in addition to the regularly broadcast imports.

From the 1988 December television guide, a list was made of program titles according to imports versus local programs in general, using the same criteria applied in the preceding analyses (see Table 6), and then according to classifications of mixed and local programs. The list was shown to Dupuy for verification. Programs from both channels were calculated together for the entire month, but were separated for the prime-time analysis that follows.

Undifferentiated Local Programs versus Imports (Table 7)

Using the same criteria applied in Table 6, local programs dominated a hefty 69 percent of total program hours compared to only 31 percent for imports during the entire month of December 1988. The following events in December made it likely that more local programs were broadcast than at any other times during the year, thus giving an advantage of local over foreign programs: Ivoirien Independence, the 25th anniversary of Ivoirien television, the Houphouët-Boigny Soccer Cup final and two local Christmas programs. The results again confirmed official statistics touting the dominance of local "productions." But when local programs are further delineated according to content, the results reveal an altogether different picture.

Table 7

**December 1988 Local Program Analysis
Undifferentiated Local Programs vs. Imports
Percentages of Transmission Hours**

Source	Channels 1 + 2
Imports	31
Local	69

[Data Source: *Télé-Miroir*, an annotated TV guide published by the Ministry of Information, 1988.]

¹¹Interviews with television producers, administrators and show hosts confirmed this estimate: show host, Serge Fattoh, May 2, 1989; producers Valerie Djira and Barthelemy Inabo, May 12, 1989; producers Cisse Lamine Mohamed and Ackah Kouame Francis, May 17, 1989; producer Georges Benson, May 11, 1989; producer Zebi Grokrou, May 30, 1989; French technical advisor to Ivoirien television director, Gerard Dupuy, June 17, 1989.

Strictly Local Programs versus Mixed Local Programs (Table 8)

Although about 43 different programs of strictly local content were broadcast during December versus only 23 programs of mixed content, the latter occupied 46 percent of broadcast time in December 1988 while programs of strictly local content took up only 23 percent of transmission hours for the month. Ivoirien television not only broadcast imported programs during 31 percent of its total broadcast time in December 1988, but it also spent 46 percent of its schedule broadcasting local programs with imported elements. In other words, 77 percent of television time in December 1988 was spent broadcasting imports and local programs containing varying doses of imported material. Strictly local Ivoirien television programs occupied only 23 percent of broadcast time in December despite the important national events covered by television during the same period, which should have given local programs an edge over imported and mixed programs.

Table 8

December 1988 Local Program Analysis
Strictly Local Programs vs. Mixed Local Programs
Number of Programs and Percentages of Transmission Hours

Source	Ch. 1 + Ch. 2	Number of programs	Percentage of hours
Strictly local programs (no foreign content)		43	23
Mixed programs		23	46
Total		66	69
Imports			31

[Data Source: *Télé Miroir*, an annotated TV guide published by the Ministry of Information, 1988.]

Strictly Local Programs versus Mixed Local Programs During Prime-time (Table 9)

Table 8 represents calculations for the entire month of December 1988 while table 9 reports the same categories of programs broadcast during television's prime-time hours during the third week of December for both 1987 and 1988. The IOP audience survey reported that television's peak viewing time during the week was between 8 p.m. and 10 p.m. for urban viewers. One in seven viewers continue to watch television after 10 p.m. during the week. The weekends attract more viewers with about 73 percent watching television between 8 p.m. and 10 p.m. on Saturdays, with about 50 percent staying with television until the last broadcast ends at midnight. About 57 percent of viewers watch between 8 p.m. and 8:30 p.m., decreasing to around 42 percent after 8:30 p.m. on Sundays.

During the third week in December 1987, local programs – whether strictly local (without any foreign content, 40 percent) or mixed programs (with varying degrees of foreign elements, 28 percent) – still dominated prime-time viewing hours at a total of 68 percent. This left imported programs with only 32 percent of prime-time hours for the same period. These figures indeed support official claims that local programs dominate imports, even during prime-time. But if we add the percentages of programs of mixed content to those of

imports (32 percent plus 28 percent), we may see prime-time in a different light: Viewers could expect to watch foreign programs along with local programs with foreign content 60 percent of the time during television's peak viewing period during the third week of December 1987. The oft-proclaimed balance between local and imported programs tilted farther away from local programs when channel 2 is factored into the prime-time analysis for 1987: Imports easily dominated strictly local and mixed programs for a total of 56 percent of prime-time hours during the same period. Again, when percentages of mixed programs are added to those of imports (18 percent plus 56 percent), 74 percent of the prime-time viewing period was occupied by imports and mixed programs. Prime-time during the third week in December 1988 only paralleled the 1987 prime-time period but showed an increase of imported programs. Imported and mixed programs dominated the schedule for channel 1 during prime-time at a total of 68 percent, increasing to a hefty 79 percent of prime-time when channel 2 is factored in. The influence of channel 2 on the prime-time viewing period is interesting given that it does not yet broadcast during prime-time on the weekends.

Ivoirien viewers, then, were more likely to see an import or a program of mixed content than one of strictly local content when they turned on their television sets during the entire month of December 1988, prime-time included. This was also true during prime-time the third week in December 1987. In a very real sense, Ivoirien television is almost saturated with foreign presence. It should not be surprising, then, that despite the official figures – 67 percent local "productions" versus 33 percent imports – viewers felt alienated from their own television service which, they feel presents a foreign image.

Table 9

**December 1987/1988 Local Program Analysis
Strictly Local Programs vs. Mixed Local Programs
Percentages of Prime-Time Transmission Hours**

Source	1987 Ch. 1 + Ch. 2		1988 Ch. 1 + Ch. 2	
Strictly Local Programs	40	26	32	21
Mixed programs	28	18	28	18
Imports	32	56	40	61
Imports + mixed	60	74	68	79

[Data Source: *Télé-Miroir*, an annotated TV guide published by the Ministry of Information, 1987, 1988.]

Ivoirien Cultural Policy

But is this foreign image inconsistent with the government's perception of television's purpose? According to the president who determines policy in Côte d'Ivoire, television is expected to provide a window onto the world as a means of assisting the Ivoirien person on his/her quest toward modernization. This orientation toward the outside world is not imposed upon the president by some ominous conspiratorial military-industrial complex intent on washing the minds of Ivoiriens to make them voracious consumers. No such conspiracy is necessary. President Houphouët-Boigny fully embraces the modernization paradigm and its perception of the media; the president's wishes are duly carried out by the information sector.

Official cultural policy, however, is not handed down to the Ivoirien mass media in directives from the ministries of culture or information. Cultural goals are not systematically distributed to encourage or discourage the production of Ivoirien cultural expressions, whether popular or traditional. No one at the national television service, from the former director to the present director, technical adviser to the director and producers, remembered ever getting any policy guidelines on culture.

Antoine Kakou, director of the Institut National des Arts, said he was not aware of a written document on culture, even though such a document exists (See *Le Plan*). He said the collection of statements made by the president at the occasion of official speeches as well as pronouncements by government ministers were the only cultural guide anyone ever followed.¹² Near his desk, Kakou keeps the only written references he has, *Propos sur la Culture*, a little booklet of excerpts on culture from speeches made by the president. Indeed, Kakou voiced what has become the prevailing practice of government officials in Côte d'Ivoire: To follow religiously what the president dictates in official speeches he has delivered since 1946. These speeches provide the source for Côte d'Ivoire's written cultural policy and are the basis for all actions of the information sectors (See Houphouët-Boigny, *Anthologie des Discours*).

The president's broad cultural policy is to construct the Ivoirien individual, to mold out of the more than 60 different ethnic groups Ivoiriens who reflect the national identity, but an identity fashioned in a modern image and unfettered by obsolete traditions. He envisions a nation that is "more Ivoirien in its structure of production and ways of life, more conscious of itself and of its cultural personality...through the affirmation of its own national culture."¹³

The written cultural policy indicates that the promotion of the diverse ethnic cultures, though important, is secondary. Furthermore, it declares that national cultural identity will not be founded on a return to the past, but must affirm itself in a new cultural reality engaged in the march to progress. The purpose is to bring about a synthesis between the heritage of the past and the advantages of the present (*Le Plan* 256).¹⁴

¹²The five-year plan (18) that includes chapter 16 on culture and chapter 17 on information. The written cultural policy outlining a five-year plan complete with goals has existed since 1980. The policy document was worked on by the country's leading cultural and political experts in Yamoussoukro in 1978. An update of the document was printed in 1985. It is surprising that this foreign researcher had access to the official cultural policy when some of the top information and cultural leaders have still never seen the document.

¹³This and the following English versions of the president's words were translated by the researcher (emphases mine).

Thus Ivoireness and nationhood mean unapologetic openness to the influence of the world for the sake of arriving at the full measure of modernity. The Ivoirien must be molded in the image of that world. He or she must be conscious of more than an immediate cultural contest because of his/her connection to community, continent and, most important, world (Houphouet-Boigny, *Propos Sur la Culture*).¹⁵

To achieve this collective ideal of a national cultural identity in terms of the world context, the president calls for preserving cultural authenticity while pursuing a policy of cultural openness to outside influences for the sake of development at every level and according to the model of the most developed countries:

"We will continue to align ourselves with the promotion of a society that knows how to keep its traditions, but resolutely open to the currents of thoughts and influences of progress from the modern world..."(Houphouet-Boigny, *Anthologie des Discours* 1907)

"What is, then, the legitimate ambition of every young state on our continent? It's to achieve economic and social equality with the most developed countries of the world." (1165)

Media's Role in Promoting Culture

The media are expected to fuel rapid modernization through the ideology of openness. Speaking at the Eighth Congress of the International Union of Journalists and the French Languages Press in Abidjan in 1978, the president called on the information sector to cooperate with this open approach, facilitating Côte d'Ivoire's quest for progress:

"This cooperation, which must increase as much as possible facilitating the exchange of scientific and technical knowledge without restriction whether in agriculture of industry and *by spreading culture*, is the only means of allowing for the true progress of humanity" (Houphouet-Boigny, *Anthologie des Discours* 1908)¹⁶

The policy of openness fully expects "the spreading of culture," indeed welcomes it as part of the modernization process. And, yes, tradition must sometimes be called into question:

"We must favor a collective consciousness of the need to call into question the past, without introducing disorder or helplessness." (Houphouet-Boigny, *Propos Sur la Culture* 16)

¹⁴Government leaders frequently reiterate this purpose. See, for example, a public speech by the Ivoirien minister of public works, Jean-Jacques Bechio, "L'affirmation de l'identité culturelle nationale," by K.K. Man Jusu, *Fraternité-Matin*, September 12, 1988, p. 22, and former Ivoirien minister of education and current member of UNESCO's executive council, Paul Akoto Yao, "Place de la culture dans la nation ivoirienne," by Toure Mory-Frey *Fraternité Hebdo*, N° 1532, September 8, 1988, p. 34.

¹⁵In Felix Houphouet-Boigny, *Propos sur la culture*, 1980, p. 6, op., cit., the president states, "...the finished product of our political action will be man, Ivoirien man, African man, community man, freer, richer, happier, brother of all men, lover of peace and progress, proud citizen of a great community of free and equal peoples, called to serve as an example to the entire world."

¹⁶Emphases mine

Tradition should willingly submit to change and influence from the demands of modern living; former values are expected to evolve and even submit to humanization by the contact:

"These values will not maintain their reason for existing and will not truly be prolonged unless confronted with the realities of the world which enrich, evolve and sometimes humanize them through contact." (Ibid.)

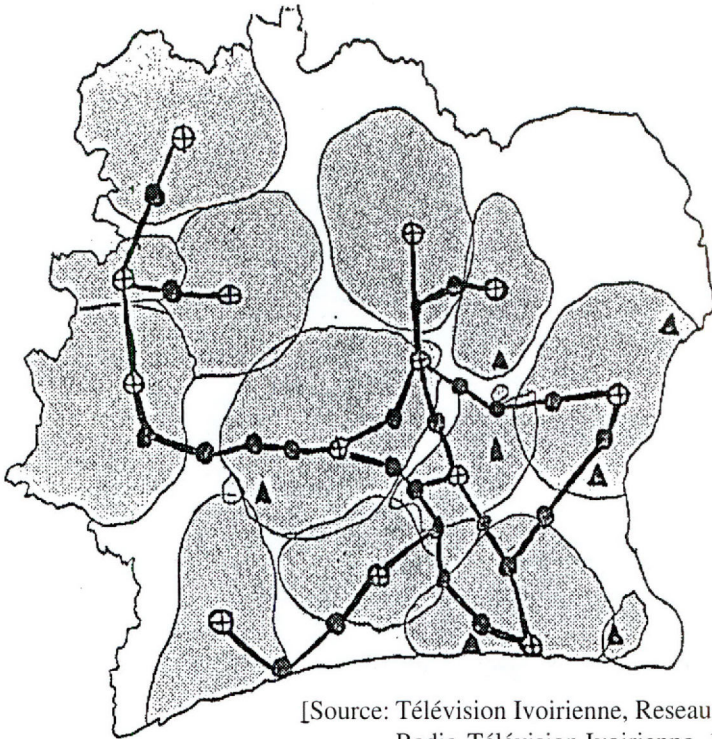
Conclusion

The influence of television in Côte d'Ivoire is evident at several levels: its growing infrastructure, its dramatic increase of broadcasting hours, and its continually growing viewership which is fueled by rapid urbanization. But a number of challenges threaten the effectiveness of the television system as a channel for Ivoirien cultural self-determination. First, given Côte d'Ivoire's historical context, Ivoirien television still exists in the shadow of French culture. Second, with the increasing television imports, most of which are of the entertainment variety from the United States, and in the face of scant financial support for local productions, Ivoirien television may be moving toward a primarily entertainment medium. Indeed, a primarily entertainment-oriented television system belies its role, proclaimed by Boni-Claverie, as instrument of national development. Third, French, "the language of Molière," is the preferred linguistic vehicle of Ivoirien culture via television despite the existence of many local languages which find little cultural space on television. Finally, imports and local programs with mixed content strongly dominate broadcast time, further weakening Ivoirien cultural expression – even that which uses the French language. Moreover, at least 100 Ivoirien viewers are not happy with their television system which they feel projects a foreign image. Nevertheless, the cultural priority is openness for the sake of modernization in the quest of the Ivoirien national identity.





The ubiquitous presence of foreign content on national television, the lack of ethnic linguistic expression through the medium and the absence of political commitment to local productions seem to be consistent with official cultural policy as articulated by President Houphouët-Boigny. The policy is one of complete openness and interdependence (though mutual dependence is never obvious). While the president believes that Ivoirien society must keep its traditions, it must be ready to sacrifice those that stand in the way of progress. Indeed, some traditions and values must be purified, transformed and even humanized by exogenous contact and thus open the way for rapid modernization. Clearly, the model for development expressed by the president appears to reflect the classic modernization paradigm and its vision for the role of mass media. Ivoirien viewers, therefore, need not be surprised that their television projects a foreign image. After all, they're being molded into that image.

There is no question that importing low-cost television programs from the West not only satisfies the medium's insatiable appetite for content and does so economically, but is also an accepted practice politically. Indeed, it would seem that rather than taking measures to resist or lessen the cultural impact of exogenous material, the Ivoirien government encourages the practice by providing both the material means and the philosophical rationale. And while the world economic structure and the powerful culture industries may bear some of the blame for flooding the market with culture products, governments, particularly those in full control of their media systems, bear the responsibility of accepting, rejecting or mediating the flow through policy and practice.

Appendix I

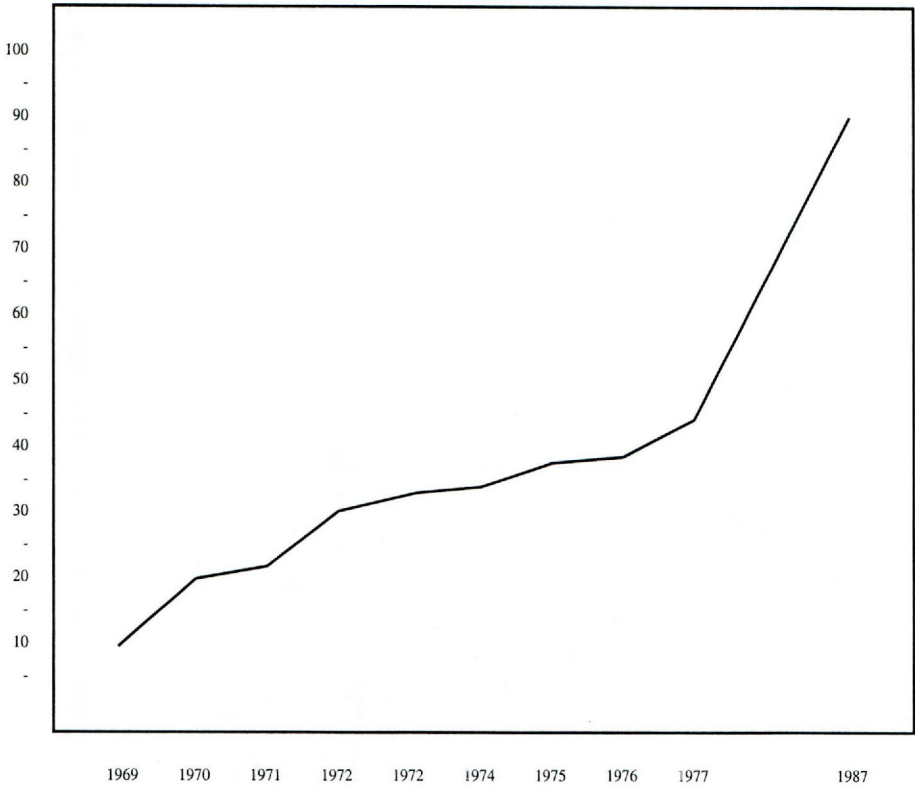


[Source: Télévision Ivoirienne, Réseaux de la Radio-Télévision Ivoirienne, 1988]

-  Zones covered by television signal
-  Transmitting Centers (13)
-  Delayed Broadcasting Stations (7)
-  Relay Stations

Appendix II

Expansion Of The Television Audience



[Data Source: Institut Ivoirien d'Opinion Publique, May 1987]

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BATTLE OF WARSAW, 1920: AN APPRAISAL

Dirk Lindemann

The Battle of Warsaw was the turning point of the Russo-Polish War of 1920; it was also one of the most decisive military encounters of the twentieth century. Yet the war and the battle have suffered a long period of relative neglect by historians. With the aid of recently published memoirs and monographs this paper will discuss the causes, events and results of the conflict and also attempt to discern why such a seemingly critical contest has not been given its proper due.

The year 1919 had officially heralded the end of the first world war as the Paris Peace Treaties had confirmed Allied victory over the German-led Central Powers. The treaties also helped establish a belt of new nation-states across Eastern Europe. Among these was a restored Poland which had been politically extinguished by its neighbors in the late eighteenth century. This new Poland, situated between Germany and Russia, was created on the foundation of established European middle class principals. It was run by individuals for whom the Catholic Church, private property, class interests and patriotism were the pillars of society. Poland's western boundaries were guaranteed by the Allied Powers through the Versailles Treaty, the recent peace imposed upon Germany. Former German lands that usually held Polish majorities were given to the new Poland. The Allies also attempted to fix Poland's western border with Russia, based on the Curzon Line, which roughly set the frontier on the river Bug. Yet beyond this river were peoples inhabiting a twilight zone between ethnographic Poland and ethnographic Russia. The Lithuanians occupied the northern borderlands, the Belorussians the central area, and the Ukrainians the southern regions. As the Poles and Russians had conflicting future plans for the borderlands, both nations quickly repudiated the Curzon Line. Consequently, after the Germans evacuated the eastern areas in 1919, Russo-Polish hostilities commenced with the spontaneous advance of their forces into the resultant vacuum.¹

The Poles and Russians had been ancient foes but there was currently a new and threatening dimension attached to the latter. The land to the east was now called Soviet Russia as the Bolsheviks had successfully taken control in late 1917 under the guidance of Vladimir Lenin and Leon Trotsky. Bolshevik Russia was founded upon Marxist ideals, ruled by a dictatorship and committed to abolishing middle class values and institutions. By the end of 1919, the Bolshevik Reds had defeated nearly all the Allied-sponsored counter-revolutionary forces, called the Whites, in the Civil War. The sole remaining White army had retreated to the Crimea under General Wrangle to regroup. During the Civil War Bolshevik probes into the borderlands initially had been successful. Yet by late 1919, Polish troops, in sporadic clashes, had successfully pushed the Reds back. The Russians then began delicate negotiations with the Poles over effecting a peace and fixing permanent boundary lines. In reality, however, the talks were nothing more than to give both sides time to resupply and rearm.²

¹The best comprehensive treatment on the Russo-Polish War in English is by Norman Davies, *White Eagle, Red Star: The Polish Russian War 1919-1920* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972). Regarding the Curzon Line see Harold Nicolson, *Curzon: The Last Phase, 1919-1925, A Study in Post-War Diplomacy* (London: Constable and Company, 1934), pp. 202-208.

²Piotr S. Wandycz, "Secret Soviet-Polish Peace Talks in 1919," *Slavic Review*, Vol. 24 (September, 1965), 425-449.

The Polish leader during these critical times was Joseph Pilsudski - a one-time Socialist, part-time journalist and full-time visionary. He was noted as a self-made politician-soldier of immense courage and considerable leadership abilities. A British official thought Pilsudski's countenance so striking as to be almost theatrical. Haughty in demeanor, suspicious by nature, he was also somewhat of an intriguer. Upon suddenly quitting the Socialist Party in 1918, Pilsudski remarked to his friends: "Comrades, I rode on the red painted tram car of Socialism as far as the stop called Polish Independence, but there I alight. You are free to drive on if you wish, but from now on, comrades, please address me as sir."³

The first legitimate Polish leader in nearly 130 years held nationalism rather than class struggle to be the principal force of his time. He viewed Lenin as a shadowy Muscovite who had conjured up a new universal creed to advance old imperialist designs. Pilsudski sought to counter Soviet expansion by organizing a federation among the multi-national peoples of the borderlands. He was convinced that, if given a free choice, the peoples of Lithuania, Belorussia and the Ukraine would willingly join a Polish-led Democratic Federation directed towards creating a new balance of forces strong enough to contain any future Russian drive to expand and dominate.⁴ While Pilsudski was busily formulating this ambitious program, Poland's most important allies, France and Britain, were divided over Polish policy. The French assured Poland full support and urged it to ignore Soviet peace offers. Meanwhile, British Prime Minister Lloyd-George regarded Pilsudski as a dangerous opportunist and ordered the Poles to make peace as soon as possible. It seems Britain and Soviet Russia were at the time negotiating a resumption of trade.⁵ Unsure of uniform Allied support and convinced that the Bolsheviks desired a peace "extracted by fists," Pilsudski was spurred to institute his federation scheme with a quick strike against the Russian-held Ukraine while the initiative was still his.⁶

History has confirmed Pilsudski's suspicions for the Soviet High Command had completed plans for an offensive by late February, 1920. The highly cerebral Bolshevik leader, Lenin, always the committed revolutionary, viewed Poland as an agent of the capitalist West and considered Pilsudski nothing more than a clumsy juggler of shattered worlds. In Lenin's grand design, the borderlands and ultimately Poland would become Russia's bridge to the West; the Red causeway that would link revolution in agrarian Russia to revolution in industrial Germany. He feared that his fragile Bolshevik state would not long survive in its isolated condition. It was therefore imperative to drive towards the industrial West and bring about proletarian solidarity, technological progress and finally world revolution. Poland, therefore, needed to be eradicated sooner rather than later.⁷

³Joseph Pilsudski, *Joseph Pilsudski: Memoirs of a Polish Revolutionary and Soldier*, trans. D.R. Gillie (London: Faber and Faber, 1931). See also Alexandra Pilsudski, *Pilsudski: A Biography by his Wife Alexandra* (New York: Arno Press, 1971).

⁴M.K. Dziewanowski, *Joseph Pilsudski: A European Federalist* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1969), pp. 192-194. See also Daniel Stone, ed., *The Polish Memoirs of William John Rose* (Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1975), pp. 102-103.

⁵Piotr S. Wandycz, *France and Her Eastern Allies, 1919-1925* (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1962), pp. 139-141. See also Titus Komarnicki, *Rebirth of the Polish Republic: A Study in the Diplomatic History of Europe, 1914-1920*. (Toronto: William Heinemann, 1957), pp. 589-590.

⁶Zygmunt J. Gasiorowski, "Joseph Pilsudski in the Light of American Reports, 1919-1922," *Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 49 (July, 1971), 425-436. See also Zygmunt J. Gasiorowski, *Joseph Pilsudski in the Light of British Reports*, " *Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 50 (October, 1972), 558-569.

⁷Jan M. Meijer, ed., *The Trotsky Papers, 1917-1922* (2 Vols.; Paris: Mouton, 1971), II, 75, 81. See also Stefan T. Possony, *Lenin: The Compulsive Revolutionary* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1964), pp. 307-308.

The ever deliberate Lenin prepared his assault against Poland on many fronts. It is important to realize that the most profound non-Marxist intellectual influence upon him was made by Karl von Clausewitz, The supreme theoretician of modern warfare. Lenin studied Clausewitz's classic work entitled *On War* incisively and annotated the book extensively. Using Clausewitz as his model, Lenin viewed warfare as a combination of military, economic, diplomatic and psychological activities. It was a grand strategy of caution and maneuver, not simply the conventional frontal assault.⁸ This approach can be clearly seen in his efforts against Poland. Militarily, he quietly began to concentrate massed forces for a quick blow. Economically he embarked on separating one of Poland's main allies, Britain, by discussing a resumption of Anglo-Russian trade. Diplomatically Lenin bombarded Poland and the West with disarming peace offers; and psychologically he conducted a large anti-capitalist propaganda campaign among the Polish workers and peasants in order to help subvert the State from within.⁹ This rather strange mix of Marx and Clausewitz was having its effect until Pilsudski decided to abruptly launch a preventive offensive in the Spring of 1920.

The Polish assault, on April 23, officially signaled the beginning of the Russo-Polish War. Given the advantage of surprise the attack was a great success. With minimal opposition the Polish army drove 100 miles into Russian-held territory and climaxed the campaign with the easy capture of Kiev, the Ukrainian capital. After hurriedly concluding a series of political and economic treaties with Ukrainian leaders, Pilsudski returned to his capital, Warsaw, for a grand triumphal reception. There standing on the banks of the Vistula, he declared, "Today the whole world has seen that Poland is no longer helpless."¹⁰ It seemed that Pilsudski's victory was secure and that his plan of territorial federation was working. The Polish leader, however, had failed to destroy the fleeing Russian army and his lines of communication were grossly overextended. More importantly Pilsudski would fail to win the support of the Ukrainian people. Simon Petlura, a former Ukrainian Socialist and journalist, was appointed to lead a caretaker government in Kiev, yet he could only muster negligible pro-Polish support.¹¹ Stated simply, most Ukrainians held to a well-deserved traditional mistrust of Poles and especially of Poland's political puppets.

On the Russian side the most significant result of the Ukraine offensive was stated by the "Father of the Red Army," Trotsky, who proclaimed that "The capture of Kiev by the Poles did us a great service; it awakened the country."¹² The threat of an age-old enemy attacking the Russian Fatherland ignited nationalist feelings especially among elements of the surviving middle class and many ex-Tsarist army officers. Thousands of these officers volunteered their services to the Red Army, including the famous World War I General and anti-

⁸V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, trans. Julius Katzer (38 Vols.; Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1966), XXXI, 168-180. See also J.F.C. Fuller, *The Conduct of War, 1789-1962* (New York: Rutgers University Press, 1961), p. 205.

⁹Leonard Schapiro and Peter Reddaway, eds., *Lenin: The Man, the Theorist, the Leader* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967), pp. 180-181.

¹⁰Rom Landau, *Pilsudski and Poland*, trans. Geoffrey Dunlop (New York: Dial Press, 1929), p. 170.

¹¹John S. Reshetar, Jr., *The Ukrainian Revolution, 1917-1920: A Study in Nationalism* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1952), pp. 299-310. A Polish-Ukrainian Treaty was also drafted stating that Poland was to receive concessions in Ukrainian phosphate and iron-ore mines, along with key ports and railways. All Polish concessions were to be covered by ninety-nine-year leases.

¹²Leon Trotsky, *My Life: An Attempt at an Autobiography* (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1930), p. 456.

Bolshevik Alexis Brusilov, who was appointed commander of a special military council. One high Bolshevik official noted that “it was a curious sign of the times when a Soviet War Commissar publicly lauded the ex-Tsarist commander in Chief to the applause of a Soviet gathering.”¹³ Lenin deftly exploited the sudden rise in national feeling yet stressed in his propaganda campaign that the war was of a class, not national, character. Slogans were always aimed against the Polish landowners, never the Polish people. But there were occasional oversights such as when one Bolshevik newspaper called for “the destruction’s of Poland and its inborn Jesuitism.”¹⁴ The contradictory though effective blend of Russian Nationalism and Bolshevik Internationalism was of enormous aid to Soviet policy. Having recently defeated the White armies and captured vast quantities of war material supplied by the West – including tanks, planes and artillery – the Soviet leaders felt confident over their planned counterattack in May. This optimism can be seen in Trotsky’s chilling boast to the world that his Red Army was “a new communist order of Samurai which knows how to die and teaches others to die for the cause of the working class.”¹⁵

The Russian forces planned to act upon two fronts: one in the north which focused on taking Warsaw, the other in the south aimed at liberating the Ukraine and then driving into south-eastern Poland. The May offensive in the north misfired, but a successful attack was launched on the southern front under General Budyonny and the Soviet First Cavalry Army. Semyon Budyonny was a self-made Cossack commander who made good on his reputation as a practitioner of speed and daring in campaigns. His army got into the rear of the Kiev front thus forcing the Poles to evacuate the Ukrainian capital on June 12. Budyonny’s forces then continued into southeastern Poland, running down everything in their way and putting a severe strain on Polish lines of communication. The word “Budyonny” soon became a terrifying and demoralizing sound in the ears of retreating Polish soldiers.¹⁶

While the First Cavalry Army was harassing the enemy behind its lines in the south, Red armies in the north were preparing for a formidable second offensive under the direction of General Mikhail Tukhachevsky. He was a twenty-seven-year-old former aristocrat who had amassed a spectacular string of victories in the Civil War. Tukhachevsky was described as being autocratic and superstitious by nature, ruthless by conviction and a romantic barbarian by instinct. He was also a remarkable commander who cast himself as the military champion of world revolution. Before ordering his grand attack, Tukhachevsky proclaimed to his troops, “Soldiers of the workers’ revolution, fix your glance toward the West. In the West will be decided the fate of the World Revolution. Across the corpse of White Poland lies the road to World Conflagration. On our bayonets we will carry happiness and peace to mankind!”¹⁷

¹³Victor Serge, *Memoirs of a Revolutionary, 1901-1941*, trans. Peter Sedgwick (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 100.

¹⁴Leon Trotsky, *How the Revolution Armed*, trans. Brian Pearce (4 Vols.; London: New Park Publications, 1981), III, 290. See also Isaac Deutscher, *The Prophet Armed, Trotsky: 1879-1921* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), pp. 460-461.

¹⁵Meijer, *Trotsky Papers*, II, pp. 161, 163, 165.

¹⁶Horst Leonhardt, “General Budyonny,” *Living Age*, Vol. 306 (September 4, 1920), 565-568. For Budyonny’s personal account of his military campaigns during the Russian Civil War see: Semyon Budyonny, *The Path of Valor* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1972). Budyonny’s First Cavalry Army consisted of 16,700 mounted men equipped with forty-eight cannon, five armored trains, eight armored automobiles and twelve airplanes.

¹⁷Thomas G. Butson, *The Tsar’s Lieutenant: The Soviet Marshall* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1984). See also Katriel Ben Aire, “M.N. Tukhachevskiy and the Theory of Civil War,” *East European Quarterly*, Vol. XV (January, 1982), 441-452.

The offensive in the North was launched on July 4, with four armies totaling over 400,000 men. The assault was spearheaded by shock troops called *Kavkor* under another young and aggressive commander, General *Ghai*. Over the next weeks, *Kavkor*, after seizing the initiative, was able to make repeated thrusts into the enemy's side, turn the Polish flank and drive them back towards *Warsaw*.¹⁸

Poland was soon reeling from the repeated piercing attacks north and south. Desperately in need of aid, *Pilsudski* sent a delegation to the Spa Conference in Belgium where the Allies were discussing the issue of German war reparations. The Polish officials declared that they would be ready to sign a peace treaty with the Soviets on reasonable terms, but asked the Allies for military aid and credits as well as for diplomatic support. The Western powers, led by *Lloyd-George*, countered with scoldings and sermons over Poland's "reckless military adventuresome." Moreover, they refused the Poles any military aid or credits and forced them to accept peace negotiations based on the *Curzon Line*.¹⁹ It is interesting to note that the British government at this time approached American officials over the notion of sending English volunteers and munitions to Poland if the U.S. agreed to defray part of Britain's massive World War I debt. Washington, however, politely declined the offer.²⁰ The Allies' only gesture of support was to send military and diplomatic observers to *Warsaw*, the most notable being the French World War I hero, General *Maxime Weygand*. Incidentally, another member of the French military mission was a rather obscure Captain named *Charles DeGaulle*, who was to earn a batch of medals for his gallantry in the coming action.²¹

On July 11, the British government dispatched a diplomatic note to *Moscow* proposing a settlement of the *Russo-Polish War* based on the *Curzon Line* and a conference in *London* to negotiate a peace treaty. *Lenin* viewed this "Curzon Note" as a sign of Allied weakness and replied to the British that he preferred direct negotiations with the Poles. He then ordered the *Red Army* to advance and cross the *Curzon Line*. The Russian response jolted the Allied statesmen into the realization that they would not be able to control the *Russo-Polish War* through mere decrees. *Lenin* therefore was gambling in expecting the swift military subjugation of all Poland, an uprising of the Polish workers, the communization of the country and the establishment of a position from which he might precipitate the revolutionary situation in *Germany*.²²

The *Curzon Line* was crossed on July 23, and General *Tukhachevsky* ordered that *Warsaw* be occupied by August 12 at the latest. *Pilsudski* was desperately attempting to orga-

¹⁸John Erickson, *The Soviet High Command. A Military-Political History, 1918-1941* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1962), pp. 95-98.

¹⁹Great Britain, Foreign Office, *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939*, Rohan Butler and J.P.T. Bury, eds. (First Series, 12 Vols.; London: H.M. Stationary Office, 1958), VIII, 502-506. Hereafter these diplomatic works will be cited as D.B.F.P. See also Major-General Sir C.E. Callwell, *Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, His life and Diaries* (2 Vols.; New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1927), II, 247-259.

²⁰United States Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States: 1920*, III (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1957), 386-387. hereafter these diplomatic volumes will be referred to as F.R.U.S.

²¹Jean Lacouture, *DeGaulle: The Rebel, 1890-1944*, trans. Patrick O'Brian (2Vols.; New York: W.W. Norton and Company), I, 56-60. On the diplomatic level the French sent Washington Ambassador M. Jusserand to *Warsaw* while the British sent their Berlin Ambassador Lord d'Albernon.

²²D.B.F.P., Series I. VIII, 651-661. See also F.R.U.S., 1920, III 392-393. Piotr Wandycz, *Soviet-Polish Relations, 1919-1921* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), pp. 200-202, 212-214.

nize a counter-offensive but the sites were always abandoned because of the lightning speed of Ghai's Kavkor. The Poles even brought up some heavy tanks but they proved useless. When they advanced, the Russians merely detoured and let them pass. In fact, Cossack cavalry, used to attack and capture, isolated tanks as a sort of sport.²³

As the Soviets continued to roll victoriously towards Warsaw, peoples across Europe were busily supporting the Russian war effort. British and French dock workers went on strike to impede supplies moving to Poland. The Lithuanians chose to assist the Russians after the Red Army bestowed upon them their liberated capital city of Vilnius. In Czechoslovakia the railway workers refused to operate trains carrying war supplies to Poland for ten crucial weeks. Finally, in the internationalized port city of Danzig, Poland's main link to the West, German dock workers went on strike and provoked anti-Polish riots.²⁴

Meanwhile throughout Germany radicals of the political left and right publicly hailed the Bolsheviks as their allies and saviors to the cynical amusement of Lenin. Even the commander of the German armed forces, General Hans von Seeckt, stated, "I refuse to support Poland even in the face of the danger that she may be swallowed up. On the contrary, I count on that."²⁵ The one-sided neutrality rested on the German belief that the chance for a massive roll-back of the whole structure of the reviled Versailles peace settlement had come within grasp with the anticipated defeat and collapse of Poland. Therefore, not surprisingly, Zeppelins were observed flying over Poland carrying telegraphic and medical supplies to Soviet Russia. In early July the Russians secretly ordered 400,000 rifles from Germany. In addition, later that month, a German general signed detailed instructions concerning air communications with the Red Army. In the words of one journalist: "With the Soviet onrush Germany was like dry tinder."²⁶ In effect during the summer of 1920, Europe was divided and incapable of a concerted effort against the driving Bolsheviks.

By early August the Red Army's advance appeared very impressive. Ghai's Kavkor was on the other side of Warsaw and within a ten-day's march from Berlin. Yet as the armies approached the capital, fighting became more intense, thus at once slowing the Red surge. The same occurred with Budyonny's Cavalry as it moved upon the city of Lwow in the south. Still, in Moscow a mood of exhilaration overcame the populace as phrases such as "Give us Warsaw" were written on walls and fences. In addition, the Congress of the Third International had assembled in Moscow in late June, and an outflow of revolutionary speeches soon followed. A large map was placed in the Congress Hall and every day the small red flags marking Red Army positions were moved triumphantly forward to the response of applause from the International Communist delegates – which included the American radical journalist John Reed.²⁷

²³Anonymous, "With the Retreating Bolsheviks," *Living Age*, Vol. 307 (November 6, 1920), 330-331.

²⁴F.R.U.S., 1920, III, 384, 390. See also E. Malcolm Carroll, *Soviet Communism and Western Opinion, 1919-1921* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965), pp. 104-108. Certain neighbors of Poland did give critical support and aid. Rumania permitted use of its rail lines and roads for the transport of war supplies to Poland. The Hungarians meanwhile put at the disposal of the Poles, its entire reserve of ammunition.

²⁵Gustav Hilger and Alfred G. Meyer, *The Incompatible Allies: A Memoir-History of German-Soviet Relations, 1918-1941* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1953), pp. 50-52. See also Harold von Riekhoff, *German-Polish Relations, 1918-1933*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971), pp. 28-31. E.H. Carr, *German-Soviet Relations between the Two World Wars, 1919-1939* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), pp. 34-38.

²⁶F.R.U.S., 1920, III, 388-389. See also Josef Korbel, *Poland between East and West: Soviet and German Diplomacy toward Poland, 1919-1933* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 89-91.

²⁷Jane Degras, ed., *The Communist International, 1919-1943 Documents* (2 Vols.; London: Oxford University Press, 1956), I, 110-111. See also Louis Fischer, *The Life of Lenin* (Evanston, Illinois: Harper and Row, 1964), pp. 394-395. Terence Emmons, ed., *Time of Troubles: The Diary of Iurii Vladimirovich Gote, Moscow July 8, 1917 to July 23, 1922* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), pp. 354-359, 364-369, 374-379.

All the celebration aside, it should be emphasized that during this war atrocities were commonplace. Russian commissars were routinely shot by the Poles, and the Bolsheviks just as routinely shot members of the Polish officer corps and cut the throats of landlords and priests. Both sides murdered Jews when they were not otherwise occupied killing each other. The Reds associated the Jews with bourgeoisie business and banking activities while the Poles viewed them as rootless opportunists who would readily act as agents of Communism. Many east European Jews would remember 1920 for the "summer that bled."²⁸

Poland had begun to tremble in the early summer months of 1920. Despair began to spread from the high command until it plagued the whole armed forces. Fear and panic seized the populace who were fleeing from the Red advance. Thousands of terrorized refugees swarmed the streets of Warsaw marching, singing and praying to God for deliverance. A series of labor strikes caused the government to launch a campaign of preventive arrests in mid-July, especially against Socialists, trade-unionists and Jews. On July 20, several working class districts were sealed off by the military and 600 people were arrested. In the country at large, approximately 3,000 citizens were arrested and sent to a prisoner-of-war camp. At the same time Pilsudski's many political enemies were publicly attacking him for military incompetence.²⁹

To counter the war hysteria a new coalition government was formed on July 24. A Council of National Defense also was created vested with full powers in all matters relating to war and peace; Pilsudski was chosen as chairman. The new government quickly restored peoples' faith in the leadership. Volunteers signed up for duty by the tens of thousands. Worker battalions and a fighting legion of women were formed. Some women, in fact, voluntarily joined their husbands in the trenches. Businessmen and aristocrats organized military units at their own expense. Jews became busy setting up barbed wire around Warsaw while peasants dug trenches. To the chagrin of Lenin, Poland's class and political divisions were forgotten in the face of a common enemy.³⁰

At the same time Polish diplomats were busily attempting to arrange armistice negotiations. The two sides finally met on July 30, at Minsk, and the Bolsheviks laid down conditions for a peace that would have transformed Poland into a Soviet satellite. Lloyd-George announced that regardless of the circumstances, he would not get in a war with Russia. Not being privy to the full text of the Russian terms, he urged the Poles to accept the peace proposal despite the protests of Secretary of War Winston Churchill and the French. Churchill lamented that the Allies "had nothing left but words and gestures."³¹ The Polish government naturally rejected the Soviet terms and decided that it was no longer interested in Allied advice.

²⁸Norman Davies, "Izaak Babel's Konarmiya Stories, and the Polish-Soviet War," *Modern Languages Review*, Vol. XXIII (1972), 845-857. See also Angelica Balabanoff, *My Life as a Rebel* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1973), pp. 234-235.

²⁹F.R.U.S., 1920, III, 384-386. See also Adrian Carton DeWiart, *Happy Odyssey* (London: Jonthan Cape, 1950), pp. 104-109. Count Alexander Skrzyński, *Poland and Peace* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1923), pp. 45-46.

³⁰Michael Tarnowski, *Polish Portraits: An Autobiography* (New York: Joseph Okpaku Publishing Company, 1972), p. 120. See also Davies, *White Eagle*, pp. 162-164.

³¹Winston S. Churchill, *The Aftermath* (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1929), pp. 273-283. At this critical time Churchill was nearly obsessed in stopping the advance of what he called "the international Soviet of the Russian and Polish Jew." Winston S. Churchill, *Churchill, His Complete Speeches, 1897-1963* (8 Vols.; New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1974), III, 2929. See also D.B.F.P., Series I, VIII, 742. Louis Fischer, *The Soviets in World Affairs: A History of the Relations Between the Soviet Union and the Rest of the World, 1917-1929* (2 Vols.; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), I, 266-268.

On the battle front Polish forces had now been driven back for six continuous weeks at an average rate of ten miles a day. By August 14, Russian troops had reached the northeastern suburbs of Warsaw. The roar of enemy guns heard in the streets of the capital caused most of the diplomatic corps to flee. With three of his armies now situated north of Warsaw, Tukhachevsky planned a broad maneuver which would result in the envelopment of the city from the north while the remaining army would strike from the east.³² But at the very moment when the Reds were pausing to deliver the final blow, the Polish army was being regrouped for an operation of daring complexity. Pilsudski had noticed a small gap in the over-extended Russian lines to the southeast. A small Soviet force was positioned there to hold together the Russian northern and southern fronts. Quickly grasping the possibilities in piercing this thinly covered line, the Polish leader pulled five of his elite divisions from the Warsaw defenses and moved them southward to new positions one to two hundred miles distant. There he organized them into a strong and mobile assault force. Then on August 16, while the ten remaining Polish divisions stood their ground to beat back waves of attacks before Warsaw, Pilsudski's shock force burst through the southern gap and sliced through the Russian rear, severing all lines of communications and causing complete disorganization. This flanking counter-thrust soon led to the destruction of the Red Army assaulting Warsaw from the east and ultimately cut off the Russian forces in the north. By August 20, the Battle of Warsaw had become a rout as tens of thousands of Red troops went streaming back toward the Curzon line. Ghai's Kavkor had outrun its supply line, become isolated and fled to safety across the German border.³³ Meanwhile in the south Budyonny's Cavalry Army was forced to abandon its attack on Lwow and join in the hasty retreat. A small all-volunteer American air force, the "Kosciuszko Squadron," played a critical role in driving back Budyonny's once invincible army.³⁴

Thus occurred the "Miracle on the Vistula." The Soviet armies had not only been repulsed before the gates of Warsaw but had also been put in full flight. Of the five invading armies, "one had ceased to exist, two were decimated, and two were severely mauled." At least one hundred thousand Russian soldiers were lost in one way or another. Captured Red soldiers were often caught without shoes; asked why, they replied that they ran better when barefoot. Pilsudski immediately followed up the victory by relentlessly pursuing the shattered enemy armies. Polish peasants, armed with scythes and cudgels, made short work of many Russian stragglers. By early October the Poles had regained almost all their recently lost lands and forced the Bolsheviks to sign an armistice.³⁵ The resulting Treaty of Riga on

³²Viscount Edgar Vincent d'Albernon, *The Eighteenth Decisive Battle of the World* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1931), pp. 82-83.

³³Joseph Pilsudski, *Year 1920 and Its Climax: The Battle of Warsaw during the Polish-Soviet War, 1919-1920* (New York: Pilsudski Institute, 1972) The work gives Pilsudski's personal account of the "Battle of Warsaw," in rebuttal to that of Tukhachevsky's version—also printed in the same volume. See also d'Albernon, *The Eighteenth Decisive Battle*, pp. 79-86. It is interesting to note that Tukhachevsky came into possession of Pilsudski's battle plans before the attack but ignored them for he thought they were a Polish ruse. See Dziewanowski, *Joseph Pilsudski*, p. 303.

³⁴Robert F. Karolevitz and Ross S. Fenn, *Flight of Eagles: The Story of the American Kosciuszko Squadron in the Polish-Russian War, 1919-1920* (Sioux Falls, S.D.: Brevet, 1974). Another key factor for the defeat of the Soviet forces was that Poland had previously broken the enemy's military code and thus had the advantage of anticipation. Judith Hare (Countess of Listowel), *Crusader in the Secret War* (London: Christopher Johnson, 1952), pp. 32-37.

³⁵Horst Leonhardt, "The Russian Debacle," *Living Age*, Vol. 307 (October 16, 1920), 149-153. In the words of one Soviet officer "the retreat was utter chaos... Transport, fighting troops, staffs, and all the various arms became involved in inextricable confusion... We marched on ignorant, especially when darkness fell, of where we were going... The country was hostile and devastated." Alexander Barmine, *Memoirs of a Soviet Diplomat: Twenty years in the Service of the USSR*, trans. Gerard Hopkins (Westport, CT.: Hyperion Press, 1973), pp. 101-102.

March 18, 1921, officially confirmed the Russian defeat as the Poles gained 100,000 square miles east of the Curzon Line, including an additional four million people; only 25 percent, however, were of Polish nationality. In essence the treaty put a permanent end to Pilsudski's federation dreams. Nonetheless, the Russo-Polish conflict became the only major war lost by the Soviets in the twentieth century.³⁶

Yet the Battle of Warsaw was soon enmeshed in controversy among both the victors and the vanquished. Curiously, it was not Pilsudski who gained the major share of the credit for devising the battle plans that saved the capital. Instead Britain and France acknowledged General Weygand, the French military adviser, as the architect of the victory. Western leaders concluded that no mere Polish political schemer could have planned out such a bold and sophisticated maneuver. The Weygand factor was also promoted by Pilsudski's political enemies. But in reality Weygand's personal relations with Pilsudski were strained from the beginning and his advice was usually disregarded. Not until some fifteen years ago was the long-held Weygand myth shattered when select scholars proved conclusively that the military mastermind of Warsaw was Pilsudski.³⁷

On the other side the Warsaw debacle led to a round of accusations of blame among top Soviet leaders. On the military level it seems Tukhachevsky must shoulder most of the blame. He had simply staked everything on one gigantic gamble and taken no precautions against a flanking counterattack. But on August 13, days before the battle, the Russian commander had given orders to General Budyonny to discontinue his siege of Lwow and to link up with the northern armies for the Warsaw strike. At the same time, it was hoped that this maneuver would protect Tukhachevsky's thinly protected southern flank. But Budyonny's force would never reach Warsaw for the political commissar on the southern front refused to sign the marching orders - his name was Joseph Stalin. He was, even at this time, an ambitious and ruthless leader who sought to secure his own military glory by taking Lwow at any cost. Stalin's uncooperative behavior was also due to not wanting to expose his rear to a potential attack from Wrangle's White Army, which at this time was very active in south Russia. As a result of Stalin's disobedience, Pilsudski had the necessary time and freedom of movement to launch his fatal blow. Stalin's defiance constituted a blatant act of insubordination, yet his only punishment was to be quietly relieved as commissar of the disintegrating southern front. Nonetheless, he was publicly attacked by many Bolshevik leaders including Trotsky and Tukhachevsky.³⁸ Stalin eventually had the last word, however, when he had all his former critics liquidated during the purges of the 1930's. At bottom the individual most responsible for the Warsaw setback was Lenin as he set the great gamble in motion while overestimating the lure of revolution and the abilities of his Red Army. Still, he accepted the defeat with surprising grace, calling the Polish affair "a

³⁶Jane Degras, ed., *Soviet Documents on Foreign Policy, 1917-1941* (3 Vols.; London: Oxford University Press, 1951-1953), I, 242-244. See also Dziwianowski, *Joseph Pilsudski*, pp. 323-325.

³⁷Piotr S. Wandycz, "General Weygand and the Battle of Warsaw," *Journal of Central European Affairs* (January, 1960), 134-151. See also General Maxime Weygand, *Memoirs: Mirages et realities*, 3 Vols.; (Paris; 1957), II, 80-171. In his memoirs, Weygand denies that he formulated the battle plan before the gates of Warsaw. He gives the proper credit to Pilsudski and his staff.

³⁸Joseph Stalin, *J.V. Stalin: Works, November 1917-1920* (16 Vols.; Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1953), IV, 348-353. See also Leon Trotsky, *Stalin: An Appraisal of the Man and His Influence*, trans. Charles Malamuth (New York: Stein and Day, 1967), pp. 327-333. Lenin later exclaimed: "Who on earth would want to get to Warsaw by going through Lwow!" See Adam B. Ulam, *Stalin: The Man and His Era* (New York: Viking Press, 1973), p. 189.

miscalculation.”³⁹

Pilsudski's victory, however, was something far more than only a Polish historical episode. The war largely determined the course of European History for the next twenty years. Polish victory caused the whole Versailles peace system to be maintained so punishment of the Germans could continue without further interruption. The odious “Diktat” in turn soon would help foster the rise and ultimate victory of German Fascism.⁴⁰ And because Revolutionary Russia's first attempt to export the communist system through force failed, it was obliged to retreat into isolation and eventual Stalinism.⁴¹ The Allied attitude of supporting the Poles in word but not in deed (which would be repeated) planted the seeds of Polish wariness towards the West. Moreover, Poland's heroic effort gave the nation a false sense of security, believing it could repulse future attacks from any of its neighbors. Indeed the gallant Polish cavalry became the backbone of the army.⁴² This military posture was to have fatal consequences in the mechanized warfare of World War II.

But in the even larger picture, The Battle of Warsaw saved eastern and central Europe from almost certain Communist penetration and control - for a while. Throughout the summer of 1920, unstable governments were in perpetual crises, a militant proletariat was poised for action in Germany, and the Western Democracies had demonstrated an unmistakable lack of will and unity. Had the Red banner been implanted alongside the Rhine, the fall of Paris and much of Western Civilization may not have been far behind.

The “Miracle on the Vistula,” then, ranks as one of the decisive battles of modern times. Yet over the years it has not gained the proper recognition it deserves. There are various reasons for this historical slight. Until recently the war and battle have suffered from the inaccessibility of trustworthy sources. Political and ideological sensitivities have long kept the Russian archives closed and access to Polish records limited. Consequently, early accounts usually held to a polemical bent. Soviet historians not wanting to dwell on past failures have down-played the war as a minor episode in the final stage of the Russian Civil War. Meanwhile Polish scholars have long avoided reviving memories of Poland's brief independence for fear of promoting nationalism and offending the Soviet Union.⁴³ With the seeming end of the Cold War, it is hoped that these narrow attitudes will soon pass.

Western historians meanwhile have usually followed the Russian line of de-emphasis and viewed the war as nothing but an enormous Slavic brawl. In any case they concluded that had Poland and Germany fallen to the Bolsheviks, French and British military intervention would certainly have made a ripple out of the great Red wave.⁴⁴ Yet these same Allied nations had recently suffered millions of casualties in the First World War and were

³⁹Clara Zetkin, *Reminiscences of Lenin* (London: Modern Books, 1929), pp. 18-23. See also Louis Fischer, *The Life of Lenin* (Evanston: Harper and Row, 1964), pp. 395-398.

⁴⁰Korbel, *Poland Between East and West*, pp. 92-93. Davies, *White Eagle*, pp. 270-272.

⁴¹Warren Lerner, “Poland in 1920: A Case Study in Foreign Policy Decision Making Under Lenin,” *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Vol. 72 (Summer, 1973), 406-414.

⁴²Jan Karski, *The Great Powers and Poland, 1919-1945: From Versailles to Yalta* (New York: University Press of America, 1985), pp. 47-62.

⁴³*History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1951), pp. 370-372.

⁴⁴Adam B. Ulam, *Expansion and Coexistence: The History of Soviet Foreign Policy, 1917-1967* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1968), p. 109.

longing for a period of peace and recovery. In 1920 the will to fight was not with the West.

Finally, there exist long held feelings of cultural prejudice against the Poles in many Western European circles. The reasoning goes that no group of prideful Slavs living on the fringe of Western Civilization, with one foot in the East and the other in the West, deserves recognition for possibly saving that same high civilization. And to accept the view that within a period of two and one-half years the Americans had rescued the once mighty European Democracies from the German Huns while the Poles saved them from the Russian Reds would have been fatal to Europe's many and long-held pretensions. These Europeans could not afford to ignore the American impact, but the Poles, inhabiting an artificially begotten state and subject to repeated Western vilification, were another matter; they and their roll were allowed to simply fade away. With the approaching end of the twentieth century, it is hoped that the Poles and the Battle of Warsaw shall now get their proper due for helping shape this tumultuous century. It is time for this particular long-running and unfair Polish quip to have run its course.

SYMBOLISM IN KEYBOARD MUSIC

Ruth Morrow

This paper focuses on symbolism in keyboard music with examples drawn from 19th and 20th century piano literature. It will first be necessary to grasp a common understanding of the meaning, or at least definition, of symbolism. *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* defines symbolism as

artistic imitation or invention that is not an end in itself but a method of revealing or suggesting immaterial, ideal, or otherwise intangible truth or states and ranges in form from the allegorization of nature or life to the presentation of ideas, emotions, or states of mind through concatenations of sound (as in music or poetry), arrangements of lines and planes (as in painting or sculpture), or contrasts or blendings of color (as in painting) (2316).

We can further distinguish between symbol and allegory following Goethe's lead:

Allegory changes a phenomenon into a concept, a concept into an image, [while symbolism] changes the phenomenon into the idea, the idea into the image, in such a way that the idea remains always infinitely active and unapproachable in the image, and will remain inexpressible even though expressed in all languages" (Wiener, Vol IV 338).

Music of any sort is not self-expression but expression of emotive truths clothed in logical forms and progressions. The language of music itself bypasses the rational, and, in doing so, creates the general from the specific. From composition through the performer's interpretation to the perceptions of each individual audience member, music, and in particular non-verbal music, allows communication of expressive insight in an anonymous and often indeterminate realm. Extrapolating from the writings of the late-19th-century German composer Richard Wagner, Susanne Langer states that

...music is not self-expression, but *formulation* and *representation* of emotions, moods, mental tensions and resolutions – a "logical picture" of sentient, responsive life, a source of insight, not a plea for sympathy. Feelings revealed in music are essentially not "the passion, love or longing of such-and-such an individual," inviting us to put ourselves in that individual's place, but are presented directly to our understanding, that we may grasp, realize, comprehend these feelings, without pretending to have them or imputing them to anyone else. Just as words can describe events we have not witnessed, places and things we have not seen, so music can present emotions and moods we have not felt, passions we did not know before. Its subject-matter is the same as that of "self-expression," and its symbols may even be borrowed, on occasion, from the realm of expressive symptoms; yet the borrowed suggestive elements are *formal-*

ized, and the subject-matter “distanced” in an artistic perspective.

The content has been *symbolized* for us, and what it invites is not emotional response, but *insight*. “Psychical Distance” is simply the experience of apprehending through a symbol what was not articulated before. The content of art is always real; the mode of its presentation, whereby it is at once revealed and “distanced,” may be a fiction. It may also be music, or, as in the dance, motion. But if the content be the life of feeling, impulse, passion, then the symbols which reveal it will not be the sounds or actions that normally would express this life; not associated signs, but *symbolic forms* must convey it to our understanding (222-224).

A contrast must be made between symbolism, creating the general from the specific, and representation, creating the specific in another mode of communication. Representation attempts to embody literal meaning, to assign a specific and yet more generalized response to only one aspect of the object represented, such as birds from musical intonations depicting bird calls. Symbolism, as has been shown, needs no object for its communicative intent, and does not need response but insight. That this insight may carry with it some sort of emotional response is secondary, for what many of us ascribe as response is personal to us as individuals: therefore, the music has symbolized something indeterminate in our own emotional make-up, not a feeling of sympathy or suffering from the composer. Even when we may identify with the feelings out of which a particular composition arose, listening to such music allows us insight into our own emotional needs and struggles far more than it moves us to pity for the composer perhaps in a similar situation.

We all have had friends leave, and have wondered whether we would ever see them again. Such was the circumstance that prompted Ludwig van Beethoven to compose his *Sonata in E-flat Major*, Op. 81a. Donald Tovey has written:

It is with the emotions of parting, absence, and reunion of such friends, and with no external circumstances, that this sonata deals. Nothing in it would lead us to suggest that while Beethoven’s friend was absent (with the rest of the royal family) Vienna was being attacked by Napoleon’s forces, and that Beethoven’s chief anxiety during the bombardment was to spare the last remains of his rapidly failing hearing. ...

All that he chose to tell of these terrible days in his music was that he had said farewell to a dear friend and that he was longing for the friend’s return. For that return he waited, and wrote not a note of the music for it until the happy time had really come (188-189).

Beethoven dedicated the Sonata, Op. 81a, to the Archduke Rudolph of Vienna. On the manuscript he wrote, “Farewell, Vienna, May 4, 1809, the day of the departure of the venerated Archduke Rudolph” (McKinney and Anderson 536). Though the sonata is generally known by the French title, “Les adieux,” Kirby affirms that “Beethoven, insisting on the German “Das Lebewohl,” stated that one says “Lebe wohl!” to a single person but “adieu” to assemblies and whole towns; in character, therefore, the sonata is rather intimate” (219).

Beethoven departed from common objective practice of the Classic period that identified movements in a larger piece by tempo indication alone by titling each movement of the Sonata, Op. 81a, to depict part of the Archduke's absence: leaving, absence and return. The first movement opens with a falling third in a slow introduction, underscored with the words, "Lebe wohl." The movement is entirely monothematic, deriving all thematic material from this falling third. Charles Rosen maintains:

The surface of the whole movement is conceived in terms of the transformation of the motif. Everything that takes place in the harmonic structure finds a response in the treatment of the motif in accent and rhythm (186).

The last note of the falling third, E-flat itself, does not cadence into E-flat major until the end of the recapitulation, then reaffirmed with seemingly endless finality in the extensive coda.

The Brahms *Ballade in D Minor*, Op. 10 no. 1, is the most programmatic piece discussed in this paper. Following a Scottish narrative translated into German by Herder, Brahms created a short yet powerful character piece, titling it "Edward" after the name of the original narrative. In the narrative, a son comes home with blood on his shirt. When questioned by his mother concerning his appearance, he initially avoids the issue, giving her false answers. When he eventually states the truth, that he has slain his father, his mother is understandably upset. Overcome with remorse, the son realizes that he must send himself into exile, never to return to his home (Kirby 332).

Does the Brahms musical Ballade follow the narrative structure of the original ballade? Some think so, and spend pages comparing the strophic nature of the music with that of the verse (Kirby 332; Mies 225-32). Do the formal similarities aid us as listeners in ascertaining the musical intent? I think not. Knowledge of the subject matter does, however, play a part in the symbolic processes at work: this knowledge can guide our understanding of the powerful emotions being presented without predisposing a specific emotional response.

The music of Claude Debussy is most associated with the visual medium of impressionism, a term and association that Debussy himself categorically denied. Were he to be allied with any artistic movement, Debussy considered himself a "symbolist," a part of that literary movement that wished "to evoke in a deliberate shadow the unmentioned object in illusive words" (s.v. "Symbolism" in *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*) Debussy shadowed his intent best in the Preludes, giving each not a title but rather a "sous title," coming at the end of the piece instead of before, so that the audience might find the image through the music instead of predispose the music to fit the image.

Debussy's intent was to be external and objective, to give not a human interpretation but rather a musical equivalent. The French pianist Alfred Cortot has written:

Rather than work on our feelings by the poignancy of personal emotion, rather than create a tone-architecture of lovely line and form whose

chaste restraint will suffice to satisfy us, he contrives, in a hidden sensuousness of linked chords, in the sinewy throb of a rhythm or the sudden mystery of a silence, to let fly this secret arrow whose delicious, subtle poison drugs us, almost without our realizing it, into the sensation which he deliberately intended; and we experience it as intensely as in actual reality (7-8).

“Voiles” (*Preludes*, Book I, number 2) has a double denotation in the French language, meaning “veils” or “sails.” Though the Prelude has been almost universally thought of as “sails,” the composition may be heard as suggesting either title. Debussy, alone of the composers discussed here, did not attempt to fashion through music a symbolic statement. It is rather in his compositional procedure for “Voiles” that we may discuss the symbolism: the layers of musical material which weave in and out of one another like so many waves on the ocean or veils in the breeze. Three main ideas are presented at the outset of the Prelude: two melodies using the whole tone scale and a pedal point on contra B-flat. Other less pervasive melodies and ostinato ideas come and go, interspersed and intermingled with the three main ideas. The Prelude does not end with any traditional sense of closure; rather, the sounds die away as though continuing out of any range of human hearing.

Modest Mussorgsky was an amateur musician, making his living through minor government posts. As a musician and composer he did not seek to create beautiful music, but rather through music to convey “artistic truth.” During the last year of his life, Mussorgsky wrote an autobiographical sketch in which he outlined his artistic beliefs. Art should not be an end in itself, he said, but a means of communication. As verbal speech is controlled by certain musical laws, music contains certain elements of speech. Both languages are capable of expressing human emotions. A composer should aim at communication of truth, should avoid striving for mere beauty or external polish, and should speak to and for masses of people.

What truths was Mussorgsky wanting to communicate? As a minor government official, Mussorgsky was not a member of the elite social structure. A member of a small landholding family, he had peasant blood, his paternal grandmother having been a serf. He was well acquainted in childhood with Russian fairy tales, and improvised musically upon such images from an early age. It was this earthy and perhaps primitive spirit of life that Mussorgsky held as artistic truth.

Pictures at an Exhibition was composed as a tribute to Victor Hartmann, an architect and ornamentalist who had been a close friend of Mussorgsky’s before his untimely death in 1873. A posthumous exhibition of Hartmann’s works at the St. Petersburg Academy of Arts in February-March of 1874 served as Mussorgsky’s inspiration for the musical composition, which was completed within a few months of the opening of the Hartmann exhibit. The artistic beliefs that the two men held in common propelled Mussorgsky to broaden and deepen Hartmann’s specific visual images into a broad evocation of human experience.

Each piece in the cycle of *Pictures at an Exhibition* was chosen to correspond to a specific drawing or watercolor by Hartmann. Included were depictions of life in other countries, portraits of people, landscapes with ruins or monuments, and so on. Mussorgsky also incorporated works from Hartmann’s other genres, such as Christmas ornaments, clocks and theatrical costumes. Fantastic elements had their place as well: Russian fairy tales of

the witch Baba Yaga and a sketch for a gate for the city of Kiev to commemorate the Russian people had their place within the larger musical work.

Most commentators on *Pictures at an Exhibition* stop at this representational level, leaving Mussorgsky's artistic beliefs out of the picture. Those who do discuss the cycle in relation to Mussorgsky's beliefs usually do so on a compositional level, citing his uneducated compositional skills as having freed him from traditional doctrines of music.

Yet idiosyncratic compositional skills alone would not suffice to explain the symbolic content of *Pictures at an Exhibition*. The truth and the spirit of truth to which Mussorgsky strove comes from what he wrote, not the manner in which it was written. In an introduction to the facsimile edition of *Pictures at an Exhibition*, Emilia Fried wrote:

Always eager to present life "whatever its manifestations," Mussorgsky availed himself of the opportunity for unfolding a broad panorama of reality. ...To emphasize the multiformity of life's phenomena treated here, Mussorgsky resorted to unexpected contrasts and abrupt shifts. He put side by side gaiety and grief, humor and tragedy, mixing most varied national characteristics, with the Russian element predominating and unifying the whole (Introduction to the facsimile edition: Modest Mussorgsky's *Pictures at an Exhibition*).

With so many divergent views of life, what holds the work together as a cycle? Mussorgsky added one element of his own creation to the work: the *Promenade*. Beginning the cycle, appearing four times in varied form as interludes and incorporated into *Con mortuis in lingua mortua* and *The Great Gate of Kiev*, the *Promenade* functions as the thread which ties all seemingly disparate parts of life together. Fried states that Mussorgsky

was obsessed with the idea of laying bare the inner ties existing between outwardly disconnected things and phenomena, of revealing the common idea behind life's panorama unfolded before the onlooker....As the cycle progresses the theme reveals to the listener now one of its aspects, now another, appearing as the expression of man's thoughts and feelings in the face of grand and petty, awe-inspiring and pleasing phenomena, or as a symbol of the exalted idea of the national genius. (Ibid.)

Can we, as non-Russian people, grasp the significance of this work? We may not immediately connect various folk tunes with their original counterparts, yet the "artistic truths" which Mussorgsky sought to maintain speak universally, without the need for external connection. His artistic truth was and is an inner truth, speaking directly to the human heart.

It is always difficult to verbalize the symbolism of music, for such symbolism and communication exist specifically in those human regions where speech and logic do not necessarily reign supreme. Langer has said:

The great power of music lies in the fact that it can be "true" to the life of feeling in such a way that language cannot; for its significant forms have that *ambivalence* of content which words cannot have....Music is

revealing, where words are obscuring, because it can have not only a content, but a transient play of contents. It can articulate feelings without becoming wedded to them (243-44).

As the complete final proposition to his *Tractatus Logico-philosophicus*, Ludwig Wittgenstein wrote:

What we cannot speak about we must pass over in silence (151).

Perhaps music fills the gap between logic and the unspeakable.

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**RE-FIGURING REVELATION:
D.H. LAWRENCE, THOMAS MANN, AND HERMANN BROCH**

Evans Lansing Smith

Apocalypse means “uncovering” or “unveiling” (from *apo*, from or away, and *kalupto*, to cover) and carries the connotations of “doom” and “revelation.” The Book of Revelation combines this dual sense of an ending: the end as the destruction of the world, and the end as the revelation of its ultimate form and meaning. D.H. Lawrence, Thomas Mann, and Hermann Broch use this dual meaning in works which conflate the myth of apocalypse with the myth of the descent into Hades. Both myths proceed through annihilation to the revelation of those fundamental ideas and images which give shape and significance to life and art.¹ Such ideas (which Broch calls “crystalline archetypes”) become the basis for the recreation of the individual (ontogenesis), the world (cosmogogenesis), and the work of art (poesis).

Lawrence wrote his commentary on a new edition of *The Revelation of St. John* during the last months of his life between November 1929 and January 1930, as he was dying of tuberculosis. In the year preceding, he had suffered recurring indignities at the hands of the British authorities, who determined it proper to raid an exhibition of his paintings in London, and to confiscate a manuscript of his poems from the mail (Kalnins 174). As we will see in what follows, this complex of personal crisis and political persecution will set the pattern for the composition of several important Modernist refigurations of apocalypse.

There are four basic themes that emerge during the course of Lawrence’s commentary: that Revelation reflects a frustrated power urge among the oppressed masses; that pagan levels of symbolism lie beneath its conventional rhetoric of apocalyptic literature; that these pagan symbols reflect a mythological way of thinking through images; and that the reversion to these pagan levels of the mind exhilarates deep emotional centers and reconnects us with the cosmos. The book is therefore an odd mixture of a longing for doom and annihilation, and a revelation of the fundamental elements of creation which make renewal possible.

Lawrence’s sense of a “will to a strange kind of power” among the early Christian communities, who “had a will to destroy all power, and so usurp themselves the final, the ultimate power” (15) shows the influence of Nietzsche, who described Revelation as “the most rabid outburst of vindictiveness in all recorded history” (185).² Nevertheless, Lawrence concludes that “It is repellent only because it resounds with the dangerous snarl of the *frustrated, suppressed* collective self, the frustrated power-spirit in man, vengeful. But it contains also some revelation of the true and positive Power-spirit” (18).

This positive impulse of Revelation comes primarily through its use of pagan symbols and imagistic thinking, an ancient knowledge “based not on words but on images” and

¹James Hillman suggests a relationship between Hades (*aidoneus*) and *eidōs*, “the ideas that form and shape life” (51). For a thorough study of the descent to the underworld as a revelation of such informing archetypes in Lawrence and the other writers discussed in this essay, see my *Rape and Revelation: The Descent to the Underworld in Modernism*.

²See John Burt Foster Jr., whose fine study of Nietzsche’s impact on literary modernism includes chapters on Lawrence, Thomas Mann, and Andre Gide, who wrote of the “apocalypse of humanity” in *The Walnut Trees* (qtd: 314).

symbols which are “not logical but emotional” (42). Consequently, Lawrence theorizes that “the Apocalypse is still in its movement, one of the works of the old pagan civilization, and in it we have, not the modern process of progressive thought, but the old pagan process of rotary image-thought. Every image fulfills its own little cycle of action and meaning, then is superseded by another image” (46). The true images of pagan thinking defy all allegorical explanation, which kills the symbol by fixing the meaning: “Allegory can always be explained; and explained away. The true symbol defies all explanation; so does the true myth. You can give meanings to either – you will never explain them away. Because symbol and myth do not affect us only mentally, they move deep emotional centres everytime” (101). To reach a hope for renewal, Lawrence argues, we must as Moderns revert to these deeper levels of mythical thinking, to “the great old symbols, that take us far back into time, into the pagan vistas” of “archaic reminiscence” (28).

With such images, “neither spiritual, nor moral, but cosmic and vital” (31), Revelation abounds, and that constitutes its central interest and importance for Lawrence, who writes as a comparative mythologist. Among the images from Apocalypse most appealing to Lawrence for their roots in the mythic past of “archaic reminiscence” we should include the vision of Christ enthroned in the heavens and surrounded by the four symbols of the evangelists, the “woman clothed with the sun” who figures the Virgin Mary, her antithesis the Scarlet Whore of Babylon and the Dragon she rides upon, and, finally, the cycles of seven disasters announced by the opening of the seals and the blowing of the trumpets, which Lawrence relates to the mythic ritual of the descent into the underworld. In each case, Lawrence wishes to uncover the “deeper, older, darker levels of religious consciousness” (70) beneath the polemic of apocalyptic discourse.

To begin with the vision of Jesus as what the mythologists call the Lord of the Four Quarters, a universal archetype of *world*, not simply of Christian myth: Lawrence speculates that “To John of Patmos, the Lord is *Kosmokrator* and even *Kosmodynamos*: the great ruler of the Cosmos, and the Power of the Cosmos” (20). In the visions of Daniel and Ezekiel,

It is a vast Cosmic lord, standing among the seven eternal lamps of the archaic planets, sun and moon and five great stars around his feet. In the sky his gleaming head is in the north, the sacred region of the Pole, and he holds in his right hand the seven stars of the Bear, that we call the Plough, and he wheels them round the Pole star, as even now we see them wheel, causing the universal revolution of the heavens, the roundwise moving of the cosmos. (19-20)

Similarly, the vision of Jesus with the “four Creatures of the four quarters of the heavens, winged and starry” reflects Anaximander’s wheels, the star lore of Chaldean cosmology (31), and the Greek theory of the “Four Elements” (93) as much as it stands for an allegory of Jesus and the four evangelists of the New Testament (31). In fact, Lawrence laments the “degradation or personification of [the] great old concept” of a central axis surrounded by four cardinal points in these terms:

So the four great elemental creatures became subordinate, they surround the central supreme unit, and their wings cover all space. Later still, they are turned from vast and living elements into beasts or Creatures of Cherubim – it is a process of degradation – and given the four elemental or cosmic natures of man, lion, bull, and eagle. In Ezekiel, each of the creatures is all four at once, with a different face

looking in each direction. But in the Apocalypse each beast has its own face. And as the cosmic idea dwindled, we get the four cosmic natures of the four Creatures applied first to the great Cherubim, then to the personified Archangels, Michael, Gabriel, etc., and finally they are applied to the four Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. 'Four for the Gospel Natures.' It is all a process of degradation or personification of a great old concept. (92)

Next, Lawrence discusses the figuration of the Virgin Mary and the birth of the Messiah in Revelation 12:1 ("And there appeared a great wonder in heaven; a woman clothed with the sun and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars") as an epiphany of the great pagan goddess of the ancient Mediterranean world which the Jews had attempted to expurgate in the Old Testament: "The Jews hated pagan gods," Lawrence writes, "but they more than hated pagan goddesses" (73):

And this wonder woman clothed in the sun standing on a crescent moon was too splendidly suggestive of the great goddesses of the east, the great mother, the Magna Mater as she became to the Romans. This great woman goddess with child stands looming far, far back in history in the eastern Mediterranean, in the days when matriarchy was still the natural order of the obscure nations. How then does she come to tower as the central figure in a Jewish Apocalypse? We shall never know: unless we accept the old law that when you drive the devil out of the front door he comes in at the back. This great goddess has suggested many pictures of the Virgin Mary. She has brought into the Bible what it lacked before: the great cosmic Mother robed and splendid, but persecuted. (73)

As evidence of this persecution and denigration of the Great Goddess, Lawrence then turns his attention to "the great vision of the Scarlet Woman, which has been borrowed from the pagans, and is of course the reversal of the great woman clothed in the sun" (76). This is the so-called Whore of Babylon (Rev. 17:5), reviled by the apocalyptists who yet remain fascinated by her. In fact, Lawrence argues, the "fairly obvious allegorical meanings" and the "blatant and rather boring theme" of the fall of Rome that is the focus of concern in this part of Revelation remain "essentially uninteresting," and are only redeemed by this vision of the Scarlet Woman: "Only the great whore of Babylon rises rather splendid," Lawrence writes, "sitting in her purple and scarlet upon her scarlet beast. She is the Magna Mater in malefic aspect, clothed in the colours of the angry sun, and throned upon the great red dragon of the angry cosmic power" (76). Lawrence concludes this extraordinary evocation of the Goddess by lamenting her disappearance into the desert, where, he argues, the "envy" and hatred of the apocalyptists have driven her, and where she has been "ever since" (77): "For the great Woman of the pagan cosmos was driven into the wilderness at the end of the old epoch, and she has never been called back" (77). Never, that is to say, until her recovery by Lawrence in his novels, in which the dual imagery of what C.G. Jung called the "loving and the terrible mother" (*Four Archetypes* 16) predominates.

Lawrence continues his refiguration of Revelation in his interpretation of the symbolism of the Dragon upon which the Scarlet Woman rides. The dragon represents "the fluid, rapid, invincible, even clairvoyant potency that can surge through the whole body and spirit of a man" (79). As "one of the oldest symbols of the human consciousness" (78), the dragon of Revelation calls up into the mind of the comparative mythologist the splendor of the Chinese dragon, "life-bringer, life-giver, life-maker, vivifier" (80), and the shakti or

kundalini of the Hindu yoga systems, that “same dragon which . . . coils quiescent at the base of the spine of a man, and unfolds sometimes lashing along the spinal way” (80). Against the power of these mythic images Lawrence contrasts the vocabulary of modern thinkers of his day like Bergson and Jung: “Modern philosophers may call it Libido or *Elan Vital*, but the words are thin, they carry none of the wild suggestion of the dragon” (79). By this contrast Lawrence moves us from the personal to the cosmic view of Revelation as a whole and of the spirit of the dragon specifically, which he magnificently evokes in this passage:

It is in the vast cosmos of the stars that the dragon writhes and lashes. We see him [in Revelation] in his maleficent aspect, red. But don't let us forget that when he stirs green and flashing on a pure dark night of stars it is he who makes the wonder of the night, it is the full rich coiling of his folds which makes the heavens sumptuously serene, as he glides around and guards the immunity, the precious strength of the planets, and gives lustre and new strength to the fixed stars, and still more serene beauty to the moon. His coils within the sun make the sun glad, till the sun dances in radiance. For in his good aspect, the dragon is the great vivifier, the great enhancer of the whole universe. (80)

Most central to Lawrence's interpretation of Revelation as a pagan text, however, is his idea that the book describes the descent to the underworld, a “secret ritual of initiation into one of the pagan Mysteries, Artemis, Cybele, even Orphic: but most probably belonging there to the east Mediterranean, probably actually to Ephesus: as would seem natural” (34). Hence, Lawrence sees “the Jesus of John's vision” as “Hades. He is Lord of the Underworld. He is Hermes, the guide of souls through the death-world, over the hellish stream. He is master of the mysteries of the dead” (20). The ritual then implied by the imagery of the seven seals and the seven trumpets involves an initiatory experience of death, descent into the underworld, and rebirth, a ritual perhaps derived, Lawrence argues, from a pagan book describing the mysteries current during John's time (34).

Accordingly, “the seven seals are the seven centres or gates of his dynamic consciousness. We are witnessing the opening, and conquest of the great psychic centres of the human body. The old Adam is going to be conquered, die, and be reborn as the new Adam: but in stages: in sevenfold stages” (53). With the opening first four seals, the “initiate, in pagan ritual, is bodily dead. There remains, however, the journey through the underworld, where the living 'I' must divest itself of soul and spirit, before it can emerge naked from the far gate of hell into the new day” (57). Hence, the opening of the last three seals annihilate “the three divine natures of man” (57). After the “stages of mystic death are over” (66),

we can see, in spite of the apocalypticist, the pagan initiate, perhaps in a temple of Cybele, suddenly brought forth from the underdark of the temple into the grand blaze of light in front of the pillars. Dazzled, reborn, he wears white robes and carries the palm branch, and the flutes sound out their rapture round him, and the dancing women lift the garlands over him. (60)

What remains is the “cycle of the death and regeneration of earth or world, instead of the individual. And this part, too, we feel is much older than John of Patmos” (61). This cycle proceeds through the blowing of the seven trumpets, during which, Lawrence argues, “the action now moves to the underworld of the cosmos instead of the underworld of the self, as

in the first cycle” (62). Lawrence offers this summary of his refiguration of Revelation as a ritual descent into the underworld in an unpublished fragment:

Even as it is, anyone who is at all acquainted with the old use of symbols must feel at once that here we have an esoteric work, a secret ‘plan’ of regeneration: really, the description of the processes of initiation into a higher form of life, through the way of mystic death, the journey through the underworld of Hades, the reemergence of the spirit into the new light of a higher world, or heaven, then the rebirth of the body (perhaps as a babe) and then the ‘rebirth’ of the spirit through fusion with the Saviour, and finally, the remarriage of the new body with the new spirit in the deathless glory of the gods: or heaven. (157)

Apocalypse becomes, for Lawrence, a metaphor for those processes of “destructive creation” which so preoccupied him (*Women in Love* 164). The reversion to the archetypal levels of mythological symbolism which Lawrence discerns in the Apocalypse constitutes “a deliberate return in order to get back to the roots again, for a new start” (96). St. John’s Revelation accomplishes such a deliberate return to the “original levels” (96) of the mind, those archetypal patterns of creation which form the basis of ontogenesis, cosmogenesis, and poesis. Hence, Apocalypse reestablishes “the living organic connections, with the cosmos, the sun and earth, with mankind and nation and family” (111), so that the End becomes the basis of a new Beginning.

The impending sense of personal and cultural catastrophe is explicitly linked, in Thomas Mann’s *Doctor Faustus*, with the notion of apocalypse and the search for fundamental forms that will “breakthrough the time” (243) and redeem its “paralyzing difficulties” (239). The writing of *Doctor Faustus* coincided with a serious crisis in Mann’s life. He was living in exile in California and “deeply depressed by the grim developments in Germany” at the end of WWII (Bergsten 2-6). Furthermore, while working on the novel he heard the news of his dramatist friend Gerhard Hauptmann’s death, suffered an outbreak of erysipelas, and was operated on for what was found to be cancer in the lung (Hamilton 337-340).

Hence, a sense that the end is at hand permeates the narrative, which is set down by the bourgeois humanist Serenus Zeitblom during the ultimate stages of the collapse of the Third Reich, and which describes the period before, during, and after World War I in Germany. Of the First World War, Zeitblom speaks of “the end of the bourgeois epoch begun some hundred and twenty years before” and referring to the German role suggests that “the world was to renew itself in our sign” (301). World War II is consistently situated with respect to the Apocalypse: Zeitblom speaks of “the last judgement” falling upon Munich (173) and quotes the passage from Ezekiel spoken by the narrator in his friend Leverkühn’s composition *Apocalypsis cum figuris*, a work which he calls “a great and piercing prophecy of the end” (453): “‘And end is come, the end is come, it watcheth for thee, behold it is come. The morning is come unto thee, O thou that dwellest in the land’” (434). Furthermore, the Biblical apocalypse merges with the Classical myth of the descent into Hades when Zeitblom notes that “the world stands in the sign of the end” and that the Nazi promise of a “‘thousand year’ history” has turned “out to be a road leading nowhere, or rather into despair . . . a *descensus Averno* lighted by the dance of roaring flames” (452).

The tragedies in the lives of the characters in the novel parallel this external catastrophe: Clarissa Roddes commits suicide, her sister Inez brings her children up in “heroic ignorance of circumstances less and less favorable to the patrician and bourgeois” world of the past and murders the violinist Schwerdtfeger, the angelic little boy Echo dies hideously of

spinal meningitis, and, of course, Adrian Leverkühn collapses into a syphilitic catatonia at the end of the novel. This sense of an ending expands to include Zeitblom's doubts about the future of the liberal bourgeois humanism which he represents, and which we see relentlessly undermined by the increasing emphasis on barbarism and the "new world of anti-humanity" (284) in the novel, both in political and cultural fields. There is a sense of "an art epoch nearing its end" (319), of "impoverishment and stagnation" (192) so severe that musical production "threatens to come to an end" (238), and a pervasive evocation of hell as the place where "everything ends – not only the word that describes, but everything altogether" (244-245).

It is this impression of having reached the "‘last chapter of the history of the world’" (308) that leads to the composition of Leverkühn's oratorio *Apocalypse*. Zeitblom surmises that Leverkühn identified the Apocalypse as the myth the times were living by as early as the "outbreak of the war, for a power of divination like his must have recognized therein a deep cleft and discontinuity, the opening of a new period of history, crowded with tumult and disruptions, agonies and wild vicissitudes" (315). The work represents the search for a "breakthrough" (a recurrent leit-motif) or terrifying revelation that will offer a way out of the breakdown that Zeitblom also sees as apocalyptic: "I felt," he writes

that an epoch was ending, which had not only included the nineteenth century, but gone far back to the end of the Middle Ages, to the loosening of scholastic ties, the emancipation of the individual, the birth of freedom . . . I felt as I say that its hour had come; that a mutation of life would be consummated; the world would enter into a new, still nameless constellation." (352)

The "apocalyptic oratorio" (355) was written after the first serious attack of ill-health, stemming from Leverkühn's syphilitic contract with the devil, during the First World War, when he compares his sufferings to "Johanness Martyr in the cauldron of oil" (354) and proclaims a "weakness for people who have been 'down below.' By below I mean in hell. That makes a bond between people as far apart as Paul and Virgil's Aeneas" (355). Mann devotes the three extended sections of Chapter 34, a number which had mystical significance for Mann, to the description of the work. In fact, Mann skillfully weaves an elaborate web of number symbolism into this work in a manner appropriate to the conventions of apocalyptic literature.³ In *The Book of Revelation* the number twelve occurs in the number of the saved, twelve thousand from each of the twelve tribes of Israel (Rev. 7:4-8); in the number of gates in the walls of the heavenly Jerusalem, with the names of the twelve angels and tribes of Israel above each (Rev. 21: 12); the number of the wall's foundations, with the associated names of the twelve apostles in each (Rev. 21:14); and in the twelve fruits on the tree of life in the midst of the Holy City (Rev. 22:2). In *Doctor Faustus* twelve occurs as the basic cipher throughout: as the number of notes in the twelve-tone system and the number of syllables of the central thematic motif in the *Lamentations* ("For I die as a good and as a bad Christian" (487); as the total number of Adrian's compositions (counting the Song cycles and chamber pieces as discreet groups); in the twelve people at the Casa Manardi in

³The time and energy Zeitblom devotes to the description of Leverkühn's *Lamentations of Dr. Faustus* is comparatively slight in relation to the three long chapter sections of Chapter 34 devoted to *Apocalypsis cum figuris*, so that the former cannot, as Henry Hatfield suggests, be considered the "pinnacle" of the novel (132). Number symbolism is of course an aspect of the apocalyptic tradition commented on by writers from D.H. Lawrence to Austin Farrar. Victor Oswald was the first to comment on such ciphers in Mann's *Doctor Faustus*, though his hints have not been thoroughly developed.

Palestrina where Adrian's pact with the Devil is sealed (including the three separate incarnations of the shape shifter); in the number of named people at Clarissa Rodde's funeral in Munich; in the number of major characters in the three sections of Chapter 34 (Adrian plus the eleven members of the Kridwiss circle); in the twelve days Adrian and Schwerdtfeger spend on Frau von Tolna's Hungarian estate; in the twelve pounds Zeitblom coyly sheds during the composition of Adrian's *Apocalypse*; in the twelve hours between the time Adrian releases Echo with Prospero's words to Ariel, "'Then to the elements. Be free, and fare thou well'" (479), and the child's death; and in "the twelve hours' unconsciousness into which the paralytic stroke at the piano" plunges Adrian at the end of his twenty-four (2 X 12) years of Devil's time (505).

Leverkühn's reading at the time of his *Apocalypse* includes a "metrical translation of the *Vision of St. Paul*" (355), "the early Christian and mediaeval accounts of visions and speculations about the other world," the visions of Hildegarde von Bingen, and the "Celtic fantasies about the beyond, the visionary experiences of early Irish and Anglo-Saxon times" recorded by the Venerable Bede (356). "This whole ecstatic literature," Zeitblom comments,

from the pre-Christian and early Christian eschatologies forms a rich fabric of tradition, full of recurrent motifs. Into it Adrian spun himself round like a cocoon, to stimulate himself for a work which should gather up all their elements into one single focus, assemble them in one pregnant, portentous synthesis and in relentless transmission hold up to humanity the mirror of the revelation, that it might see therein what is oncoming and near at hand. (357)

As Lawrence had done in his commentary on Revelation, Mann has Leverkühn's oratorio conflate the apocalypse and the descent to the underworld, borrowing from the Apocrypha, Ezekiel, the Revelation of St. John, the Lamentations of Jeremiah, shamanism, antiquity, Dante, Dürer, and Michelangelo's Last Judgement to give "the general impression of a view opening into the other world and the final reckoning breaking in; of a journey into hell" (358). The text of Leverkühn's chorale "took in this whole prophetic tradition, so that his work amounts to the creation of a new and independent Apocalypse, a sort of resume of the whole literature" (357). In other words, it is the Book of Revelation refigured as a Modernist regression to the elemental, mythic structures of the mind, those "fundamental types of emotional significance" distilled and crystallized by Adrian's music (488).

The conversations generated at the time of its composition by the coterie of intellectuals assembled in Schwabing by one Herr Sextus Kridwiss focus on this regression to the archaic in the political and intellectual spheres. In politics, this return to barbaric primitivism meant the creation of "mythical fictions, devised like primitive battle-cries, to release and activate political energies" (366); poetically it meant a reversion to "a lyrical and rhetorical outburst of riotous terrorism" based on a "despotic tyranny" of the pure spirit (364); and intellectually it meant an "all-embracing critique of the bourgeois tradition" (365), a complete rejection of "the values bound up with the idea of the individual" (368), and a radical "setting back of humanity into mediievally theocratic conditions and situations" (368). Dr. Chaim Breisacher is the most thorough advocate of this revolution of the archaic: he postulates the supremacy of monody in music, absence of perspective in painting, and the primal levels of the genuine "folk and blood" religious reality of the oldest strata of the Old Testament.

All of these ideas find their musical expression in Leverkühn's *Apocalypsis cum figuris*,

a composition dominated by a “dynamic archaism” or “naturalistic atavism” (377, 374). Musically, it constitutes a “revival of ritual music from a profane epoch” (373), a “regression full of modern novelty, going back beyond Bach’s and Handel’s harmonic art to the remoter past of true polyphony” (372). In fact, the oratorio is a kind of musical version of Joyce’s “Oxen of the Sun” chapter from *Ulysses*: it takes “in the life history of music, from its pre-musical, magic, rhythmical, elementary stage to its most complex consummation” (374). Zeitblom notes that “the return to this primitive stage” of musical development creates an “extremely uncanny effect” (374), “uncanny” precisely in Freud’s sense of the term as that which touches “those residues of animistic mental activity within us” which reflect the primitive phases of both our ontogenetic and phylogenetic development (240-241).

As such, the *Apocalypse* comprises a return to the elementary forms of the human imagination that Lawrence discerns in the pagan symbolism of St. John’s Revelation. It is a technique which “rests,” Zeitblom says, “on the curvature of the world, which makes the last return unto the first” (376). This notion of cyclical refiguration, based on the typological tradition of Biblical exegesis, is most directly stated in the words of Christ: “I am the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end” which becomes a central leit motive in Mann’s novel. Throughout *Doctor Faustus* Mann plays with the notion of the end returning to the beginning, and not only in the above sense of the higher last phases of a culture returning to its archaic origins. Leverkühn’s genius repeatedly effects a union of “the archaic, with the revolutionary” (189) in which the “archaic and the modern elements in the work” blend and “interpenetrate” (263). “More interesting phenomena,” Leverkühn says to Zeitblom, “probably always have this double face of past and future, probably are always progressive and regressive in one” (193). Indeed, the narrative structure of the novel is such that its end is literally visible in its beginning, and vice versa: Zeitblom points out that the Leverkühn’s family farm in Buchel, described in the first Chapter IV parallels in all its details the Bavarian farm in Pfeiffering where Leverkühn composes all of his major work, up to the last *Lamentations of Doctor Faustus* “In other words,” Zeitblom says, “the scene of his later days bore a curious resemblance to that of his early ones” (25). His end, as Eliot might put it, is in his beginning.

The structure of the novel as a whole, in which Adrian circles back to his beginnings at the end of his life, reflects the adaptations of the Biblical circulation in the Bildungsroman of the German Romantics. M. H. Abrams has shown how the Biblical design of history influenced German Romantic philosophers like Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, who “explicitly undertook to translate religious doctrine into their conceptual philosophy” (33) and German Romantic writers who converted “the currency of the Christian confession” (15) into the “form of a Bildungsgeschichte” (123). Hence the great circle of Paradise, Paradise Lost, and Paradise Regained becomes “a Heilgeschichte translated into the secular mode of the Bildungsgeschichte” (188). But Mann’s reflections on this characteristic German Romantic mode is ironic and revisionary, as the return to childhood innocence elevated to a higher level of maturity in the Märchen, lets say, becomes in *Doctor Faustus* a kind of grotesque parody: Adrian returns to his childhood home in a syphilitic catatonia, surely a “luciferian travesty” of the secular salvation longed for by the Romantics, which in turn implicates them in Mann’s heroic reevaluation of all things German in the novel.

Hermann Broch shared Mann’s personal understanding of the cultural apocalypse faced by Europe before and during World War II as a journey into Hades.⁴ In 1934 the Nazis moved into a Vienna Broch had described as a “gay apocalypse turned hell” (qtd. in Schlant:

⁴See the biography by Paul Lützeler for complete details (185-235):-

133). During this period Broch faced pressing financial difficulties, resulting from the earlier sale of his father's textile factory, serious familial problems, and urgent doubts about his literary vocation. Soon after turning 50 he was imprisoned by the Nazis, on March 13, 1938, an experience which "forced him to confront the possibility of his own death and provided the visionary and mystic impetus for the cognitive quest of death soon to be embodied in *The Death of Virgil*." The novel was finished in the United States, to which Broch escaped with help from James Joyce, Edwin Muir, Erich Kahler, and Einstein (Schlant 75-92).

Broch chose the medieval legend of Virgil's decision to burn the *Aeneid* as a metaphorical expression of the crisis faced by his own times: both times were dominated by "civil wars, dictatorship, a dying off of old religious forms" (qtd. in Schlant: 97) and extensive emigrations which amounted to apocalyptic conditions. In four powerful chapters, *The Death of Virgil* describes the hallucinatory transfigurations in the mind of the dying Virgil, whose death coincides with the imminent collapse of the Roman Empire. An aura of doom therefore permeates the novel, a sense of "standing at the end of something," as Caesar puts it in Chapter 3 (355), which, however, is accompanied by a progressively intense experience of revelation as Virgil moves through the stages of death. In the penultimate chapter, the contagion of rage, misery, and human fury encountered in Chapter 1 spreads to engulf not only the Empire and Virgil himself, but the entire created universe, as in Apocalypse.

This last chapter is an extraordinary and unique evocation of the transformation of the consciousness of the dying Virgil which relies heavily on the biblical imagery of Genesis and Revelation. The only similar literature I know of would have to be the traditional accounts of voyages to the otherworld (to which Mann refers in *Doctor Faustus*) or the recent narratives of near death experiences.⁵ For Broch's vision of what occurs in Virgil's dying mind cleverly refigures the Book of Revelation as a kind of Occidental manual for the dying (as Lawrence had also implied it was), such as the Tibetan Book of the Dead.⁶ In fact, Northrop Frye suggests that the visions of both are not to be taken literally, but rather as "repressed mental forms now released by death and coming to the surface" (137). In *The Death of Virgil*, Broch is at once quite literal and yet revisionary in his rendition of Revelation as the seven days of Creation reversed: the dying mind of Virgil takes us back to Adam and Eve in the Garden, to Adam alone, and then on through animal, reptilian, vegetative, and mineral forms until we arrive at the darkness on the face of the deep in the beginning.

As he lies dying, Virgil imagines himself being borne out to sea by an Imperial fleet from the harbor of Brundisium towards an immensity into which the fleet vanishes at sunset, to arrive at the shores of "the veritable journey's end" (457). During the course of the following sunrise, Virgil watches the transfiguration of his helmsman and guide, Lysanius, into the lost love of his youth, Plotia Hieria. She points to the east (the orientation of spiritual rebirth) and is described in terms suggestive of the biblical visions of both the woman clothed in the sun and the Scarlet Whore on her dragon discussed by Lawrence: "The serpent glistening coil on coil had glided up a further stretch of the red-glowing firmament to receive her, the new guide, the serpent inflamed by the sun and commanding the east" (455). On this first "day" of Virgil's afterlife, he imagines himself reunited with Plotia (his Eve) in a pre-lapsarian idyll "of a transported and primal innocence" (459). They inhabit a

⁵See Carol Zaleski, *Otherworld Journeys*, for a fascinating discussion of both as manifestations of the imagination of the sacred.

⁶Hence, "What is symbolized as the destruction of the order of nature is the destruction of the way of seeing that order that keeps man confined to the world of time and history as we know them" (136).

“prodigious and prodigal garden” through which they make “their way, blessed with innocent nakedness, acquitted of naked guilt” (458-460). In the middle of the garden stands a “tree, rather like an elm or an ash, but bearing an unfamiliar golden fruit” (458); it is surrounded by Paradisal abundance:

Rosy grapes hung down from the wild thornbush, honeydew oozed like resin from the bark of the hardest oaks, gray-green quinces, chestnuts, wax-yellow plums and golden apples hung in profusion throughout the woodland, but there was no need to touch the fruit in order to be sated, no need to bend over the water to sip of it, appeasement and refreshment came floating along invisibly on a smile sent hither from shame-freed innocence. (461)

The couple is surrounded by cattle, lions, lizards, wolves, and eagle beaked birds that range freely and fearlessly (460), and “wherever they went there gleamed at their heads the tranquil star of the morning, the herald of the beneficent eastern sun, the mild bearer of light that, without light of its own, lets there be intimations of unending light, the tender iridescent reflection of the seven colors, their last echo in the universal dome” (461).

During the first night in Eden, Virgil imagines Plotia dissolving into him like Eve into Adam’s rib:

into the rocky bones of his skeleton and into his earthbound roots and marrow, into what was vegetative and plantlike in him, into what was the animality of his flesh and skin, he felt Plotia becoming a part of himself, of his innermost seeing soul, and he felt her glance resting in him, seeing, as had his glance in her, from within. His sleep was the ancestral chain and likewise the chain of descendants (464).

On the second day, therefore, he becomes Adam before the creation of Eve, roaming the wilds with the animals who join themselves to him until “he felt himself a beast from top to toe, from toe to top, a gaping jaw, even though he did not snap, a claw-bearer even though he rent no game, a feathered thing with a hooked bill, even though he swooped on no prey” (465). Virgil then continues to move backwards through all the stages of evolution. From animal form he regresses to reptilian form: “having become lidless, sleepless, fish-eyed, fishy-hearted, he stood on the swampy shore tall-ly erect, covered with sea-weed, scaly, reptilian, tangled in plants, like a plant, save that the singing of the spheres did not cease for him” (466); and from reptilian form he “became plant himself, inside and outside, throbbing with the flow of earth-sap, rooty, basty, tubular, woody, barky, leafy, though still remaining human, with the unalterable human eye” (470); and finally from vegetable form to mineral form:

He, however, divested of his animal-likeness, his plant-likeness, was now a being of clay and earth and stone, mountain high, an unwieldy shapeless tower, a spar of clay, destitute of all limbs, a shapelessly-powerful, shapelessly-towering stone giant . . . the morning star, grazed by his head, had sunk into his rocky forehead as a third eye above them as a seeing eye, divine and discriminating and for all that a human eye. (476)

This description calls to mind the etymological roots of the name Adam, which suggests

clay moistened with blood, and certain Jewish legends about giants. One thinks particularly of the linkage between Adam and the Golem in such rabbinical commentaries on Genesis as the Talmud, Midrash, Haggadah, and Kabbala. Essentially, the legend of the Golem concerns the nature of Adam before God endows him with a soul: he is an unformed, shapeless, a monstrous giant who stretches from one end of the world to the other, filling the entire universe. Although as yet soulless, he holds latent within himself all of the elements of the Creation and all of the power of the universe. Because he binds together the entirety of the world, he is endowed with “a vision of the history of the Creation, which comes to him in the form of images” (“hat er hier eine Vision der Geschichte der Schöpfung, die an ihm bildhaft vorüberzieht”) (Scholem 238-240). Some such source for Broch’s imagery of Virgil as a kind of pre-Adamic cosmogonic man, a gigantic anthropos who fills and yet contains the entire universe within himself, would seem evident in such spectacular passages as the following:

he the plant-involved, the beast-involved, he also stretched himself from firmament to firmament, stretched himself through the starry tides of the universe, and standing in the earthly realm with his animal-roots, his animal-stems, his animal-leaves, he stood at the same time in the furthestmost sphere of the stars, so that at his feet lay the sign of the serpent which, root-entangled and seven-starred . . . and high, oh, high over all, his crown reared aloft, reaching to the uppermost height of the cupola . . . No longer an earthly face but just as a beholding treetop, he gazed upward to the stars, into the face of heaven which had gathered into itself the lineaments of all creatures and had transfigured them, the human and the animal face having become one, and bore them now enfolded in itself . . . (473)

On the seventh day of his afterlife, Virgil becomes a single starry eye floating between “the liquefaction above and below” (465-477), as Broch’s prolepsis proceeds to the waters above and below of Genesis 1: 6. Then the world is reduced to the “primal darkness” of the “primal night” (475), the “final darkness” following “a last flaring up of the creation” (478). In biblical terms, this is both the “darkness over the deep” in the beginning (Gen. 1.2), and the dissolution of the “earth and sky” after the battles of the End (Rev. 20.12). This “essential world-darkness” (471) is imagined further as a “birth giving nothingness” or metacosmic void (479-481). Yet, as in Revelation, it is precisely annihilation which precipitates the revelation of the divine, enabling “the starry face with its crystal rapture, the first light of being’s wholeness to shine forth and give light to the beginning, to the ending, and to each fresh attempt of creation” (478). In Broch, this happens after the seven days of the reversal of Genesis, just as Christ reveals Himself after the opening of the seventh seal (Rev. 8. 1-5) and just as the ark of the covenant is seen after the blowing of the seven trumpets (Rev. 11.19).

Broch does not end his reversal of Genesis, however, with this emergence of the light from the darkness (Gen 2-3), nor with the “birth-giving nothingness” (479) which suggests the earth without form and void of Genesis 2. Rather, at this point he is commanded “TO TURN AROUND” (479), and a recapitulatory vision of the entire cycle of the Creation, an “endless recollection” of the emergence of the whole Creation. In a book much concerned with the musical qualities of literary form, this recapitulation suggests the closure of sonata form; it takes us back through the territory just traversed, but this time in the proper forward moving sequence:

Again there was light and darkness, again day and night, again nights and days,

and again immensity was regulated according to height, breadth and depth, and the plan of the sky was defined, opening out to its four directions, again there was above and below, cloud and sea; and in the middle of the sea the land rose up once more, the green isle of the world bedecked with plants, with forests and with pastures, the mutation within immutability. (479)

From the first sunrise, Virgil's "recollection" then proceeds in Darwinian fashion from eagles, gulls, and dolphins to "the beasts of the wilderness and those of the field mingling in harmony innocent of conflict" (479), and finally to the "human face" towards which all Creation strives (480). This human goal is epitomized in the image of "the smile that bound mother and child" which seems to "comprehend" the "whole *significance* of the interminable occurrence" (480).

The notion then is that the entire Creation, along with its essential meaning and direction, is latent within this smile, which yields to the "word" (480). It is the word, then, which begets the whole Creation, containing within itself "the simultaneous stream of creation in which the eternal rests, the first image, the vision of visions" (481). After this vision, "the ring of time had closed, and the end was the beginning. The images sank down but, preserving them unseen, the rumbling continued" (481). It seems to me that with this end of the recapitulation--we come to rest upon "the first image" (481)--Broch has arrived at the opening verse of Genesis 1 ("In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth"). This verse precedes the actual execution of the Creation, as if to suggest that in the beginning the world existed "unseen" in the "first" images (i.e., the archetypes) of the mind of God, as potential form, and that the purpose of Broch's recapitulation, at the end of the cycle, which is really the very beginning, of the whole Creation, has been to suggest the latent existence of the whole as an archetypal image upon which the actual Creation would then be based.

The word archetype refers to the first impression, as of a mold in wax, that becomes the basis for all subsequent creation. It is the first figure of its kind, that must then be refigured as the basis for every "fresh attempt of creation." Broch develops a variety of terms to express this notion: we have "the crystalline archetype, the crystalline entity formed by the essential qualities" of Virgil's friends (444); Plotia's "crystalline essence" (454) formed by the "core of her individual essence . . . a transparent intrinsic substance" (458); the "archetype" which invisibly engraves "the gleaming countenance of the heavens" (472); the "true image and the arch image" coupled to oneness (477); and the "first image, the vision of visions" revealed at the End (481). The sense of all of these words is perhaps summed up by the German phrase "Urbild aller Bilder" (Schlant 115).

But Broch does not end with this recapitulation; the climax is the revelation of the archetypal images; there is a Coda devoted to the power of the word as the generative act of Creation. The Gospel of John, as you know, refigures Genesis as creation through speech: "In the beginning was the word" (1:1). Christ as the Logos becomes the anti-type, or fulfillment, of the word which was spoken in the beginning: "And God *said*, Let there be light" (Gen. 1:3).⁷ Broch follows this typological view by ending his version of apocalypse with an extraordinary evocation of the "pure word" (481), which remains after the images of the

⁷Northrop Frye notes that typology is based on the principle that "What happens in the New Testament constitutes an 'antitype,' a realized form, of something foreshadowed in the Old Testament" (79). The standard Latin equivalent of "typos" is "figura," a term exhaustively investigated by Erich Auerbach's famous study. For a recent critique of Frye and the typological principle, see Regina Schwartz, who would replace the terms type and antitype with forgetting and remembering (114-124), a procedure analogous to Marie-Louise von Franz's use of the terms "projection and recollection" to describe what happens to the "archetypes" in the Jungian process of individuation.

universe come to an end, as their source and origin. As the images of the recapitulation subside, only a “rumbling” is left, imagined as the sound of a “welling fountain” (481). The German original for the translation here is the word *rauschen*, rather more suggestive of the rushing sound of water associated with the imagery of the fountain, and, be it noted, with the sound of God’s voice in John’s Apocalypse: “his voice as the sound of many waters” (Rev. 1:15). Out of this rushing sound, the “incipient tone” of the “pure word” soon emerges, and modulates to an overpowering roaring (481).

The notion that the primary attributes of the divine, in its first manifestation, are light and sound, is one found in “the revelatory literature of all major world religions,” from the Gospels, to the Upanishads, to the sacred AUM of Hindu scripture, to the Muslim Sufis, to the Koran (Singh 142-146). The implication is that universal synonyms for the Logos of John’s Revelation cannot be reduced to mere “mental illumination;” rather, they suggest an “original mystic meaning” which goes beyond a “figurative expression of ordinary mental experience” to a “transcendent inner perception” (Singh 143-44). Broch’s refiguration of the Apocalypse, then, like Lawrence and Mann’s, uncovers a universal symbolism that makes the Book of Revelation a “book of the human race,” as Lawrence puts it, “instead of a corked up bottle of ‘inspiration’” (31).

To what extent Broch’s crisis precipitated a genuinely transcendent experience of the mystical word, I am unable to say; it did, however, yield this amazing and lyrical hymn to the pure word, with which his book, Virgil’s life, and my discussion, closes:⁸

so it roared thither, roaring over and past him, swelling on and becoming stronger and stronger, becoming so overpowering that nothing could withstand it, the universe disappearing before the word, dissolved and acquitted in the word while still being contained and preserved in it, destroyed and recreated forever, because nothing had been lost, nothing could be lost, because end was joining to beginning, being born and giving birth again and again; the word hovered over the universe, over the nothing, floating beyond the expressible as well as the inexpressible, and he, caught under and amidst the roaring, he floated on with the word, although the more he was enveloped by it, the more he penetrated into the flooding sound and was penetrated by it, the more unattainable, the greater, the graver and more elusive became the word, a floating sea, a floating fire, sea-heavy, sea-light, notwithstanding it was still the word: he could not hold fast to it and he might not hold fast to it; incomprehensible and unutterable for him: it was the word beyond speech. (481).

⁸Frye’s argument that at “the end of the Book of Revelation . . . we reach the antitype of all antitypes, the real beginning of light and sound of which the first word of the Bible is the type” (138) is a good description of the poetic logic of Broch’s figuration of the end as the word that emerges from light and sound and creates a new beginning (481-482).

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VISUALIZATION OF MATHEMATICS

David S. Tucker

Abstract: This paper focuses on one aspect of the recent developments in the use of technology in teaching mathematics -- the use of computer programs and graphing calculators to display problems visually. Several applications and recent trends are discussed. The computer program used is Lotus 1-2-3. The calculator used is the TI-85 graphing calculator.

Background: Advances in technology in recent years have created much debate about the place of graphing calculators and computer programs in the teaching of mathematics. Mathematicians are divided into two basic camps (with many variations in each):

1. Some mathematicians enthusiastically embrace the new technology and advocate its use throughout the curriculum. These divide into groups such as those who espouse the use of graphing calculators, those favoring symbolic manipulating computer programs such as Mathematica, Derive, or Maple, and those favoring the use of spreadsheet programs such as Lotus 1-2-3 or Quattro Pro;

2. The second major group admits that technology is important and will eventually be used in the classroom, but favors a slower introduction, with more study of the impact on student learning. Fearing that the calculator or computer will become the object of the learning, these people would advocate great caution in how technology is introduced to the students. They see technology as a helpful tool, but fear that too many traditional components of the courses will have to be dropped or severely modified. In particular, symbolic manipulating programs seem to threaten to replace the drill and practice work traditionally done in, say, a calculus course. Nobody knows for sure how much that drill and practice stimulates the thinking and reasoning portions of the brain. Perhaps, it is this activity which actually develops the underlying mathematical maturity required for advanced study in the average individual.

Another danger feared by this group is that calculus courses will no longer be uniform in content and output. As traditionally taught, students get basically the same groundwork no matter which college they attend and no matter which instructor they have. Employers know what minimum knowledge they can expect from an employee who has passed calculus. The loss of that uniformity could have significant national impact.

Whichever side we, as either mathematicians or a non-mathematicians, may fall on, there is a growing demand for more "relevancy" in what is taught in mathematics, and the use of technology to teach it. Like the student who graduates from high school or college and cannot read, we are faced with a growing number of graduates who have no understanding of how to use mathematics to solve problems even as simple as how to make change! There is general agreement that one benefit of calculators and computers is that they can remove the burden of mistakes in hand computations. They can do the calculations much faster. They eliminate the need for tables of values for square roots, logarithms, or trig function values. Problems can be more "real" since the instructor no longer has to worry about making the arithmetic come out "nice".

By contrast, it is interesting to note that the use of calculators and computers can actually lead to more mistakes. Reliance on the result of calculations done with one of these tools, without thinking about the reasonableness of the answer, has lead many a student down the

garden path to poor grades. The student must understand the strict rules regarding the order in which operations must be performed, and also understand the effect of roundoff on the final result.

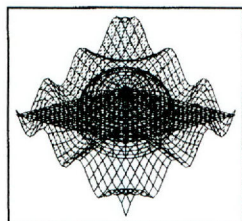


Figure 1 - Maple V Graph

A second place where computers shine is in the graphical presentation of data. The symbolic manipulating programs have very sophisticated graphing capabilities which permit the graphing of complicated curves, and even three-dimensional surfaces (see Figure 1). They have functions built in which will solve for the coordinates of the points where the curves cross the x-axis, and they allow students to do many types of analysis of curves that once had to be done through laborious hand calculations and crude drawings done on graph paper.

Graphing calculators, such as the TI-81 or the TI-85, have many of the same capabilities. Functions can be entered, a range can be specified, and the calculator can graph the curve and allow the student to examine it in great detail (see Figure 2). The TI-85 even has built-in functions for calculating the coordinates of the points where the curve crosses the x-axis. The relatively low resolution and small size of the screen limit the display somewhat, but the TI-85 is theoretically capable of graphing dozens of curves simultaneously.

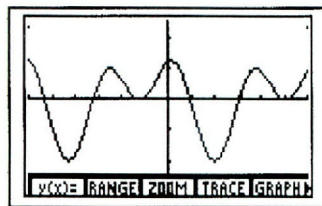


Figure 2 - TI-85 Graph

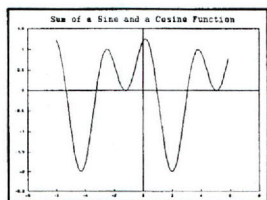


Figure 3 - Lotus 1-2-3 Graph

An intermediate approach to these graphing problems is the use of the graphing capabilities of the modern spreadsheet program like Lotus 1-2-3 or Quattro Pro (see Figure 3). With the resolution of a computer and the ability to graph six curves on the same screen, spreadsheets provide a good compromise between symbolic manipulating programs and graphing calculators.

The substance of this paper will be to show some ways in which solutions of problems can be approached by students who have access to either a graphing calculator or to a spreadsheet program. For the purposes of this presentation, examples from a TI-85 calculator and the Lotus 1-2-3 spreadsheet program will be included. Many other choices are possible.

Examples shown here arise out of the author's experimentation with the technology, out of discussions with colleagues, out of various books which have appeared on the market recently, and out of presentations given at mathematics meetings.

Where to start:

Much of the work students do in college mathematics courses is to learn about the shapes of curves associated with various functions. Examples of these functions include polynomial functions (particularly linear, quadratic, and cubic), exponential functions, and trig functions. These functions occur often in applications. For instance, we find:

- | | |
|-------------------|------------------------------|
| linear functions: | - revenue and expense curves |
| | - straight line depreciation |
| | - simple interest |
| | - lines of best fit |
| | - tangents to curves |

- quadratic functions:
 - paths of projectiles
 - revenue functions where quantity sold varies with price
 - rectangle of maximum area which can be inscribed in a circle
 - maximum area which can be enclosed with a given length of fence
- cubic functions:
 - maximum volume that can be enclosed with a given surface area
- exponential functions:
 - compound interest
 - biological growth
 - radioactive decay
- trig functions:
 - electromagnetic waves
 - surveying
 - navigation
 - problems involving triangles

Mathematicians have learned that being able to draw pictures of these curves allows the student to better understand the relationships present in the problem. These curves fall in classes, and operations performed upon the functions which describe these curves will have predictable effects. Getting the students to graph enough of these curves to understand these relationships, however, is difficult because of the many calculations involved.

For example, let us look at the general quadratic function $f(x) = ax^2 + bx + c$. These form a family of parabolas, typified by the curves $y = x^2$ and $y = -x^2$. The graphs of these are easy to construct. General quadratics give a curve that either opens upward, with a unique minimum point which might represent a minimum area, or minimum cost, or opens downward with a unique maximum value which might represent a maximum area, a maximum height, or a maximum revenue. In algebra and calculus we learn how to algebraically modify the equation, so that the graph is easy to plot -- particularly the extreme point and the x-intercepts. With the computer or the graphing calculator, we can plot the graph directly, without the hand computations (see Figures 4, 5, and 6). In addition, we can easily determine the effect of a small change in the equation.

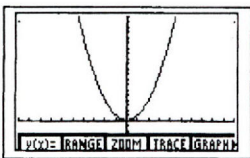


Figure 4 - $Y = X^2$

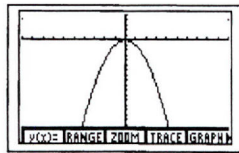


Figure 5 - $Y = -X^2$

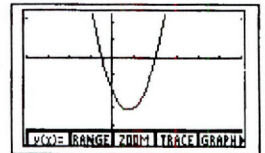


Figure 6 - $Y = 2X^2 - 3X - 2$

For example, suppose that a movie theater determines that for a price of \$3.00, 150 people will come to see a particular movie, and that for each \$.25 increase in price, the attendance will drop by seven (7). Then the expected revenue will be given by:

$$y = (150 - 7x) \cdot (3.00 + .25x)$$

(# patrons) • (Price per ticket)

where x represents the number of increments of \$.25 the theater adds to the price. Note that x is not necessarily a whole number. This function is quadratic, and will graph as a parabola which opens downward, with a unique maximum value. Clearly, the management of the theater wants to find that value.

If we graph this function (see Figure 7), we can see that the theater ought to price their tickets at more than \$3.00 in order to make the maximum revenue from ticket sales, since the x-value (number of \$.25 increments to add to the \$3.00 price) of the highest point on the curve is positive. We can use the FMAX option on the calculator to approximately determine the optimal number of \$.25 increments to add to the price (see Figure 8).

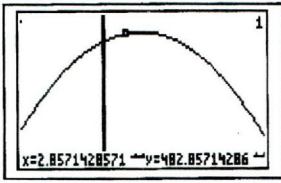


Figure 7
Revenue Theater Problem

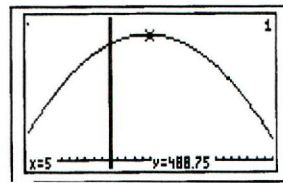


Figure 8
FMAX Maximum Revenue

We can do the same thing on a spreadsheet by setting up a table of values, and then using the Graph option (see Figure 9). We find that the spreadsheet graph is bigger and perhaps easier to read, and that we have a scale that can be of help in estimating the solution. The range has been set manually in this example. We can also explore the table of values and determine the approximate answer. It is easy to include a column to compute the price, so that we can immediately see the price computed for the given value of x (see Figure 10).

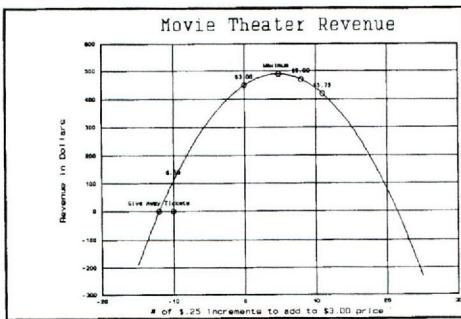


Figure 9 - Lotus Movie Theater

B	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1							
2		Problem 1: Revenue Function For A Movie Theater					
3							
4					# Patrons * Price per ticket		
5					Revenue = (150 - 7x) * (3.00 + .25x)		
6							
7		Starting Point :	-15.00				
8		Increment :	0.20				
9							
10		X	Revenue	Price	Revenue		
11							
107		4.00	488.00	4.00	488.00		
108		4.20	488.43	4.05	488.43		
109		4.40	488.72	4.10	488.72		
110		4.60	488.87	4.15	488.87		
111		4.80	488.88	4.20	488.88	Maximum	
112		5.00	488.75	4.25	488.75		
113		5.20	488.48	4.30	488.48		
114		5.40	488.07	4.35	488.07		
115		5.60	487.52	4.40	487.52		

Figure 10 - Movie List of Values

In trigonometry, we spend much time graphing the sine and cosine functions. Sinusoidal functions are one of the most commonly used functions in digital signal processing. The simplest of these is the sine function, a function whose input values are angles. We shall use radian measure. The basic sine function varies between -1 and 1 and has a period of 2π radians. The most general form of a sine function would be

$$y = A \cdot \sin(Bx + c)$$

The value of A varies the amplitude, the value of B varies the period (or frequency), and the value of C determines what is called the phase shift. Many of the signals that are used in digital signal processing applications are sums of sinusoids with different amplitudes, frequencies, and phase shifts. When a sine curve is shifted one-fourth of a period to the left, it becomes a cosine curve, so the cosine curve is considered to be a sinusoidal curve also.

Signals used in signal processing are sums of sinusoidal waves of different amplitudes, frequencies, and phase shifts. Graphing of sums of sinusoidal waves is very difficult to do by hand. In physics and electronics labs, oscilloscopes are used to show these, but in the math classroom oscilloscopes are not available. Computers and graphing calculators, however, can not only graph them easily, but allow the student to investigate their behavior.

For example, consider the graph of the curve

$$y = 2\sin 2x + \cos 3x$$

The graph is clearly periodic, but there is quite a bit of variation introduced by the cosine function (see Figure 11). Now modify the second part so that the cosine function has the same period as the sine function. That is, consider the curve

$$y = 2\sin 2x + \cos 2x$$

The curve has smoothed out and appears to be a simple sinusoidal curve with an amplitude at least two and a small phase shift (see Figure 12). Further investigation can show that this is indeed the case. With the calculator, or the computer, the student can discover and investigate this sort of phenomenon, gaining an understanding from experience which, in the past, was very hard to get across in a mathematics classroom.

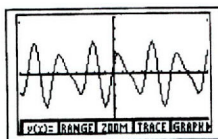


Figure 11
 $2\sin 2x + \cos 3x$

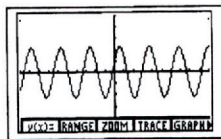


Figure 12
 $2\sin 2x + \cos 2x$

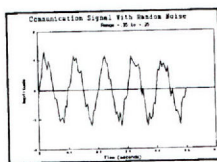


Figure 13
35% Noise

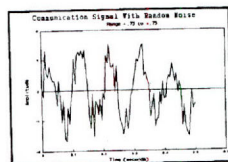


Figure 14
75% Noise

People who work in communication have to deal with random “noise” in their signals. With the spreadsheet (or the calculator) the student can easily investigate the effect of such noise. For instance, one experiment would be to take a simple sine wave of amplitude 1 ($y = \sin x$), and determine how much noise it can tolerate so that you can still distinguish the sinusoidal component. By varying the lower and upper bound of the noise, we can visually study the effect on the curve -- something virtually impossible to do by hand. With a spreadsheet, however, we can generate the “noise” using the random number function, and quickly plot several graphs like those in Figures 13 and 14, to visually see the effect of the noise on the communication wave. The noise can be added by including a summand using the @rand function and multiplying it by the amplitude times a factor, such as .35 to represent a noise which is 35% of the signal strength. Once the graph is set up, as in Figures 13 and 14, the recalculate key (F9) can be used to generate a new sample with noise. Alternate use of the F9 key and the F10 (graph) key can show example after example in a matter of seconds. Experiments with changing the strength of the noise can be performed almost as easily as with an oscilloscope.

Conclusion:

We see that these technological developments indeed can have a significant impact upon the student's learning experience. More and more, however, we are faced with the problem of assessing and guiding this impact. Just as the student who took calculus in high school cannot understand why the college math teacher insists on having her learn to use the definition of a derivative and practice taking limits of difference quotients, the student with a graphing calculator or a spreadsheet program will have trouble understanding why an answer given by that device is considered to be only approximate, and may require explanation and justification. It is clear that technology will revolutionize the teaching of mathematics. It is clear that we are living and studying in very exciting times. It is also clear, however, that we have only scratched the surface and there will be a lot of false starts and stumbling around before the full potential of the technology will be realized.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE CONCERT HARP

Shelley Turnbow

The history of the harp, one of the world's oldest instruments, is, indeed, a colorful one. Harps--those that are extant and those that exist both in art and music manuscripts--date back to as early as the fourth millennium B.C.¹ The forty-seven string concert-size harp of today (Illustration 1), complete with seven double-action pedals to change strings from flat to natural to sharp, has undergone numerous changes from the harp of ancient times. This paper summarizes the development of the modern full-size harp by delineating an "era" approach.

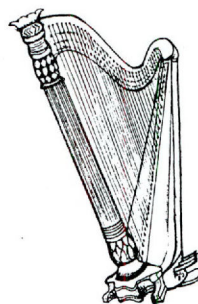


Illustration 1

ANTIQUITY

The first harp(s), called the *arched* harp, consisted of none other than a rounded branch with some type of attached string(s), as in a hunter's bow (Illustration 2). Earliest surviving examples of harps in Mesopotamia and present-day Iran and Yugoslavia, along with those in art works show instruments with up to six strings that were plucked with fingers of both hands.² These harps had no front column, as do the harps of today, but some had resonators at the bottom (Illustration 3). These harps were most often held across the lap. Artifacts found in India during the same time-period show lap instruments that were played with a plectrum in the right hand,³ while the left hand apparently muffled the remaining strings. Some of the harps of Sumeria, and somewhat later in Egypt, were taller and most usually possessed resonators, or what are called sounding boards today (Illustration 4).



Illustration
2

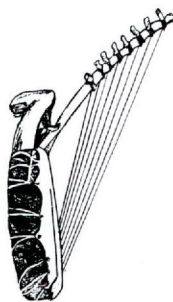


Illustration
3



Illustration
4

¹Rajka Dobronic-Mazzoni, *The Harp* (Zagreb: Graficki Azvod Hrvatske, 1989), p. 9.

²Alan Kendall, *The World of Musical Instruments* (London: Hamlyn, 1972), pp. 37, 40.

³Roslyn Rensch, *Harps and Harpists* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana: Indiana UP, 1989), p. 15.

By ca. 1800 B.C. in Mesopotamia, the *angular* harp emerged. No longer contained within a rounded frame, these V-shaped harps could be held vertically or horizontally (Illustration 5). Existing art works show horizontally- or vertically-held harps, with or without resonators, with usually seven to twenty strings that were either plucked or strummed. But there was still no column to add strength to the frame. Strings could be tuned, but the exact tuning (whether modal or chromatic) of these strings can only be left to speculation. Arched and angular harps were popular in Greece, Rome, and Egypt, with the vertical position believed to have been more common than the horizontal.

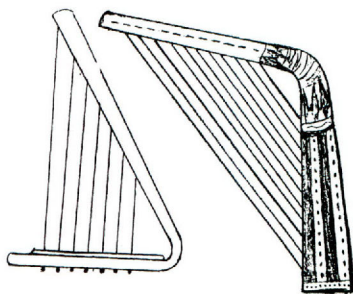


Illustration
5

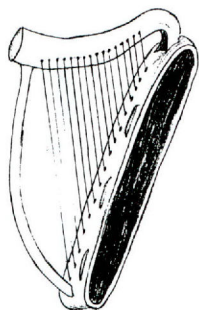


Illustration 6

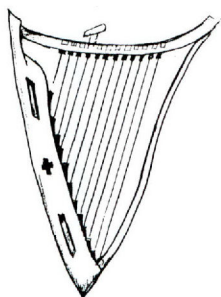


Illustration 7

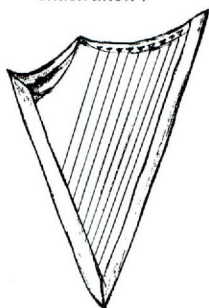


Illustration 8

MIDDLE AGES

In Europe, there are no materials whatsoever that indicate the presence of the harp prior to the seventh century.⁴ The first actual mention of the term “harpa” in a musical treatise occurred in about 600 by the Bishop Fortunatus of Poitiers, who was referring to, most likely, the arched or angular harp. From as early as the eighth century A.D., however, what is called the *frame*, *telyn*, or *medieval*, harp was shown in a variety of Western-European art (Illustration 6).⁵ This new triangular harp was sturdier than the previous two due to the structural addition of a curved front column. The harp fit, most often, on the performer’s knees or was hand-held.

Tuning was probably modal. Harps had from twelve to twenty-two strings that were thought to have been made of gut, metal, or a brass-like product.⁶ Surviving artwork also indicates that harps had tuning pins (Illustration 7), and the strings were often played with the fingernails of the first three fingers, or with a plectrum to produce a brighter, brassier sound.

By the fourteenth century, the shape of the neck, at the point where it connected to the sounding board, changed from a simple V shape to a squarish shape (Illustration 8). Tunings of these harps were either modal or diatonic with some chromatic alterations. There were now up to twenty-five strings (as confirmed by Guillaume Machaut in his essay *Dit de la harpe*). Additional bass strings were added at the end of the era to extend the bass range.

⁴Dobronic-Mazzoni, p. 21.

⁵Harps prior to this time were known by different names such as *balang*, *gal-balang*, *tebuni*, and *tobuni*, to name a few.

⁶Frances Kelly, *Harp Collection* (compact disc notes). (England: Amon RA Records, 1989), p. 6.

The frame harp was well suited to the playing of melodies or tenors, accompanied by drones, or to providing simple two-note combinations as accompaniment to other instruments.⁷ In addition, the frame harp often accompanied the voice and played with other instruments in various groupings. In the French manuscript *Roman de Tristan* (ca. 1416 and located in the National Library of Austria), episodes in the story of Tristan and Isolde are described. The characters frequently sang *lais* and played a (frame) harp.

RENAISSANCE

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw many new varieties and sizes of harps. Music theorist Sebastian Virdung, in *Musica getutscht* (1511), confirmed the apparent confusion about terminology distinguishing between plucked instruments by stating, “What one man names a harp, another calls a lyre.”⁸ But as we look retrospectively now, two basic groups can be delineated. The Irish, or *Celtic* (or Clarsach), harps contained thirty to thirty-six strings and were found in different sizes, often as tall as three feet and look virtually the same as the harp in Illustration 6 but larger. These harps were diatonic instruments but could be altered chromatically by the hand stopping the strings at various points. As well, works of art show that sometimes fingernails were used to strike the metal or brass strings.

The western-European Renaissance, or *Gothic*, harp was taller, with a slender soundbox or board constructed of pieces of wood hollowed out to form a cavity, then glued back together⁹ (Illustration 9). Each instrument consisted of usually twenty-four to thirty-four strings attached to brays--wooden pins that vibrated against the plucked strings to produce a fashionable buzzing sound.¹⁰ Strings were now gut or horsehair--somewhat lighter, softer, and more fragile than their metal predecessors--and were plucked with the fingertips. Tunings were usually in the modes of aeolian or ionian, although it is known that strings were often re-tuned to allow the chromatic notes B-flat and E-flat. Some Renaissance harps were hand-held while others were placed in a stationary position on the floor.

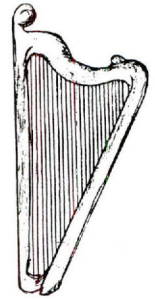


Illustration 9

Solo harp music from the period consists primarily of adaptations of vocal music and that of early keyboard music. The harp was also played in ensembles and was used as an accompanying instrument to the voice as depicted by Jacopo Peri as the singer Arion (with a Gothic harp) in the fifth intermedio (of 1589) by Peri and Cristofano Malvezzi (performed before the comedy *La Pellegrina* by Girolamo Bargagli).

BAROQUE

As music saw a rise in chromaticism, a variety of harps was produced over the next two-hundred years which attempted to fill the need for easy chromatic changes. The *arpa doppio*, or double harp, an Italian or perhaps Irish invention, was an early-Baroque manifestation, first described in detail by Vincenzo Galilei in 1581. Described by Galilei to be a chromatic, double-strung, and “double-bass” instrument, the double harp was strung with

⁷Ibid., pp. 6-7.

⁸K. Nef, *Sebastian Virdungs Musica getutsch* (Basel: Kongressbericht, 1924), pp. 7-10.

⁹*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. “Harp,” by Ann Griffiths and Joan Rimmer.

¹⁰Kelly, p. 7.

two courses of parallel strings. The first examples were thought to have been strung with strings that were colored. Usually one course of strings was strung chromatically while the other was strung diatonically.¹¹ One hand played the diatonics while the other played chromatics. Other tunings were thought to have been possible as well.

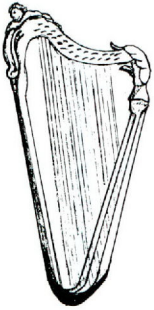


Illustration 10

One of the few art sources of the double harp comes from the title page of three of Handel's compositions with St. Cecilia holding the double harp. "...very few original specimens of double harps have been preserved (Illustration 10)."¹²

The double harp was favored by Claudio Monteverdi (in his 1607 production of *Orfeo* and in other works) and by other Italian composers such as Giulio Caccini, Emilio de' Cavalieri, Luca Marenzio, Stefano Landi, and Luigi Rossi, whose wife was a famed Neapolitan double-harpist. The double harp was played subsidiarily in the chromatic madrigals of the late sixteenth century and continued its role as a continuo instrument in madrigals, masses, motets, and oratorical works of the day.

Confusion in terminology, however, still existed in the Baroque period, as Michael Praetorius described in his *Syntagma musicum* (of 1619) the large, upright double psaltery (a zither-like instrument), strung with metal strings on both sides of a large soundbox, as a double harp.¹³ One of the last historical uses of the true double harp, however, was thought to have been in Handel's opera *Admeto* of 1727.

An Italian invention, the *triple*, or Welsh, harp was popular in the late Renaissance period through the late Baroque era. Marin Mersenne called it his "normal harp of the day" (in his treatise *Harmonie universelle* of 1632) but stated that other harps also existed where mutable strings were available.¹⁴ This triple instrument, also called "telyn," had three parallel rows of strings (Illustration 11). The two outer rows were usually tuned to the same diatonic scale, while the inner row could be tuned chromatically.¹⁵ The inner row was extremely difficult to reach, and it is thought that the harpist must have done a great deal of sitting and standing. Many harp parts were written to be played on the triple harp,¹⁶ from consorts by William Lawes to operas and oratorios by George Frederic Handel. (A recent revival of the triple harp among modern instrument-makers has encouraged harpists to try using this difficult instrument once again.)

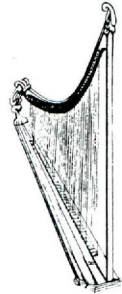


Illustration 11

¹¹Ibid., p. 9.

¹²Dobronic-Mazzoni, p. 34.

¹³Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum*, band II, facs. ed. Wilibald Gurlitt (Basel: Barenreiter Kassel, 1958), p. XIX, ii.

¹⁴Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, trans. Roger E. Chapman (The Hague, Holland: Martinus Nijhoff, 1957), pp. 217-219.

¹⁵Nicholas Bessaraboff, *Ancient European Musical Instruments* (New York: October House, 1964), p. 217.

¹⁶Kendall, p. 41.

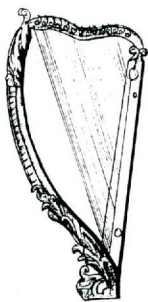


Illustration 12

The invention of the *hook* harp of the second half of the seventeenth century (in the Austrian Tyrol) allowed the diatonically-tuned, single-rank harp to play chromatic pitches. Along the neck was a row of pivoted hooks that, when turned downward, raised the pitch of that string by a semitone (Illustration 12).¹⁷ There were two notable problems with the hook system. The first was that the left hand was temporarily unable to play while turning the hooks.¹⁸ A second problem was that only one string (and not its octaves) was affected.

CLASSICAL

Between 1720 and 1740 there evolved a single-action mechanism connecting the hooks in octaves along the neck of the harp with five, and later seven, foot pedals.¹⁹ The proportions of the harp were naturally altered to permit this change--the foot pedals required the harp to stand on the floor when played. Pedal rods, running through the column of the instrument, further changed the shape of the harp as they necessitated the complete straightening of the column.

It is uncertain as to which of the early harp makers can be credited with the idea of the first pedal mechanism, but Jakob Hochbrucker of Bavaria is usually acknowledged for its invention. (Interestingly enough, Dr. Charles Burney--the first music historian--considered Simon of Brussels to be the inventor.) When the pedals of this *single-action pedal harp* were pressed down, the pitch of the strings was raised one semitone (Illustration 13). Therefore, flat pitches were unavailable to the harp, although tuning the E, A, and B strings down a semitone allowed the harp to be played in keys from three flats to four sharps. Some of these instruments, however, were built in the key of E-flat and, therefore, could play in eight major and five minor tonalities. In contrast with the hook harps, both hands were finally emancipated in order to play the strings at all times. The disadvantage of this development was that turning hooks pulled the delicate gut strings out of line, and often out of tune as well.

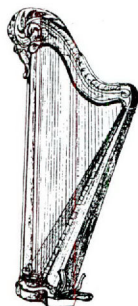


Illustration 13

The single-action pedal harp was introduced in Paris in the middle of the eighteenth century.²⁰ Many fine harp manufacturers, including the Cousineau family (Georges and his son Jacques-Georges) and the Naderman brothers (Jean-Henri and François-Joseph) were located in Paris. Marie-Antoinette, herself a harpist, came to Paris in 1770; and the city soon became the center of the harp industry. By 1784, there were fifty-eight harp teachers listed in the local directory.²¹ Harp interest of the period included champions for the cause such as the philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau and the playwright Pierre-Augustin Beaumarchais.

¹⁷Some fine specimens of hook harps are housed in the Dubrovnik Museum.

¹⁸A modification of this "hook" process is used today in lever, or folk, harps.

¹⁹Kendall, p. 41.

²⁰Kelly, p. 9

²¹Rensch, p. 175.

The single-action pedal harp of the era did not possess a standardized “look.” Many individual instrument-makers tried to create just the right visual, aesthetic effect for their own harps, ornamenting and decorating their instruments in order to “outdo” one another. The Arpa Barberini, a famous Italian period instrument, was built with a column consisting of three beautifully carved figurines. The “whale harp” of eighteenth-century France contained soundbox and neck formed like the round body and tail of a whale; the pillar had the shape of a harpoon, and the teeth, tongue, and suggestion of eyes contributed, as well, to its realism.

Again, harpists of the day played in small ensembles, as the harp was still not a part of the standard orchestra. Harps were also used to accompany vocalists and to play the first solo compositions by composers such as C. P. E. and J. C. Bach, Johann Ladislaus Dussek, Ernst Eichner, Christian Hochbrucker, Johann Baptiste Krumpholtz, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Louis Spohr, and George Christoph Wagenseil, to name a few. Much of the harp’s repertory still consisted of transcriptions of pieces for other instruments.

Several features of the single-action pedal harps have remained to become standard on the harp of today. C and F strings are still colored red and blue/black, respectively. The order of the pedals, D-C-B for the left foot, and E-F-G-A for the right foot, was established in the Classical era. Bass strings are still covered with wire to give added resonance. Only one more major development was needed – to remove the final chromatic limitations of the single-action pedals.



Illustration 14

ROMANTIC

In the early 1800s, a Brooklyn harp maker, H. Greenway, tried to solve the chromatic limitations of the harp by manufacturing the *cross-strung chromatic harp*²² – possibly the fiasco among harps (Illustration 14). With two necks, two crossed columns, and two bodies (each supporting approximately forty strings), the chromatic harp could not be (easily) played in a seated position. The French piano maker Jean Henri Pape also attempted to construct the same type of instrument in the 1840s with no success. Other “subsets” of this variety of instrument, one being the double-strung chromatic harp (Illustration 15), were built by other instrument-makers but did not achieve widespread success.



Illustration 15

Today’s double-action pedal harp was the brainchild of French instrument maker Sebastien Erard in 1810 (Illustration 1).²³ Finally the possibility existed of playing in every key, from seven flats to seven sharps. Each of the seven scale-tones corresponded to a pedal with three (rather than two) notches—one respectively for the flat, the natural, and the sharp. With the harp’s new-found flexibility and ability to produce technical idioms such as *bisbigliandi*, enharmonics, and *glissandi*, it continued its ensemble membership, became accepted as a regular member of the orchestra, and began to be treated as a highly respected solo instrument.²⁴

²²One extant example is housed in the musical-instrument collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City.

²³Hector Berlioz, *Treatise on Instrumentation*, rev. and enl. Richard Strauss, trans. Theodore Front (New York: Edwin F. Kalmus, 1948), pp. 137-138.

²⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 137-144.

The French-made *Pleyel cross-strung chromatic harp* of 1897, another oddity among harps, proved an unsuccessful attempt to rival the double-action pedal variety of 1810. Although this cross-strung version had only one neck, one column, and one body, major problems plagued this harp as well. The strings struck one another when they were plucked with any strength. The resulting tone was inadequate. Classes in instruction on the Pleyel harp were offered in Paris and in Brussels, but enthusiasm was slight.²⁵ Except for the fact that several academies of music in Belgium still offer instruction on this instrument, this harp became nothing but a museum piece; an example of it is located at the Brussels Royal Conservatory of Music.

TWENTIETH CENTURY

Even though the double-action pedal harp remains the twentieth-century's primary harp, other manifestations have been introduced. Non-pedal folk harps and lever harps have become popular. Various shapes and sizes are made today by scores of different companies. The demand for these instruments has been great for students starting to study the harp and for those who choose to use music with fewer chromatic changes than required for playing the double-action instrument.

Born in the 1980s, the Camac hydraulic harp, however, was the newest contemporary innovation of today until prohibitive cost ceased production of the instrument.²⁶ Although it appeared to be a typical double-action pedal harp, a hydraulic box, attached to the harpist's music stand, was actually connected to the pedal mechanisms of the double-action instrument and moved multi-pedals by touching a computerized pedal(s), a concept similar to that of organ pistons.²⁷ The new Electric Harp, produced by several companies, is the prototype of the 1990s. According to Stephen Fritzmann of the Chicago-based Lyon & Healy Company, the electric harp consists of the most sophisticated pickup system designed for the harp to date. Each string is sensed separately using low-profile sensors. Then high-performance stereo electronics mix and preamplify the separate string signals together to produce a stereo output. The amplified sound is a true reproduction of the string vibrations, which makes it more musically expressive to both the player and listener.

Since its inception in 1810, nearly every composer of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has incorporated the double-action pedal harp in orchestral and ensemble compositions. Many, as well, have written solos for the instrument. Most composers today specify a certain vocabulary of specific timbres in their compositions by incorporating symbols that serve as icons or directions in their scores.²⁸ Today's double-action pedal harp, however, is no different structurally from that of Erard's first harps, except for the fact that the instruments now are taller and sturdier.

²⁵Renee Lenars, "The Chromatic Harp and Its Technique," trans. and ann. Elaine Christy Bejjani, *The American Harp Journal* (Summer 1991): 42.

²⁶Mario Falcao and David Dunn, "The Camac Hydraulic Harp: A Revolutionary Concept in Harp Design from France," *The American Harp Journal* (Summer 1991): 42.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Ruth Inglefield and Lou Anne Neill, *Writing for the Pedal Harp* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1985), p. XI-XII.

In his *New Directions in Music*, David Cope states that, more than any other single instrument, the modern double-action pedal harp is capable of sounds of incredible variety, and will continue to attract the attention of contemporary composers.²⁹ Therefore, the double-action pedal harp survives today as the most widely used of all harps and continues to show a promising future.

²⁹David Cope, *New Directions in Music*, 5th ed. (Dubuque, Iowa: Wilkiam C. Brown, 1989), p. 102.

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WATERCOLOR: A PERSONAL LANGUAGE

Elizabeth A. Yarosz

When I first began to make pictures, my visual influences were of a particular type of imagery that had a peculiar, unconventional appearance. These images seemed confounding and literal, all at the same time. I had discovered a kindred spirit among these imagined, wild, vital artworks. A new notion of the world had come to me. I, too, wanted to make paintings that bore little resemblance to the familiar images presented in a lot of contemporary watercolor painting. The ability to make paintings that challenged logic, established tastes, expectations – and even imagination – was the domain I wanted to work in. I had encountered Surrealism, and this discovery led to my continuous fascination with the concept of a coherent though always variable reality beyond the spiritually limited common one.

Surrealistic inspiration still has a dominant effect on my work. My love of the unique and my respect for the demand for honesty in risk-taking ventures, and the richness and provocativeness of an intuitively invented vision - these are all characteristics of Surrealism for which I maintain an enduring regard.

In my own paintings I depict the absurdities of human behavior. I usually construct my paintings with ironic, pictorial narratives as a way to examine personal relationships and experiences. I use a variety of subjects which include figure models as well as inanimate objects. I select the subjects for visual pleasure and layered content. Metaphors alluding to human relationships are created through the placement of and associations with and between the objects.

I use space to exploit the real, the imagined, the illusory. The fact of space itself is an integral part of my efforts at pictorial enrichment. Surface information emphasizes rather than mutes the integrity of the medium, and imaginary imagery dramatizes the visual effects. As a result, an unusual juxtaposition of objects comes to exist within the space; and this heightens an awareness of content. Illusion is a device I use to cultivate the spatial potential of the flat, painted surface. Provocative questions are posed about the difference between recognition and reality.

Their images venturing beyond literal definition, my paintings suggest multiple interpretations of human concerns. As a result, the work can become visually and conceptually controversial. The subjects presented are not intended to placate one but to challenge established values and principles. I feel just as comfortable commenting on significant social issues as I do revealing my own attitudes and concerns about lifestyle.

As I generate my works and season and refine them with thought, I trust my own intuitive nature. I think I have always done that, so the paintings are as honest a set of assertions as I know how to make. At the same time, a polished sense of craft seems essential. Unlike some other contemporary artists, I am not really interested in presenting work that suggests it's in mid-process. A finished quality of presentation is essential, I think, to affirm the possibilities of the medium.

Looking back now, I realize how familiar a companion my watercolor paintbox was through my childhood. As an undergraduate, I advanced my skills in working with the medium. Graduate work helped me clarify my perceptions, helped sharpen my conceptual focus, and brought my paintings into professional status. I have also realized, increasingly,

during the last decade and a half that my work as a university painting teacher is an important element in my own artistic development. Testing the limits of others makes me reflect on my own efforts.

The physical qualities of watercolor work connect me intensely with the medium. I enjoy the sensuous nature of the paint, the feel of the brushes, the textures of papers as I work to unite them in glowing, rich, velvety effects whose sumptuousness seems a central characteristic of the medium.

And one keeps learning. My most current work, for instance, was inspired by travels I made in Italy several years ago. There, in a portion of the world I had never been in before, I found myself drawn to uses that had been made of gold leaf, with pattern, with form, with spiritual references. Elements like those began showing up in my own paintings in the narrative blending of that traditional complex called "the sacred and the profane." Gold leaf haloes - or are they sometimes just hoops? - serve as viaducts to other visual spaces. The quality of the sacred modifies some of the objects that are associated with acts of illusion or magic. The torn, shaped paper becomes a magic window that invites the viewer to get involved with the imaginary place within the frame. Too, my relationship with my husband and friends is alluded to and explored in the work. And, sure, some of the imagery in the work turns humorous and even seems absurd; but that's no violation. Life itself makes turns like that.

NOTE: The following three reproductions from recent work illustrate some of the points I've made. One never, however, escapes illusion. The reproductions are halftone versions of full color paintings.



"The Academician"
Transparent Watercolor
& Gold Leaf
60" x 40"



"The Threshold of Change"
Transparent Watercolor
11" x 9"



"Sneak Attack"
Transparent Watercolor
11" x 9"

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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