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at
The Faculty Forum

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INTRODUCTION

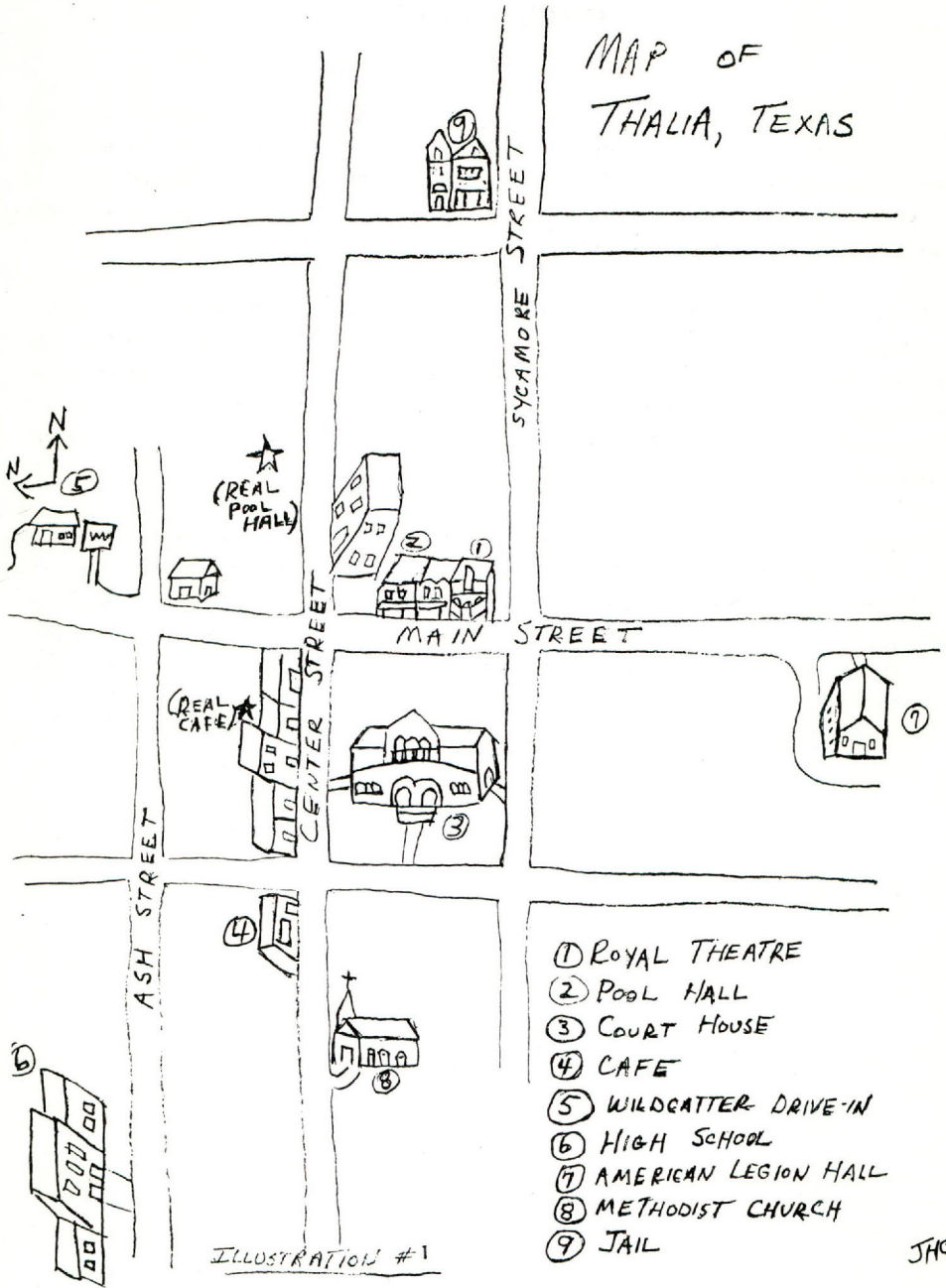
The Faculty Forum program for the 1975-76 academic year was diverse and exciting. It is with great pleasure that we present herewith in its entirety the program in published form. These papers represent the best in scholarship which the Midwestern State University faculty has to offer. They also represent the breadth and depth of academic quality which characterizes all the programs at Midwestern State.

The faculty and administration of Midwestern State are committed to excellence in teaching and scholarship. We are also committed to the notion that exchange and interplay between the University and the community should be encouraged. Thus, Faculty Forum serves two major functions. It permits scholars to share the fruits of their labor with their colleagues throughout the University, and it permits them to share a part of their work with the community as well.

Thanks are due to Dr. John G. Barker and the Board of Regents who have so generously supported the Faculty Forum program. A special thanks is also in order for Dr. Forrest D. Monahan, Jr. who edits our journal. Without his dedicated efforts our publication would not be possible. Finally, of course, we thank all the faculty participants whose work makes Faculty Forum one of the major academic endeavors of the University.

Kenneth E. Hendrickson, Jr.
Professor and Chairman
Department of History
Program Coordinator

MAP OF THALIA, TEXAS



- ① ROYAL THEATRE
- ② POOL HALL
- ③ COURT HOUSE
- ④ CAFE
- ⑤ WILDCATTER DRIVE-IN
- ⑥ HIGH SCHOOL
- ⑦ AMERICAN LEGION HALL
- ⑧ METHODIST CHURCH
- ⑨ JAIL

JHC

WINESBURG, TEXAS: *THE LAST PICTURE SHOW**

Jeff H. Campbell**

The first two novels of Larry McMurtry seem in some ways old-fashioned. They have an elegiac, nostalgic tone; they are written in first-person by narrators deeply rooted in Texas cowboy culture; they concern themselves overtly with what McMurtry has admitted to be one of his major themes: the abandonment of Texas by its horseman "god" whose "home was the frontier, and whose mythos celebrates those masculine ideals appropriate to a frontier."¹ The concern with the vanished frontier, McMurtry himself points out, has "embedded itself" even in the titles of the books—*Horseman, Pass By* and *Leaving Cheyenne*. Both books involve initiation stories, and both give this universal theme a Southwestern treatment, portraying the passing of rural and frontier traditions as the cowboy exchanges the range for the suburb. Although there is realistic sociological concern in both novels, Thomas Landess is correct when he points out that in these first two books McMurtry has at least "one eye on myth"—the myth of the cowboy, the horseman—god departing.²

It is significant, therefore, that in his third novel, *The Last Picture Show*, McMurtry turns from nostalgia and classic western myth to a realistic, satiric expose of a Texas in which the romance of the range and the horseman have been replaced by the ugliness of the mechanical oil rig. The fictional town of Thalia, common to all three novels, is in *The Last Picture Show* no longer a mythical holdover of semi-heroic ranch-hands and cowboys; it has become a dusty, windy, narrow-minded stereotype of stifling provincialism. The name Thalia comes from the classical Greek muse of pastoral poetry, but however appropriate such a mythological reference may have been for the earlier books, it can have only ironic implications in this one.

This third novel, then, is quite different from its predecessors, both in tone and in subject matter. The first-person narration is dropped, although the subject-matter narrated is probably much nearer to autobiography than the earlier stories. Now we have an omniscient narrator who can slyly work in comments of judgment and ridicule, who can make clear his intellectual condemnation of the various people and institutions he satirizes. The high school coach, for instance, is described as teaching civics—"if what he did could be called teaching."³ The narrator's voice and judgment continue in the next sentence as we are told that the coach is not only the dumbest teacher in the school but also the laziest. Furthermore, "he didn't even know the Pledge of Allegiance, and some of the kids at least knew that" (pp. 33-34).

It seems that McMurtry has decided to come directly to terms with his own initiatory experiences, without the aura of nostalgia for a mythical past. He seems to wish to deal explicitly with his own immediate background so that perhaps he can be rid of the

*A version of this paper will appear in the *Journal of the American Studies Association of Texas*, 1976 issue.

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¹ Larry McMurtry, *In a Narrow Grave* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1968), xv.

² Thomas Landess, *Larry McMurtry* (Austin, Texas: Steck-Vaughn Co., 1969), 22.

³ Larry McMurtry, *The Last Picture Show* (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1971), 33. Subsequent references to this novel are in parentheses in the text.

departing god. Probably there is a complex of reasons at work here. The first two novels, although critically relatively well-received, did not create much of a stir in the market-place. Had it not been for the outstanding success of the cinematic version of *Horseman, Pass By* (better known, of course, by its movie title, *Hud*), McMurtry would probably have remained a little-known but respected regional writer. Perhaps McMurtry turned from the nostalgically regional to the sensational-satirical regional in hopes of gaining a wider audience—much as William Faulkner is purported to have turned to the lurid events of *Sanctuary* in order to achieve commercial success denied to his earlier *The Sound and the Fury* and *As I Lay Dying*. Or perhaps there is at work here a more personal need to adopt a different tone, to strike out in new directions in order to mature as an artist.

For whatever reasons, *The Last Picture Show* is a book quite different from the earlier novels. It represents a revolt on McMurtry's part against a possibly over-sentimentalized view of his own rural plains origins, a rejection of a cheap romanticizing too often indulged in by regional writers. In terms of artistic development, such a corrective readjustment is probably quite valuable, as is indicated in larger terms by the results of the so-called "revolt against the village" which characterized American literature in the early post-World War I years.

Before 1919, the typical literary view of the American small town was of an ideal place where the true and genuine American virtues were exemplified and embodied. There was, even then, a touch of nostalgia for days already gone, but nevertheless the Hannibal, Missouri, of *Tom Sawyer*, the Indiana town of Booth Tarkington's Penrod stories, and the "Friendship Village" of Zona Gale's popular novels typified the general romanticized view of the small town as the genuine locus of real Americanism in all its best aspects. Sherwood Anderson's *Winesburg, Ohio* (1919) and Sinclair Lewis's *Main Street* (1920), however, signalled a radical change in the general literary view of the small town. The romantic and nostalgic veils were dropped and a harsh new light thrown on the American village. These villages might still be taken as metaphors for the American heart-land, but if so, the picture was not reassuring. If one were forced to choose between the brash new urban centers and the limited—and limiting—decaying towns, the choice seemed to lie with the cities, which at least promised a new life of the intellect and new possibilities for sensitive and thoughtful individuals.

I make no positive claims of cause and effect here, but it is true that in the subsequent decade American literature emerged for the first time as leader on the international scene. Whereas earlier American writers had modeled themselves on European patterns, now Europeans found themselves imitating Fitzgerald, Faulkner, Hemingway—and Anderson and Lewis. It is perhaps significant that Sinclair Lewis was the first American author to receive the prestigious Nobel Prize for Literature. I am merely suggesting that the "revolt against the village" in American literature marked a necessary step in its coming-of-age. It opened the way for a more honest and varied approach to experience that freed the imaginations of our authors to achieve new stature and artistic maturity.

Whatever McMurtry's reasons for his own "revolt against the village," *The Last Picture Show* marks a watershed in his literary production. His two earlier novels are rooted in the cowboy mythos. The two novels since *The Last Picture Show* are urban in their settings and clearly urban, even cosmopolitan, in their concerns. *Moving On*, the novel immediately following *The Last Picture Show*, maintains the omniscient narrator but

focuses on an urban woman for its unifying point of view, clearly a departure from the first-person rural males of the first two novels. The most recent novel, *All My Friends Are Going to Be Strangers*, once more adopts a male first-person narration, but leaves rural Texas for the urban scene, including Kesey-ite acid-heads.⁴ Whether literary history subsequently determines that McMurtry's later novels achieve classic status and artistic maturity remains to be seen. At any rate, *The Last Picture Show*, with its revolt, suggests a shift in technique for the author.

If McMurtry had hoped for a wider reading audience through this shift to more sensational subject matter, he must have been disappointed by the initial results. The book received little attention from either critics or buyers when it was first published in 1966. Peter Bogdanovich's widely acclaimed movie version rescued the book from its obscurity and made it now McMurtry's best-known work. The most recent novel thus proudly advertises itself as by "the author of *The Last Picture Show*."

Some of the early reviewers noted similarities between McMurtry's novel and the much more famous *The Catcher in the Rye* by J. D. Salinger. This comparison was picked up and played upon by the first paperback edition of the novel, which touted itself as a "Texas Catcher in the Rye." There is some validity to this comparison, in that the author's sympathy is clearly with the young people of his story, who must find their way in a society dominated by adults, most of whom give lip-service to phony ideals and offer very little understanding or help to the young who must struggle to come of age in such a culture. Also, the scatological language and concerns of the youths in the two novels are similar. However, the comparison cannot be pushed much further. Salinger's youthful hero is clearly romanticized in his contrast to the corrupt adult society which he condemns as phony, and he is overly sensitive to that phoniness—so much so that he is in a mental ward at the end of the book. McMurtry's youths seem not much bothered by the phoniness of the adults around them; Sonny Crawford, McMurtry's protagonist, does almost approach Holden Caulfield in sensitivity and perhaps surpasses him in growth and maturity, but most of the young people in Thalia, Texas, are just as phony and adept at game-playing as the adults around them. Certainly no one in the Thalia youth sub-culture is likely to wind up in a mental ward, unless it is Joe Bob Blanton, the preacher's son. His plight, however, would be inconceivable in the fashionable urban world of Holden Caulfield.

The *Catcher in the Rye* comparison, then, is superficial and mostly a ploy by paperback publishers to attract buyers to a new book by climbing on the bandwagon of one already well known. The more serious comparison made by reviewers was with Sinclair Lewis's *Main Street*. Thalia, Texas, becomes Gopher Prairie, Minnesota, moved to the southwest and updated by about forty years. Otherwise, according to Thomas Landess, the towns are the same, specifically in their hypocrisy, their rigid social structures based on new wealth, and their religion which serves the status quo and stunts the intellect.⁵ Landess goes on to point out that this is by now a familiar picture and that "such familiarity breeds contempt for the stereotype unless it is given meaning by

⁴Since this paper was written and presented, McMurtry has published a sixth novel, *Terms of Endearment*. This novel focuses on a middle-aged woman living in Houston, thus maintaining the trend away from the rural cowboy mythos.

⁵Landess, 24.

technical innovation or by a unique setting.”⁶ Landess finds nothing really new in McMurtry’s book and suggests that McMurtry has taken a false trail here, turning from his real milieu as a novelist—that is, the mythos of cowboy and the passing of the frontier—to the harshly intellectual constructs of satire rather than the more fully realized mode of a well-rounded novel.

It is true that the elements of caricature which are typical of satire are present in the novel. The football coach already mentioned is named Herman Popper. The name is suggestive, since the coach pops off verbally a great deal without ever saying anything significant, and also because his favorite pastime seems to be trying to pop the naked boys with a towel as they come out of the shower. There is not one redeeming feature about Coach Popper. He is the archetypal football coach as low-grade boob, viewed by the intellectual.

In his essays, McMurtry dwells at length on what he sees as the warped perspective given high school athletics in most small towns. He suggests that athletics are promoted as a form of sexual compensation, for boys are taught to believe that they are “sufficiently and approvably masculine in proportion to how good they are” at football.⁷ He admits that he may exaggerate “the extent to which the youth of the small towns were suckered with athletics,” but only a little. “Most of my small-town contemporaries,” he insists, “spent their high school years trying desperately to be good athletes, because the attitude of the adults had them quite convinced that their sexual identity depended upon their athletic performance. Some of them shed this conviction rather quickly, once they were out of school, but others of them have not shed it yet, and never will.”⁸ Thus Herman Popper is made the villain of numerous ridiculous incidents, clearly the butt of the narrator’s ridicule. Finally, and ironically, he is the one male in the narrative who is least sure of his own sexual adequacy or identity.

Popper, of course, is not the only target for satire in the traditional vein. Sonny’s girlfriend is named Charlene Duggs, with clear reference to the area of her body that is all Sonny gets to experiment with. Sonny delivers bottled gas, appropriately sold by a man named Frank Fartley. The two most sexually promiscuous females in the town are named Farrow. Of course, they both get the name from their husband and father, respectively (although maybe he wasn’t the father), but nevertheless the name describes their attitudes and activities rather nicely. Such almost allegorical names suggest a heavy-handed intellect at work forcing material into a pre-conceived abstract framework.

McMurtry does share, then, the satiric thrust of Sinclair Lewis. Gopher Prairie in *Main Street* was clearly modeled on the Sauk Centre, Minnesota, of Lewis’s youth. Lewis had been something of a misfit as he grew up in this small town, always suspect because of his intellectual interests, and he was glad to escape to Yale. McMurtry’s own descriptions of his early experiences in Archer City, Texas, sound not too dissimilar, and there must be some interest here in repaying old debts for past insults and hurts. McMurtry adeptly draws on the Lewis tradition to expose and satirize the ugliness of small town life.

I think it necessary to admit these affinities with one of the first “revolt against the village” novels of our literature, and to acknowledge that it shares with *Main Street* a

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ McMurtry, *In a Narrow Grave*, 64.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 65.

strong satiric thrust which condemns the small town in general and Archer City, Texas, in particular. But I think there is much more to the book than this. I find *The Last Picture Show* more like *Winesburg, Ohio*, the other early "revolt against the village" novel. Although *Main Street* and *Winesburg* have generally been lumped together as examples of the same phenomenon, Michael Duty has recently shown that the two are in reality quite different in outlook. If, indeed, McMurtry's book is more like Anderson's than Lewis's, one's final interpretation and evaluation of the novel is significantly altered.

Duty, in a careful study of Anderson and Lewis and their views of American small towns, points out that "Lewis based his social criticism in his depiction of the shallowness and drabness of the small town. He saw the town as a single entity that was often destructive to the individual."⁹ Anderson, on the other hand, according to Duty, does not condemn small towns *per se*. He finds much in small towns that he does not like, but he is more concerned with the individual and concentrates "on the people that compose the town rather than on the town as a single social unit."¹⁰ Anderson is more interested in the people and what they do to each other than he is in the town itself as a sociological phenomenon.

Like Lewis and McMurtry, Anderson bases his fictional Winesburg on the town in which he grew up. In Anderson's case, that town was Clyde, Ohio. The fact that Anderson was more concerned with individuals than with the town itself, however, is made clear from the way his book opens. The book is not really a novel in any conventional sense; rather, it is, as its subtitle suggests, "A Group of Tales of Ohio Small Town Life." The opening story, called "The Book of the Grotesque," describes an old writer who has a dream in which he sees a long procession of figures before him. These figures are all grotesques, but they are not all horrible. Some are amusing, some almost beautiful. Anderson obviously identifies with the old writer and turns his own book into a series of sketches of types of twisted and troubled people who have impressed themselves into his memory. The people are grotesques, tragically twisted, but not without some element of poignant strength and, at times, beauty. They all live in a small Ohio town, but the town itself is not directly responsible for their grotesquery. Their stories expose the seldom-admitted underside of small town life, but with a compassion and love that blunts any edge of harsh satire.

We have already seen that there is a sharp satirical edge to McMurtry's treatment of small-town life. There is also, however, a set of striking parallels to Anderson's "book of the grotesque," the enumeration of which may help to indicate that *The Last Picture Show* cannot be dismissed as mere satirical getting-even-with-the-crude-crass-bullies of McMurtry's youth.

Anderson provides on the fly-leaf of his book a simple map of his fictional town, noting the major locations of the various actions of the book. This map does not exactly match Clyde, Ohio, or any other town. Anderson could have put under it the same notation that Faulkner later provided for his map of Jefferson, Mississippi: "William Faulkner, Sole Owner and Proprietor."—except, of course, in this case it would have been "Sherwood Anderson, Sole Owner and Proprietor."

⁹ Michael Duty, "Two Views of the American Small Town: Sherwood Anderson and Sinclair Lewis" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Midwestern State University, Wichita Falls, Texas, 1975), 110.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

McMurtry does not provide such a map, but a little research on the ground coupled with a little research in the novel enables one—even one without artistic or cartographic skills—to develop his own map (see Illustration Number 1). This map looks very much like the real Archer City, Texas, but there are enough crucial changes to indicate that the Thalia of the novel is a fictional creation sharing characteristics of innumerable small Texas towns. Charles Taylor, who has gone into this matter rather carefully, clearly shows that Thalia is “no perfect mirror of Archer City.”¹¹ The Thalia of the novel, he points out, “is a tiny town with only one street of businesses.” The real Archer City is small enough, but “old business structures surround the entire courthouse square. The town is . . . not the few lonely buildings along the lonesome highway the novel implies.”¹² My crude map indicates only two of the crucial differences between fiction and fact. The real pool hall in Archer City is not a two-story structure just down the street from the picture show. Nor is there any possible real one-story brick cafe located two blocks from the pool hall as the novel says. My point is simply that Thalia is in many ways like Archer City, but it is *not* Archer City. It is a fictional creation of McMurtry, just as Winesburg was a fictional creation of Anderson, not a literal rendition of Clyde.

Other parallels are not so graphically demonstrable, but are much more significant. Landess criticizes *The Last Picture Show* because it has no real plot. It is, he says, “created like an Impressionist painting with a group of discreet incidents dotting in the larger image.”¹³ Landess agrees that Sonny Crawford is the central focal character and that what unity the book possesses comes through him. We have already seen that *Winesburg* is not a typical novel. It frankly admits to being a collection of tales—or, as Landess would say, “discreet incidents.” It is, however, a unified work because young George Willard provides a central figure who relates to all the grotesques in the various stories. He is young, sympathetic, open, and hopeful. He draws the grotesques into telling their stories and explaining themselves, and he himself avoids becoming a grotesque because he remains open to the truths that he learns from each of the others and because he seeks to understand and communicate with them.

The Last Picture Show is not overtly divided into separate stories, but it can be seen as having several different plots involving many different characters. All of them, of course, are inter-related, and Sonny Crawford relates at least tangentially to all of them. There is, here, an impressionistic attempt at building up a portrait of a whole town and a whole way of life rather than a carefully-unified plot line. It is interesting to me that Landess uses the term “Impressionist” as a derogatory term, whereas critics are almost unanimous in using the term as a laudatory one to describe Anderson’s technique of creating an impression of reality through the revelation of crucial incidents rather than through objective reporting. Although McMurtry’s tone and approach are different from Anderson’s, the impressionistic device is a significant parallel.

Although I do not suggest that McMurtry consciously planned it this way, there are several specific parallel characters and incidents. The first “grotesque” in Anderson’s collection is a man named Wing Biddlebaum who had been driven out of a town many years before because as a teacher he was too affectionate with his students. He genuinely

¹¹ Charles Taylor, “Where Is The Last Picture Show?” *Journal of the American Studies Association of Texas*, V (1974), 37.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Landess, 26.

cared for them, and he touched them with his hands as he tried to teach them. A half-witted boy told his father a false story, and the men of the town hounded the poor—and innocent—teacher out of town because they would not have a “queer” molesting their sons. Biddlebaum never quite understood what was wrong, but he knew it had something to do with his hands, so he now tries to keep them out of sight.

McMurtry tells of Mr. Cecil, the only good teacher in the high school. The students don't understand him or his love for poetry, but at least they don't go to sleep in his classes because he's too nice to go to sleep on. He genuinely cares for his students and tries to help them learn something of the world beyond Thalia. His downfall comes when he persuades Coach Popper's one good and serious athlete, Bobby Logan, to go to summer school and take trigonometry. The coach wants Bobby to work out in the gym all summer, and quickly decides that the only reason Mr. Cecil wants Bobby to go to summer school in Wichita Falls is so that he can have him alone in his car as he drives Bobby to the high school on his way to his own classes at the college. The coach mentions his suspicions, and since the school board knows that no “real” man would be teaching English, anyway, Cecil is fired before he can do Bobby any harm. The coach's wife knows the story about how the coach himself roomed with Bobby on an athletic trip and how Bobby awakened to find the coach kissing him. The boys laughed it off, thinking the coach in his sleep thought he was kissing Mrs. Popper. She, of course, knows better, but when she challenges her husband, he replies, “Nobody in this town would believe that. I'm the *football coach*” (p. 154).

Other character parallels are not quite so obvious, but still worth mentioning. Kate Swift is a teacher in Winesburg who takes an interest in George Willard, at first because she sees in him a mind that can be trained to go beyond narrow limits, but then also because she sees in him a vital and virile young man who attracts her sexually. Ruth Popper in Thalia is also drawn to Sonny Crawford partly because he is so different from her husband, but also because of his sexual attractiveness and innocence. The outcome of the two relationships are radically different. Kate only kisses George and leaves him confused. Although it doesn't happen quite so quickly in the novel as the cinema version would lead one to believe, it doesn't take Ruth long to get into a regular thing with Sonny—first on the creaking bedsprings and then on a blue quilt on the floor.

Another parallel is the tormented preacher who finds himself through some overt “sin.” Here, however, the parallel is only superficial and the differences reveal a significant divergence in the two authors' basic outlooks. Anderson has the Reverend Curtis Hartman peek through a hole in the stained glass window of his study to watch spinster teacher Kate Swift as she undresses in her room next door and lies naked on her bed to smoke a cigarette. One night he sees her come in late at night and kneel in tormented prayer. He does not know, of course, that she has just come in from a long walk with George Willard, the climax of which was her kiss that confused the boy. All the preacher sees is that she is praying, and he realizes his own sinfulness and breaks the glass of the window with his hand so that the church elders will have to repair the window and he can no longer be a peeping tom. The minister sees the strength of God in what happened, feels his faith is restored, and believes he can once more preach with power and integrity. Anderson leaves it to the reader to decide whether or not the preacher is right, but he does leave it open for the reader to respect the minister.

McMurtry's minister, Brother Blanton, pastor of the Methodist Church in Thalia, deserves no respect from anyone as he is presented in *The Last Picture Show*. Joe Bob, Brother Blanton's son, is, however, presented with sympathy. He is ridiculed by all the boys—and girls—in the town, and decides to be a preacher so that he can at least receive a little attention and respect in the church. When he finds that he has to preach twice in the city-wide revival held out at the baseball field, he is unable to think of what to say in his second sermon. The day of the second preaching assignment, he picks up a little girl in front of the drug store in full view of the whole town and drives her out to a lover's lane, where he takes her panties off and gives her an all-day sucker. He has found a way to get out of preaching that second sermon: he goes to jail. Like Hartman, Joe Bob has finally become honest with himself and given up pretense. But he has also given up preaching, which McMurtry seems to think everyone should do—unless, of course, one is preaching through a novel! Brother Blanton takes Joe Bob's place and capitalizes on his own son's "fall" to save even more souls and bring the revival to a blazing conclusion. McMurtry does not, like Anderson, leave the reader free to choose whether to respect or to believe the preacher. Of all the faults of Thalia, religion seems to McMurtry to be most diabolical.

Other parallels might be traced, but I want to mention only the two that I consider the most important. The first is the similarity between Anderson's George Willard and McMurtry's Sonny Crawford. Both of these young men provide the unifying forces in their respective books. George, as we have seen, is the single person who moves in and out of all the Winesburg stories, who meets and gets to know all of the grotesques. They respond to his openness and interest and reveal themselves so that the reader can understand and sympathize with them, no matter how warped or peculiar they might seem to a casual observer. George is not like most of the people in the town; he is interested in understanding and communicating rather than in locking up inside himself what is deepest and most important. He learns from his contacts, and the real hope of the book lies in the possibility that George will maintain this compassionate communication as he leaves Winesburg to become a writer. He leaves, not out of bitterness or a need to reject his home town, but taking with him all that he has learned in Winesburg to project on a more universal background.

Sonny Crawford does not have the intellectual or artistic interests or possibilities of George Willard, but McMurtry makes it clear that he is different from most of the people in Thalia. Although very much a normal part of the crowd, he wonders about things and worries about things that most of the others never bother with. His growth is indicated by the fact that he is the only one who does not approve of the idea of setting up a rendezvous between the idiot Billy and Jimmie Sue, the town's cheapest prostitute. He tries to talk the other boys out of the plan, but gives it up because "he really doesn't know how to argue against a whole crowd" (p. 87). Significantly, McMurtry adds that "He never had even wanted to before . . . it was almost the first time in Sonny's life that he had not been willing to go on and do whatever the crowd was doing" (p. 87). Sonny is beginning to differentiate himself from the crowd. He is unable to lie about this incident later to Sam the Lion. And Genevieve, the waitress, talks to him honestly as she does to no one else. Sonny doesn't quite know what to make of this, but he realizes that "for no reasons that he could think of life was becoming more complicated" (p. 107). For caricatures in a satire, life does not become complicated this way. Sonny is not presented as a pejorative small-town stereotype.

Sonny enters his sexual relationship with Ruth, the coach's wife, thoughtlessly enough. But he soon realizes he's into something that has implications. He worries about the affair because he is not sure he is ready for any person to be "his"—it makes him too responsible and he's not ready for that responsibility (p. 114). When Jacy Farrow turns her charms on him, he ignores Ruth, but he cannot "help facing the fact that he had treated her shamefully and . . . hurt her very much" (p. 180). At the end of the novel when he has inherited the pool hall from Sam the Lion and has gone to his first football game as a spectator rather than a player, he begins to feel unreal and starts to cry. He realizes that the only person who could make him feel real is Ruth, and that he can't go to her. Then he feels deeply ashamed: "He realizes that for years she—Ruth—must have felt like she wasn't there; he was probably the only person who had ever made her feel she *was* there, and he had quit her without a word and left her to feel the old way again" (p. 205). He realizes that he has probably left Ruth feeling hopeless, and he now understands "how hard it is to get from day to day if one feels hopeless" (p. 206).

Sonny is no articulate idealized hero. He doesn't grow up to transcend and understand Thalia and give the reader hope like George Willard does. But he *has* learned that it is important to touch people's lives in a way so that they can feel real—he has had such experiences with Ruth, with Billy, with Sam the Lion, with Genevieve, and even with Lois Farrow. He has learned how hard it is to get from day to day without hope, and that such hope comes from the few real people that one meets.

This leads me to the final significant parallel I find between Anderson's and McMurtry's books: an underlying affirmation of the importance of openness, compassion, and communication. Coach Popper and Brother Blanton are the only two characters in *The Last Picture Show* who are mercilessly caricatured. They *are* satirical stereotypes. All the other characters, however, are akin to Anderson's grotesques. They may be narrow, mean, warped, or stupid, but one comes to understand why they are that way and to have sympathy for them. As Sonny gains in understanding, the reader sees above and beneath mere satirical put-down. McMurtry's pen is dipped in acid, perhaps, but its purpose is to etch truths about hum an life that transcend any specific environment. The motivation is a basic concern for individuals, in this case uniquely flavored with small town details which are an integral part of the author's own experience.

Anderson dedicates his book to his mother, acknowledging that her "keen observations on the life about her first awoke in me the hunger to see beneath the surface of lives." Although he is writing his stories in a bustling metropolitan environment and is quite conscious of being a part of what has come to be called the "Chicago Renaissance," Anderson lovingly remembers his small town roots and the lessons about life he learned there. Similarly, McMurtry "lovingly" dedicates *The Last Picture Show* to his home town. Most local readers of the book undoubtedly took this to be an ironic reference, a sort of tongue-in-cheek apology for the insults the book offered to Archer City and its residents. I am inclined to take the dedication seriously, for I find in the book evidences of a very real, if quite ambivalent, love for the author's personal origins.

Although I have certainly not cited all the specific examples the book offers, I hope that I have suggested adequately the underlying love and compassion that *The Last Picture Show* conveys. Further support for my interpretation of the incidents in the book may be found in several comments in McMurtry's book of essays, *In a Narrow Grave*. These references corroborate the author's deep and abiding attachment to his roots. He

says, for instance, "However boring Texas might be to move to, it is not a boring place to be rooted . . . Living here consciously uses a great deal of one's blood; it involves one at once in a birth, a death, and a bitter love affair."¹⁴ The birth, of course, involves the changes Texas is going through, changes described in *The Last Picture Show* in which a small Texas town is no longer on the bold frontier but faces the same problems faced earlier by Gopher Prairie and Winesburg. The death is that of the cowboy way of life that was simple and genuine, involving people McMurtry insists "one could not help but love."¹⁵ The love affair is what most interests me. It is bitter, he indicates, and is "of the heart and blood, really more physical than would have seemed possible, with a land so unadorned; but the quality of one's intimacy with a place seems to depend as little on adornment as the quality of one's intimacy with a woman."¹⁶ McMurtry wonders if the time will come for him to end the affair by either parting or marrying, but feels he cannot do either. "Parting would not leave me free," he says, "nor marriage make me happy."¹⁷ He cannot end the affair—really does not want to—even though he confesses that his feelings about his Texas roots involve "a very deep ambivalence . . . as deep as the bone."¹⁸ Such ambivalence, he avers, "can be the very blood of a novel."¹⁹ What I have been suggesting is that, at least in the case of *The Last Picture Show*, such ambivalence is indeed the very blood of the novel.

Such ambivalent feelings on the part of an author about his roots are not unusual. Hawthorne, in his famous introduction to *The Scarlet Letter*, confesses his pride in his Salem upbringing and at the same time his need to raise his children elsewhere. And he acknowledges his Puritan forebears with ambiguous words suggesting both respect and condemnation, confessing that they, in turn, would certainly be disappointed in a descendant who turned out to be a mere "writer of story books."²⁰ McMurtry echoes almost exactly those sentiments when he writes of his own McMurtry ancestors: "I write of them here not to pay them homage, for the kind of homage I could pay they would neither want nor understand; but as a gesture of recognition, a wave such as riders sometimes give one another as they start down opposite sides of a hill."²¹

It took a Nobel Prize and an eloquent address on William Faulkner's part to convince the people of Oxford, Mississippi, and the world that Faulkner was not maligning the south with his stories of decadence, doom, violence, and perversion. He was, he said, seeking to expose the "old verities" of the human heart in conflict with itself, of the centrality of the old truths of "love and honor and pity and pride and compassion and sacrifice."²² Although it is now easy to see the pity and compassion and deep love in works like *Absalom! Absalom!*, Southern readers in 1936 found little but bitter exposure

¹⁴ McMurtry, *In a Narrow Grave*, xiii.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, xiii-xiv.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, xiv.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 142.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Scarlet Letter* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1962), 12.

²¹ McMurtry, *In a Narrow Grave*, 143.

²² William Faulkner, "Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech," in *Nobel Prize Library: William Faulkner, Eugene O'Neill, John Steinbeck* (New York: Alexis Gregory, 1971), 7.

of a much-revered way of life. At the conclusion of that Faulkner novel, its narrator, Quentin Compson from Jefferson, Mississippi, is asked by his Harvard roommate, a native of Canada, "Why do you hate the South?" Quentin replies—with growing vehemence—"I don't hate it . . . I don't hate it . . . *I don't hate it!*"²³ Perceptive readers of the novel will agree that Quentin is telling the truth. He does *not* hate his southland home—but he loves it in an ambivalent way because he recognizes both its strengths and its weaknesses and knows that he shares those same traits.

The Last Picture Show, then, is McMurtry's personal coming to terms with his own love/hate relationship with his background. He no more hates Archer City than Quentin Compson hates the south—but his relationship is the ambivalent one of a sensitive artist who seeks to be true to himself, his region, and his calling. McMurtry acknowledges his debt to his rural upbringing, saying:

I doubt, in fact, that I have any business setting a novel in any city, Texan or otherwise, for though I have lived in cities twelve years they have apparently failed to seed my imagination with those pregnant images from which a living and well-voiced fiction might grow. In this I seem to be one with my regional contemporaries; with very few exceptions, no Texas novelist has drawn a novel of any distinction out of city experience.

This of course is a circumstance sure to be altered soon. For the moment, however, the point stands: we are country writers yet, but country writers who have moved to the city to write. We are several degrees more remote from the country than Bedichek or Dobie, but the emotions, images, symbols that animate our books pertain to the country still. We too are symbolic frontiersmen, most of us, attempting to keep the frontiersman's sense of daring and independence by seeking these qualities, not in the life of action, but in the life of the mind. It is still daring enough, in Texas, to commit oneself to the life of the mind, and it is our only corollary to that other kind of daring—a kind that has small place in this land of cities.²⁴

When he wrote these words, McMurtry had not attempted his two most recent novels, which do utilize city backgrounds. Perhaps the somewhat harsh and brutal dealing with the Texas "country" was a necessary step for him to "move on"—to draw a suggestion from the title of his fourth novel.

Whatever the course of McMurtry's novelistic career, *The Last Picture Show* will stand as a watershed, a turn in a new direction. That new direction, however, will not involve a rejection of his regional roots. His love affair with Texas may continue to have its bitterness, but it will not be ended. As he says at the conclusion of his book of essays, the images that have most caught his imagination have all come from "Old Texas, but it would not be hard to find in today's experience, or tomorrow's, moments that are just as

²³William Faulkner, *Absalom! Absalom!* (New York: The Modern Library, 1951), 378.

²⁴McMurtry, *In a Narrow Grave*, 137.

eloquent, just as suggestive of gallantry or strength or disappointment." "Indeed," he continues, "had I more taste for lawsuits I would list a few for balance."²⁵ Apparently the fictionalization in *The Last Picture Show* was adequate to protect him from lawsuits; in any event, in the Thalia of the 1950's he did find eloquent moments suggestive of gallantry, strength, and disappointment—not just bitter satire. "Texas," McMurtry avers, "is rich in unredeemed dreams, and now that the dust of its herds is settling the writers will be out on their pencils, looking for them in the suburbs and along the mythical Pecos. And except to paper riders, the Pecos is a lonely and a bitter stream."²⁶

Texas was that way; Texas is that way. From Hud Bannon to Sonny Crawford in Thalia and on through and beyond Danny Deck in Houston and San Francisco, McMurtry will continue to explore—lovingly—those unredeemed Texas dreams.

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²⁵ *Ibid.*, 173.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

SARGENTO MAYOR VALERIO CORTÉS DEL REY: MINER, LANDOWNER, BUSINESSMAN AND SLAVEOWNER

Harry Hewitt*

Spain's rapid exploration and colonization ventures north of Mexico City pushed deep into the central plateau country, reaching the Río Florido by the early 1560's when Santa Bárbara was founded. This activity on the northern frontier was a result of Francisco Ibarra's appointment as Governor and Captain-General of the Kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya in 1562. For 70 years geographic ruggedness coupled with relatively unimpressive silver discoveries limited interest in that area to a few hardy Spaniards, but the discovery of a silver bonanza in the Santa Bárbara jurisdiction initiated a silver rush which brought many people north from Mexico City and Zacatecas and led to the establishment of the important Parral mining district in 1631.¹

Most immigrants to Nueva Vizcaya were

poor men, miners and colonizers with itching feet, as well as soldiers of fortune, mounted vagabonds, and cattle thieves—the scum, but at the same time the vanguard of a society shifting northward.²

Although few of these frontiersmen achieved the degree of wealth of their counterparts in Mexico City, the relatively isolated mining and agricultural economy of frontier Nueva Vizcaya provided ample resources for many to live well and in positions of influence.

Ibarra, his successors and lieutenants exercised a strong hold over Nueva Vizcaya, so strong that royal officers both civil and ecclesiastical frequently referred to these inhabitants as “poderosos vecinos and hombres ricos y poderosos” in their reports to the crown.³

One such man was Valerio Cortés del Rey, born in 1610 in Saragosa in the Iberian kingdom of Aragón, who arrived in the Parral area sometime before 1633.⁴ His rise to wealth provides an excellent example of the mobility available to an enterprising individual on the frontier. At his death in 1691 he was one of the wealthiest men in the kingdom.

He served at least one term in the office of *Sargento Mayor* between 1660 and 1666 during the administration of Governor Francisco Gorraez y Beaumont. This appointment was terminated by Gorraez's successor, Antonio de Oca y Sarmiento who removed Cortés

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¹ Francisco R. Almada, *Resumen de Historia del Estado de Chihuahua*, (Mexico: Libros Mexicanos, 1955), 56.

² Francois Chevalier, *Land and Society in Colonial Mexico*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 148.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ El Archivo Municipal de Hidalgo del Parral, 1633 Minas Solares y Terrenos, 100, frame 438, Minería-Demanda que hizo Don Valerio Cortés del Rey de la Mina llamada El Oro en Santa Bárbara. This is the earliest citation I have found pertaining to Cortés in the Parral area. Almada, *Resumen de Historia*, p. 78, states that Cortés was born in 1610. Hereafter El Archivo Municipal de Hidalgo del Parral will be cited AMP and frame will be abbreviated fr. My spelling follows exactly the guide to the Parral Archives, therefore any inconsistencies are a result of inconsistencies in the guide.

from command in an operation against the Indians on the grounds of incompetence and insubordination.⁵ Cortés was by this time a wealthy and important man. According to Governor Oca y Sarmiento, Cortés had told him on one occasion that he was the most important man in the kingdom.⁶ Governor Oca y Sarmiento, apparently trying to break up some of this power, became the victim himself when Cortés brought charges against him in Guadalajara for violating laws prohibiting the governor from engaging in commerce during his tenure. While there were laws which prohibited a governor from enriching himself at public expense, they were more often honored in the breach than in the observance. In this case, Governor Oca y Sarmiento was removed from office by a judge from Mexico City, a rare occurrence during the seventeenth century in the history of Nueva Vizcaya.⁷ It appears that Valerio Cortés had made good friends in influential places. Despite one term as *Sargento Mayor*, Cortés apparently was not a frequent participant in the political administration of the kingdom, a source of lucrative financial reward for several of his contemporaries.

Virtually all Spaniards held military commissions, most of which were purchased, and a number of Cortés' contemporaries achieved success as commanders of presidio garrisons and frontier troops fighting the Indians. Despite the fact that Cortés held the military title *Alférez* and later *Sargento Mayor*, he does not appear to have been involved in any military campaign prior to 1665. Perhaps this explains his poor performance resulting in his dismissal from military action by governor Oca y Sarmiento in 1666. It seems that Valerio Cortés stayed out of the political and military limelight that attracted most Spaniards and worked instead to build his wealth and social power along more subtle but just as effective lines.

Valerio Cortés and brother, Dionisio, were involved in the silver refining business. His brother died in an Augustinian monastery in Durango in 1655. Documents refer to his brother as "Padre Maestro Frai Dionisio Cortés" and strongly suggest his brother was an Augustinian missionary, though that order was normally on the east coast of Mexico and not in the Kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya. On Dionisio's death the monastery fell heir to his interest in the refining plant managed by Valerio. The Fathers expressed no interest in participating in the operation of the refinery and sold out to Cortés for 2000 pesos. In the sale of the monastery's interest, a 7,660 peso debt owed to Valerio by his brother appears to have been wiped out.⁸

Cortés does not appear prominently in the Parral records until after 1643, the year he petitioned Viceroy Don García Sarmiento de Sotomayor for the appointment as "*Ensayador y Valancario*" (assayer and weigher) of the Parral mining district. The appointment to a six year term was granted in January of 1644.⁹ There is no evidence in

⁵ Archivo General de la Nación, Reales Cédulas Duplicados, vol. 31, exp. 457, fs. 432-433. Also see Charles Wilson Hackett, ed., *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1733*, vol. II, (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1926), 197. Hereafter the Archivo General de la Nación will be cited AGN.

⁶ Hackett, *Historical Documents*, 193, 197.

⁷ AGN, Reales Cédulas Originales, vol. 12, exp. 5, fs. 31-32, Respuesta al Marqués de Mancera, sobre la suspensión de don Antonio de Oca del puesto de Gobernador y Capitán General de la Provincia de la Nueva Vizcaya. Also see Almada, *Resumen de Historia*, 72.

⁸ AMP, 1660 Protocolos, 107, fr. 554b-558a, Escrituras publicas correspondientes a los anos de 1658 al 1660.

⁹ AGN, Reales Cédulas Duplicadas, vol. 15, exp. 2, fs. 1v-2, Nombramiento de ensayador y valancario de las minas del Parral y su jurisdicción en el alférez Valerio Cortés del Rey, por tiempo de seis anos.

the appointment that he purchased the commission, but several years later upon resigning the office in 1660, Cortés stated he had deposited 4,000 pesos in the Royal treasury of Mexico City in 1658.¹⁰ Upon resigning Cortés requested that the viceroy appoint one of his close associates, Captain Juan de Salaces to the office. Apparently significant problems in transferring the office were not anticipated for Cortés sold his assaying plant and equipment to the Captain for 4,000 pesos.¹¹ None the less several years later Captain Salaces, while functioning as assayer, still had not received official confirmation of his appointment from either the Viceroy or the Crown. The Captain on two occasions granted power of attorney, including the expenditure of necessary funds, to representatives to plead his case.¹²

The commission as Royal assayer was a significant factor in Cortés' acquisition of wealth. He was allowed an initial expense account of 1500 pesos in order to carry out the office functions and to collect the allowable "fees and profits . . . and no other salary."¹³ Cortés' instructions required him, under pain of death, to be present when any silver was assayed in his office and to collect one ounce of silver per bar weighing 100 *marcos* or less and containing a purity level of 11 *dineros* and 20 *granos*.¹⁴ The owner of the silver was allowed to be present when the assay fee was collected.

Precise records were kept including a number identifying the lot, the date, appropriate signatures, and the amount of silver presented.¹⁵ Before silver could leave the mining district, the merchant carrying the silver to the Royal treasury office in Durango for taxation had to obtain a travel permit from the local *Alcalde Mayor*. A copy of the assayer's report accompanied the silver, thus several different officials were responsible for protecting the crown's interests and acted as a check within the system to prevent fraud. Collusion between the several officials and even the miners and merchants could deprive the crown of its tax, but it is doubtful that significant fraud occurred once the silver entered Royal channels.¹⁶ Most of the silver which escaped taxation simply circulated in the local community while estimates on amounts smuggled out simply are difficult to substantiate. Any silver discovered without the appropriate stamps was subject to confiscation.

The crown probably lost more revenue through an illegal use of the special tax rate for miners than through fraud within the treasury system. Normally the tax on silver was the *quinto* or fifth. In order to encourage silver production, however, the crown allowed miners to present their own silver production to the treasury office for taxation at a tenth or *desimo*. Indians, blacks or mulattoes, even though they might be miners, did not enjoy this tax break nor did any Spaniards who were not directly involved in mining. However, merchants with operating capital would buy silver from Indians and other nonexempt sources at low prices, then enter into an agreement with a miner who would present the

¹⁰AMP, 1660 Protocolos, 107, fr. 790b-791.

¹¹*Ibid.*, fr. 789-790a.

¹²*Ibid.*, fr. 1074-1075. Also see AMP, 1662 Protocolos, G-27, fr. 778-779, De escrituras e instrumentos públicos otorgados ante el escribano Domingo de Valdiviezo, correspondiente al año.

¹³AGN, Reales Cédulas Duplicadas, vol. 15, exp. 2, fs. 1v-2.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, exp. 3, fs. 2v-4.

¹⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁶Peter John Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico: Zacatecas 1546-1700*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 182-183.

silver at the assay office as if it were his production. This silver, known as *plata de rescate*, should have been taxed at a fifth.¹⁷ Merchants were frequently the financiers of the frontier and indebted miners could be found who were no doubt agreeable to such arrangements. "As one miner put it 'the miner can do nothing without the merchant, nor can the merchant do anything without the miner.'"¹⁸

Cortés' profit depended on the silver produced both in Parral and that brought in from surrounding towns. After the 1640's silver from as far away as Sonora came through the Parral assay office.¹⁹ Precise production figures simply are not available, but documents for some years do exist indicating the amount of silver licensed for shipment from Parral to Durango. A detailed study of this information would give at least a general idea of how much silver Cortés collected in fees. Governor Antonio de Oca y Sarmiento reported that Nueva Vizcaya exported 80 to 90 thousand *marcos* of silver annually and much of this would have had to have come from Parral.²⁰

While serving as Royal assayer Cortés continued his own mining and silver refining operation though one might think there was a possibility of a conflict of interest here. By 1660 when he resigned as assayer, he was a wealthy man. He does not seem to have owned numerous mines, but the Parral records show that from time to time he registered mining claims.²¹ He also bought out the claims of miners in operations which were already established.²² He also seems to have made loans to miners and refinery operators who used their operation as collateral.²³

The uncertainties of mining in Parral were real despite the general richness of the discoveries. Very few became exceptionally wealthy and these usually invested their earnings in land or other enterprises. Cortés seems to have avoided rash speculation on mining claims and concentrated on building a strong financial base in silver refineries, merchandising, and stock raising.

The fate of Juan Rangel de Viesma exemplifies well the fate of many miners who failed to capitalize on the wealth of their silver mines. Juan Rangel, discoverer of the rich silver vein that resulted in the silver rush to the Parral area, died in poverty hounded by his creditors.²⁴

One of Valerio Cortés' mining purchases involved him with Ana Calderón and is of significance in that it points out the legal position of women in Parral's frontier society. In December of 1659 Cortés bought "*dose barras de minas*" from Alfréz Diego Carrasco

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Robert C. West, "The Mining Community of Northern New Spain: The Parral Mining District," *Ibero-Americana*, vol. XXX, (1949), 84, see fn. 35.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

²⁰ Hackett, *Historical Documents*, 75, 215.

²¹ AMP, 1647 Minas Sitios y Terrenos, G-21, fr. 97-106, Denuncio de una mina llamada "La Estaca" por D. Valerio Cortés del Rey. Also see AMP, 1655 Minas Solares y Terrenos, G-11, fr. 380-388, Denuncio de una mina que llaman de San Blas que está en el camino de Minas Nuevas, por el sargento mayor Valerio Cortés.

²² AMP, 1660 Protocolos, 107, fr. 717-718a.

²³ AMP, 1662 Protocolos, G-27, fr. 699b-700, 912-915a, and AMP, 1655 Causas Civiles, G-33, fr. 498-512, De Valerio Cortés, en representación de Martiñ Acosta promovido por cobro de pesos contra el capitán Alonso Morales.

²⁴ José G. Rocha, "El Descubridor de Parral Murio' en la Pobreza," *Boletín de la Sociedad Chihuahuense de Estudios Históricos*, Tomo 1, Num. 8 (Enero, 1939), 243. Hereafter *Boletín Sociedad Chihuahuense de Estudios Históricos* will be cited B.S.C.E.H.

and his wife Ana Calderón.²⁵ The mine belonged to her brother Cristóbal de Ontiveros and the 12 *varras* were part of her dowry. The documents in which the sale was recorded reflect that a significant effort was made to insure that Ana Calderón was in fact relinquishing the claim to her dowry voluntarily and that the sale price of 900 pesos for the 12 *varras* was a fair price.

About one year later, in November of 1660, Ana Calderón requested the cancellation of the sale on grounds that it had been consummated against her will.²⁶ Cortés promptly rejected her contention pointing out that nearly a year had passed since the sale and that if she had in fact been threatened then she had committed perjury in agreeing to the deal in the first place.²⁷ Exchanges between the two followed over the next several years resulting in an order from the local authorities that she remain silent pending the outcome of the perjury charge against her which was now under consideration by the ecclesiastic court in Durango. Persisting, she appealed to the Governor, Gorraez y Beaumont, for redress and complained of the attempt to silence her. The governor upheld the local authorities, but in June of 1665 the ecclesiastic court finally ruled in her behalf.²⁸

Absolved of the perjury charge, she renewed her attempt to void the sale. She stated her case in a forceful manner claiming she knew nothing of the proposed sale of this portion of her dowry until the day of the transaction; that her husband had threatened to kill her if she did not cooperate and had then forced her to proceed to the *escribano's* office where the transaction took place. She claimed that her husband wanted to sell her interest in the mine to pay debts that he had accumulated. She pointed out that the mine was rich, producing twenty ounces of silver per "*revoltura*"; that Cortés had realized silver worth one hundred and twenty thousand pesos in that operation, and the sale price of 900 pesos was unfair. In conclusion, she again asked for justice pointing out that the Kings of Spain had decreed laws for the express purpose of protecting women from this type of exploitation.²⁹ Ana Calderón's figures concerning the wealth Cortés derived from her mining interest might be questioned, but it is obvious that she and her lawyers were determined to be freed from the forced sale and had the legal power to fight. The fact that she used her legal recourses as forcefully as she did would indicate that the mine had substantial value.

As might be expected, Cortés rejected her contentions and in May of 1666, Governor Oca y Sarmiento referred the case to a civil court for "a just disposition."³⁰ Unfortunately these documents do not reveal the final outcome, but they clearly show that even in a totally male dominated society women had significant legal recourses available to them.

²⁵AMP, 1660 Protocolos, 107, fr. 717a. A varra is a unit of measure equal to 33 inches.

²⁶AMP, 1660 Causas Civiles, G-2, fr. 1408b, Demanda Interpuesta por Ana Calderón, contra el Sargento Mayor Valerio Cortés del Rey, pidiendo se declara nula una escritura que otorgó ella y su esposo Diego Carrasco, en su favor, por doce barras de mina, en la llamada La Tejada, sita en San Diego.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 1411b-1412a.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 1425b.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 1428.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 1429a.

Another financial enterprise which Cortés participated in and quite possibly added wealth to his coffers was the collection of the ecclesiastical tithe. During the early 1660's he and several of his associates, including his friend Captain Juan de Salaires, bid for and apparently were authorized to collect the tithe from the jurisdictions of Santa Bárbara and Valle de San Bartolomé. In the case of Santa Bárbara they bid 4,000 pesos in 1658 and 4,500 pesos in 1661. In 1662 the bid associated with the Valle de San Bartolomé was 4,650 pesos.³¹ The documents do not give much additional detail regarding the collection of tithes, but several of them refer to Cortés as principal *fiador* or bondsman, suggesting that he was held responsible for delivering the proper amount of silver to the treasury in Durango. Obviously any money collected beyond the amount bid could easily be kept. In 1672 Cortés contributed 10,000 pesos towards the construction of a new cathedral in Parral, a substantial sum but easily afforded and perhaps made possible by his collection of the tithe.³²

Don Valerio's financial interest included significant investments in merchandise imported into Parral from Mexico City. In January, 1659, he formed a merchandising company with Manuel Machado, a Mexico City merchant. Cortes invested 24,000 pesos and authorized Machado to assume power of attorney over that amount. The contract further stated that they would share costs, profits, losses, and debts.³³ This type of business had high risks. Transportation costs and taxes made most goods quite expensive by the time they reached Parral. Proper licenses had to be acquired and this necessitated a good relationship with the governor and his subordinates. Many commodities' prices were fixed by the *Alcalde Mayor*, particularly basic needs such as meat, flour, sugar and alcoholic beverages.³⁴ The prices of cloth and metal tools were not fixed, and these not only were among the most popular trade items but were among the products referred to in the company contract.

Cortés had considerable sums invested in purchasing mercury, a royal monopoly distributed through the royal treasury. Mercury was important in Parral since many of the refineries used the amalgamation or patio process to extract silver. In general, miners had to put up half the cost of mercury allotted them, then when their silver production was brought to the royal treasury the remaining fee would be collected and the miner given a new supply of mercury in relation to the amount he had consumed. Numerous complaints attest that this system did not work adequately for mercury was in short supply on the frontier.³⁵

In 1662 Cortés and five associates, having deposited 20,000 pesos with the royal treasury in Durango toward their mercury allocation, complained that their allotment had not arrived. Cortés put up 6,000 pesos which indicates his sizeable silver refining interests.³⁶ The price of mercury was about 125 pesos per quintal, thus when he could

³¹ AMP, 1660 Protocolos, 107, fr. 448b. AMP, 1660 Protocolos, G-14, fr. 905b-906, 1131b-1132a, De escrituras en instrumentos públicos correspondientes al año. AMP, 1662 Protocolos, G-27, fr. 574a, 775b-776.

³² Rocha, "El fundador del primer mayorazgo instituido en Tierras de Chihuahua: Valerio Cortés del Rey," *B.S.C.E.H.*, Tomo IV, Num. 5 (Octubre, 1942), p. 199.

³³ AMP, 1660 Protocolos, 107, fr. 613-615a.

³⁴ West, "The Mining Community," 87-89.

³⁵ Hackett, *Historical Documents*, 217.

³⁶ AMP, 1660 Protocolos, G-14, fr. 973-974a.

get it Cortés had access to a large supply.

This raises an interesting note concerning Parral's continued prosperity despite the critical lack of quicksilver. Elsewhere in New Spain previously prosperous mining districts were closing down, and part of the blame was always attributed to the high cost of mercury. In Parral, mining, silver production, ranching and merchant activity continued to expand while depression settled over much of Mexico. Part of the answer lies in the lead free nature of the silver ores found at Parral which could be refined by smelting as well as by the patio process. Thus despite the lack of mercury, the Parral mines had substitute means available to insure continued silver production, an option not as easily available to those mines dependent upon the patio process.

Valerio Cortés built his wealth on mining and related enterprises, but in order to protect this wealth he bought land and became one of the four largest landowners in the area during colonial times. In 1674 he was authorized by the crown to establish the first *mayorazgo* in the state of Chihuahua.³⁷ The creation of an entailed estate was the culmination of his career for it meant not only evidence of financial success, but secured him a permanent place among the elite families in Parral. He held property in San Bartolomé, Atotonilco, Cienega, Zaragoza, Satevó, San Pedro de Conchos, Jiménez, and Huejuquilla.³⁸

He was particularly active in the 1660's, acquiring land on the frontier north of Parral along the Río Conchos and Río San Pedro. In these cases he acquired unoccupied lands by petitioning the Governor for a *merced* or grant. He described them as lands recently in the area of the Indian wars, and he proposed to occupy them in order to assist in the defense of the kingdom.³⁹ Lands acquired by *merced* were not free but had an estimated value determined by an investigation ordered by the governor. The land had to be occupied or it could revert to the crown and be redistributed. This same requirement also applied to mining claims.

In 1662 Cortés acquired some land by *merced* near the Indian mission town of Satevó. By the governor's order, testimony was collected showing that the lands had never been occupied and that they were of no use to the Indians who were located at Satevó some four or five leagues away.⁴⁰ Spanish law required at least nominal recognition of Indian land claims, but none of the persons who testified in the disposition of this claim was an Indian or a representative of the Indians. The value of the land was estimated at between 300-400 pesos and another *sitio* of land on the Conchos River was valued at 200 pesos. Thus Cortés was able to acquire choice river bottom lands at relatively cheap prices.

... In 1660 ... Cortés bought outright five *sitios* ... including all livestock ... This one deal involved more than 23,000 acres of land. Previous grants to Cortés included at least ten *sitios* ...⁴¹

³⁷Rocha, "El fundador," 198.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 199.

³⁹AMP, 1660 Minas Solares y Terrenos, G-6, fr. 255b, Registros de unos terrenos por Valerio Cortés.

⁴⁰AMP, 1662 Minas Sitios y Terrenos, 43, fr. 379a, Titulos de unas Tierras a favor de Valerio Cortés del Rey.

⁴¹West, "The Mining Community," 120, fn. 10.

The acquisition of land allowed even more financial diversification for Cortés. Even though the price of livestock was controlled by the local authorities, cattle and sheep were consumed and horses and mules were needed in the mining operations which created volume requirements. The mutton consumed by the population in Parral was usually provided by a rancher who received an exclusive monopoly from the *Alcalde Mayor* through a bidding system. In 1660 Cortés submitted a bid specifying his charges for providing mutton on the hoof, skinned, quartered as well as such parts as the head, skin and entrails.⁴² Despite a subsequent lower bid by Magdalena de Oca Franca, the wife of deceased Pedro de Sapien who had held the monopoly for the previous twelve years, Cortés was granted the contract, but at the lower price as bid by Dona Oca Franca.⁴³ In 1662 he retained the monopoly at the same prices, but there appears to have been no competition.⁴⁴ Despite regulated prices Cortés undoubtedly prospered and his significant activity in purchasing land in 1660 and after is largely related to acquiring land on which to raise sheep. By his own testimony he had 8,000 head of *ganado menor* (sheep and goats) in 1660.⁴⁵ Two years later in 1662 Cortés claimed 24,000 head of both cattle and sheep.⁴⁶

Valerio Cortés purchased a large number of black and mulatto slaves. A statistical analysis of the records would probably show that he bought more slaves than any other individual in the Parral area. His own activity is probably not all that significant but his activity in the trade, coupled with that of many others who obviously were involved in the traffic, is important.

Labor shortage on the frontier was a constant problem and in Parral labor, particularly skilled labor, was not easily available. Thus a free labor economy operated and skilled labor brought good wages.⁴⁷ In order to alleviate the labor problem, blacks and mulattos were imported as slaves. But free blacks also appeared on the frontier.

It was long thought that the expense of importing black slaves was prohibitive to most and the traffic, at most, was limited to two or three brought in by merchants each year. A recent study has shown however, that black and mulatto slave importation was much heavier.⁴⁸ Further the baptismal records of the church in Parral show a significant percentage of black and mulatto births.⁴⁹

Between 1659 and 1663 Cortés brought 24 black or mulatto slaves representing an investment of just under 10,000 pesos. Black youths bought ranged in age from ten to

⁴² AMP, 1660 Administrativas y de Guerra, G-28, fr. 9a, Remate de las carnicerías de la carne de carnero en favor del sargento Valerio Cortés del Rey, pro termino del presente ano.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, fr. 16b.

⁴⁴ AMP, 1662 Administrativas y de Guerra, G-14, fr. 239b, Postura y remate de abasto de carne de carnero, que recayó en el sargento Mayor Valerio Cortés del Rey.

⁴⁵ AMP, 1660 Minas Solares y Terrenos, G-6, fr. 255b.

⁴⁶ AMP, 1662 Minas Sitios y Terrenos, 43, fr. 378b.

⁴⁷ West, "The Mining Community," has the best discussion on this subject, see chapter 3, p. 47-56.

⁴⁸ Mayer, Vincent Jr., *The Black on New Spain's Northern Frontier: San José de Parral 1631-1641*, Paper No. 2, (Durango, Colorado: Fort Lewis College, 1974), 20, see fn. 21.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 18

fifteen while one eight year old mulatto was purchased. The ages of others ranged from twenty to forty, more or less.⁵⁰

Slaves were occasionally manumitted, but usually this was accomplished only if they purchased their own contracts. Documents consulted during 1659 and 1663 showed only three manumissions. None of them belonged to Cortes. In 1687, several years before his death, he freed one 70 year old woman, Gertrude, because of her years of faithful service.⁵¹ One wonders how faithful Cortes was being, seemingly turning this old woman out in order to be free from keeping her now that her services could no longer be exploited.

Valerio Cortés del Rey died in 1691 at the age of 81 with a fortune, estimated at 287,842 pesos, that seems to have been based on profits derived from the office of *Ensayador y Valancario* but preserved and expanded in mines, agricultural enterprises, and slaves.⁵²

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⁵⁰ AMP, 1660 and 1662 Protocolos. The individual documents are variously scattered throughout these two sections which have been cited several times previously. Note that the documents from 1659 and 1661 are located in the year 1660 while those from 1663 are to be found in the year 1662.

⁵¹ AMP, 1688 Protocolos, 115, fr. 865b, De escrituras públicas correspondientes a este año y otorgadas ante Miguel Aranda, escriban público.

⁵² Rocha, "El fundador," 199.

REACTIVE INTERMEDIATES: ELECTROCHEMICAL GENERATION OF A LONG-LIVED ORGANIC DIANION*

Jesse W. Rogers**

Introduction

Research in my laboratory has generally centered about the production and study of very reactive but relatively long-lived organic anions. The purpose of this paper is to describe some of this research and generally relate the results to other developments in the broad field of organic-reaction theory. Hopefully this relationship will be developed through presentation of a specific example in which earlier research of a related nature yielded results that eventually served as a unifying point of organization and provided reasonable explanations for the course of a vast number of previously unrelatable organic chemical reactions. This example will also illustrate that the development of modern chemical theory did not occur via a logical sequence of observations and model building but historically developed through the assimilation of results from a myriad of seemingly unrelated experiments conducted over a period of years. Many generally accepted theories of today were originally formulated by persons of intuition and insight with a minimum of hard evidence.

Consistent with the purpose of this publication, intimate theoretical and experimental detail associated with the work will be avoided. Hopefully, enough detail will be included to allow the reader to follow the intent, results and potential significance of the work.

Chemistry is a vast and highly developed science. Communication within the discipline is dependent upon a large number of terms peculiar to the field. Consequently, every attempt has been made to concisely define most chemical terms.

Organic Chemistry

Historically, chemistry has been divided into four basic areas of study. These include, physical, analytical, inorganic and organic chemistry. Organic chemistry, the chemistry of carbon, had its origins in man's curiosity regarding living matter. Complex mixtures found in nature were found to contain simpler chemical components that all contained the element carbon. The term, organic chemistry, was derived from the erroneous idea that only organisms could produce carbon-containing compounds. In spite of the relationship of carbon to the living world, it may seem surprising that one branch of chemistry is based on the study of the compounds of only one element. The answer lies in the fact that atoms of no other element bond so strongly to so many other atoms. Carbon atoms may be found bonded to one, two, three or four other carbon atoms. This unusual capability, plus the possibility of multiple bonds and the ability to form bonds with most nonmetals and some metals results in a staggering number of organic compounds.

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By the turn of this century, German organic chemists had discovered, synthesized and characterized most common organic compounds known today. In spite of these achievements, the molecular properties and processes responsible for organic reactions were not well understood. The many organic reactions used to produce these compounds appeared completely unrelated. Friedrich Wöhler summarized the state of affairs in a letter to his friend, Jön J. Berzelius, a famous Swedish chemist: "Organic chemistry is now enough to drive one mad. It appears like a primeval forest, full of the most remarkable things, a monstrous and bondless thicket, with no escape, into which one may dread to venture."

The escape from this forest has resulted from the discovery that the vast majority of organic reactions may be categorized into one of only a few basic reaction types. The recognition of basic reaction types has come from an understanding of reaction mechanisms.¹ The energetic, short-lived species known as reactive intermediates that often exist in reacting systems, and are recognized in the mechanistic description of a reaction, will be the unifying theme of this publication.² In fact, most of organic-reaction theory may be organized about these types of species.

The Chemistry of Carbon

The ground state (lowest energy form) of a carbon atom is pictured in Figure 1. The numbers 1 and 2 represent principal levels of energy and the letter designations, s and p, represent a certain electron probability distribution about the atom's nucleus³, Figure 2.

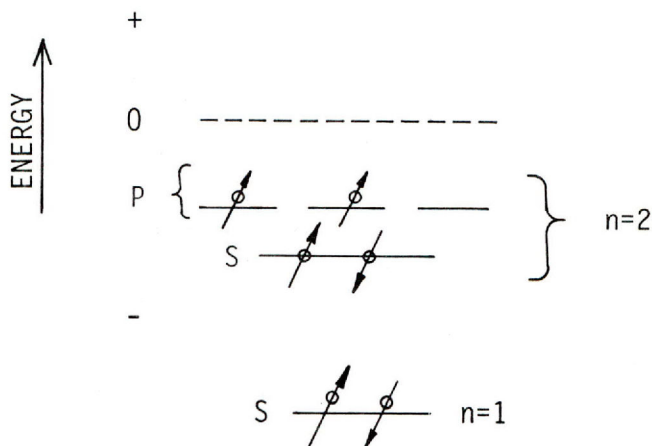


Figure 1

¹The complete description of the reaction pathway from a molecular viewpoint is known as a mechanism.

²The term short-lived denotes any transient species that is not a stable product. The life-times of such species may vary from several minutes to a few micro-seconds.

³The space probability distribution of an electron is commonly known as an orbital.

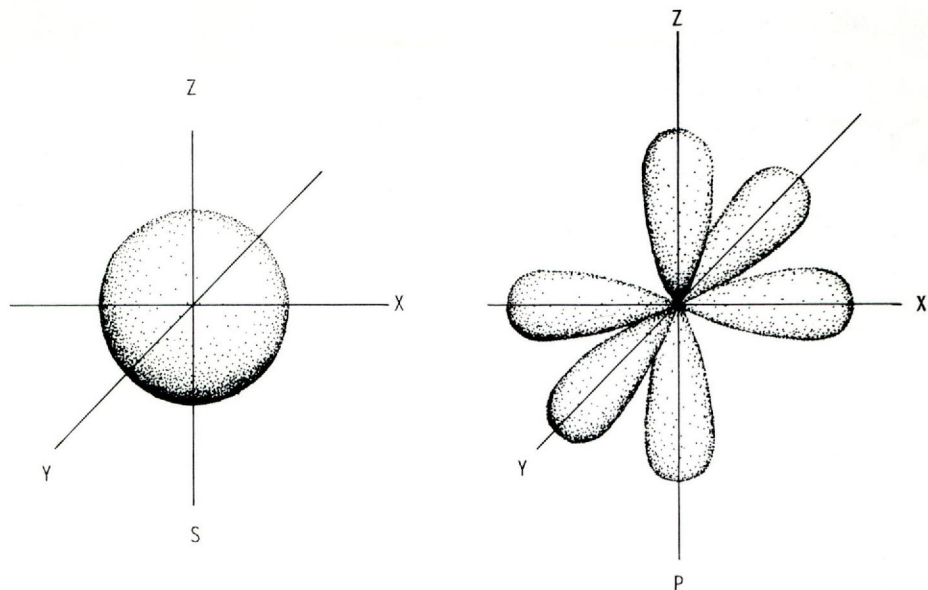


Figure 2

Normally, only the four electrons in the 2-level are included in a bonding theory. These are commonly known as valence electrons and the valence of four results in compounds in which four chemical bonds are always directed toward carbon. It is found that all carbon atoms in organic compounds are either two, three or four coordinated, i.e. they are bonded to two, three or four other atoms, Figure 3. The geometries found about carbon atoms are tetrahedral at four coordinated, trigonal at three coordinated and linear at two coordinated, Figure 3.

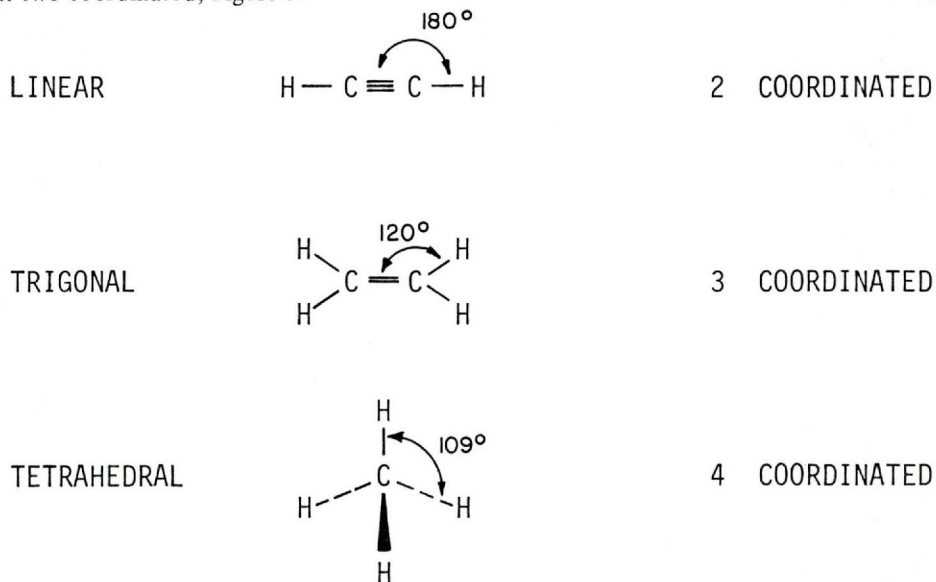


Figure 3

At tetrahedrally coordinated carbons, all four bonds are pictured as being the result of electron pairs shared through spatial overlap of atomic orbitals as pictured in Figure 4. An overlap of this symmetry type is denoted as a sigma bond (σ). The energy of a carbon-carbon σ -bond is approximately 81 kcal per mole.

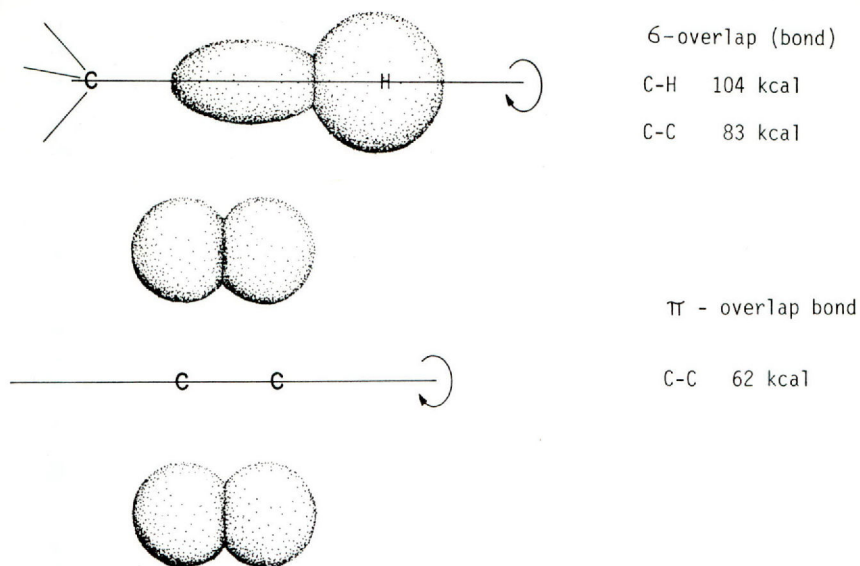


Figure 4

At trigonal and linear carbon sites another type of bonding is suggested by experimental observations of molecular geometry and chemical behavior. An example of this type of bond is represented in Figure 4. A shared electron pair resulting from an atomic overlap of this symmetry is designated a π -bond. The energy of a carbon-carbon π -bond is approximately 62 kcal per mole. Two electron pairs shared by two carbon atoms constitute a double bond and must be shared through one σ and one π -overlap.

Carbon forms an unusual group of cyclic molecules generally known as aromatic compounds⁴. The best known example of an aromatic compound is benzene, Figure 5.

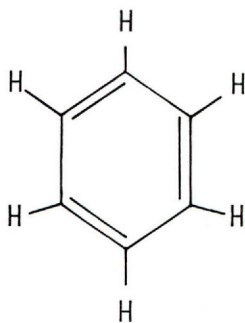


Figure 5

⁴The term aromatic is derived from the word aroma and has only historic significance.

Contrary to the manner in which this molecule is represented, one observes experimentally six equivalent carbon-carbon bonds and a molecular stabilization energy of 36 kcal per mole in excess of that predicted for three isolated carbon-carbon single bonds and three isolated carbon-carbon double bonds. This is best explained by a bonding model in which a single valence electron on each carbon atom is contributed to orbitals that cover all six carbons simultaneously. An adequate representation is given in Figure 6. The electron probability cloud above and below the nuclear plane is made up of various two-electron energy levels referred to as π -molecular orbitals, Figure 6.

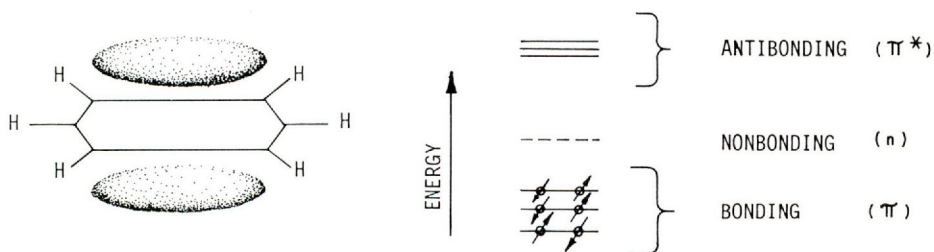
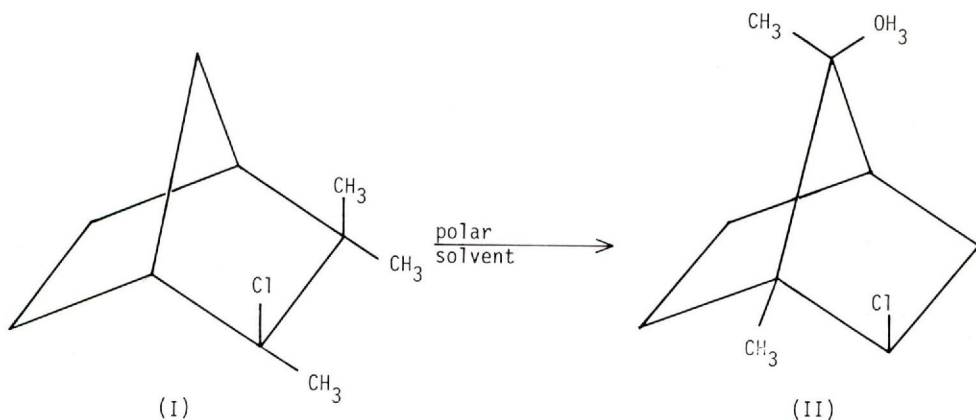


Figure 6

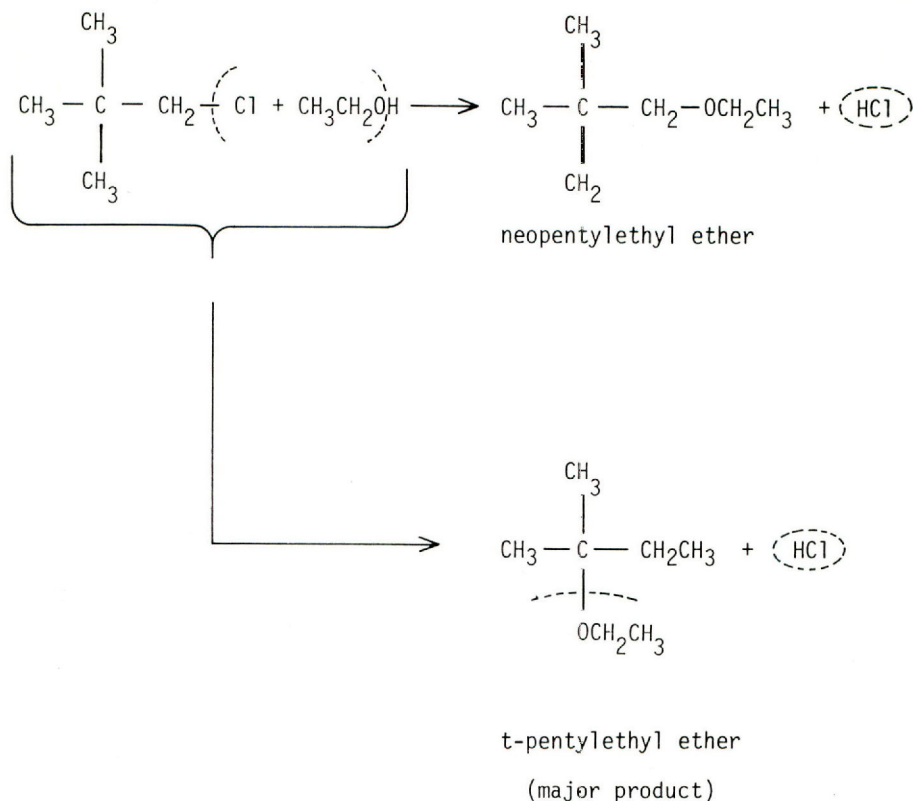
Classic Problems

With this background it is now possible to consider a few of the many puzzling problems perhaps referred to by Wöhler in his letter to Berzelius. A classic problem faced by chemists was the spontaneous, solution phase rearrangement of camphene hydrochloride (I) to isobornyl chloride (II).



The apparent intramolecular movement of methyl groups ($-\text{CH}_3$) in this process, resulting in a gross structural rearrangement, was not consistent with the known inertness of the carbon-carbon σ -bond. This bond was generally known to be very stable and not susceptible to cleavage. Consequently, the total energy required to initiate and sustain such a process appeared so high as to make the observed reaction very unlikely.

An even better known reaction paradox involves the reaction of neopentyl chloride (III) with ethoxide ion (V) in ethanol solvent,

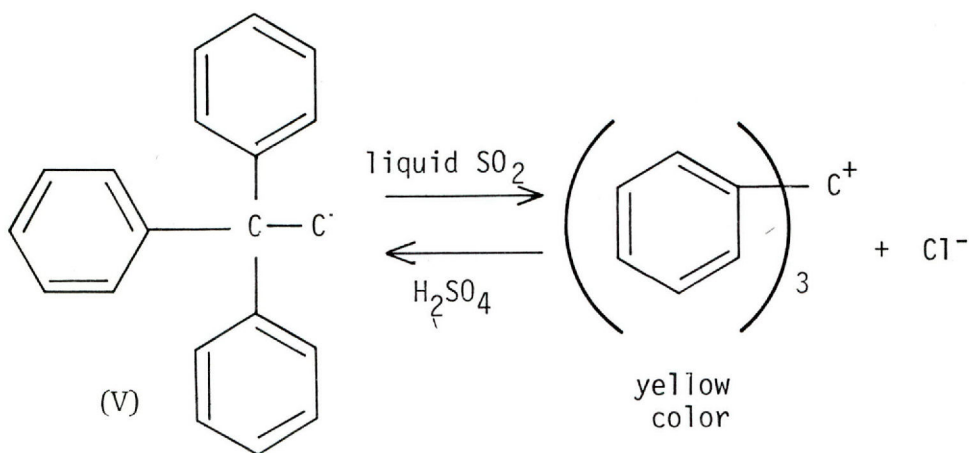


There are two very interesting aspects to this reaction. Other reactions of this general type yield a product in which the ethoxide ion has simply replaced chloride ion from the carbon framework. In the case under consideration, an unexpected rearrangement of the organic fragment has occurred with relative ease under very mild reaction conditions. Intuitively, one expects the rate⁵ of such a displacement reaction to depend upon the number of collisions per unit time between the two reacting particles and therefore upon the concentration of particles. It is found, however, that the rate of the reaction is only dependent upon the concentration of the neopentyl chloride reactant.

⁵ The rate, in this case, may be expressed as the change in concentration of ethoxide ion or neopentyl chloride with respect to change in time.

The Carbonium Ion

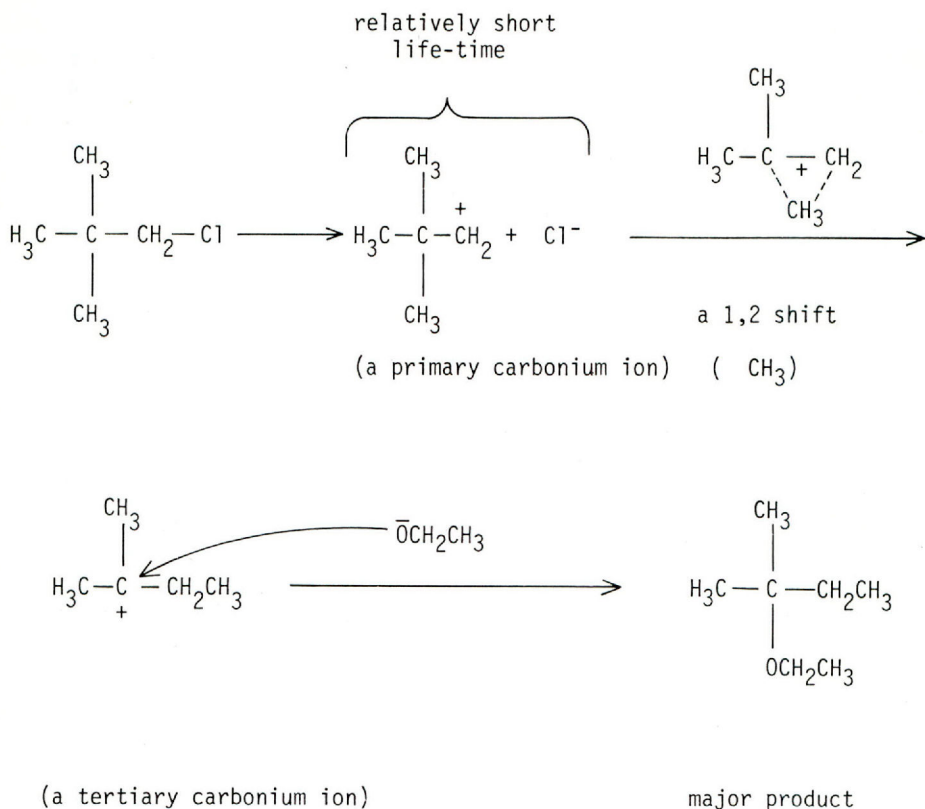
In 1902 Gomberg and Norris, while conducting studies that were apparently unrelated to the problem of carbon framework rearrangements, provided evidence of a charged carbon species that eventually served as a basis for the explanation of a vast quantity of organic reaction products. They observed the formation of a deep yellow color when triphenylmethylhalides (V) were dissolved in liquid sulfur dioxide or sulfuric acid. Based upon these and other observations they postulated that the color was the result of an ionic dissociation reaction in which a positively charged carbon species, known as a carbonium ion, was produced. The reaction is represented as follows:



The conditions under which the carbonium ion was first produced and observed were in no apparent way related to the conditions under which most organic reactions were conducted. However, the experimental evidence indicating that carbon could exist as a positively charged species even under very artificial conditions did suggest the existence of similar species with life-times dependent upon their structure and reaction environment. In fact, the existence of carbonium ion intermediates may be postulated to simply explain each of the reactions previously discussed.

Consider once again the reaction of neopentyl chloride with ethoxide ion in alcohol solvent. If it is assumed that the ethoxide ion does not react directly with neopentyl chloride but with a carbonium ion intermediate formed by a slow dissociation of the neo-pentyl chloride, the rate dependence is explained. Meerwein concluded that cationic intermediates were present in all reactions resulting in a rearranged carbon framework. His concept of a low energy pathway for carbonium ion rearrangements and an

explanation of the rate behavior as found in the neopentyl chloride reaction are embodied in the following mechanism:

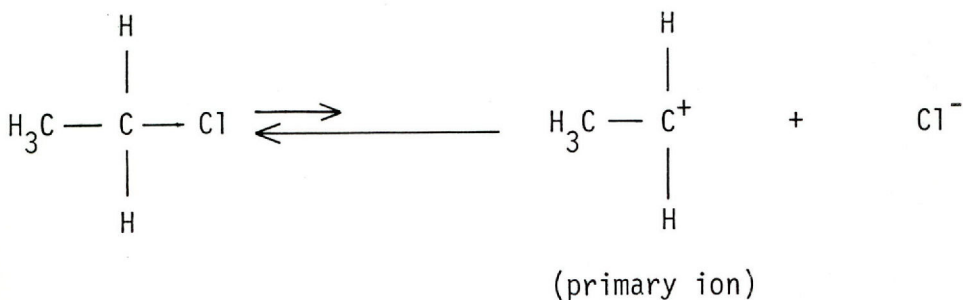
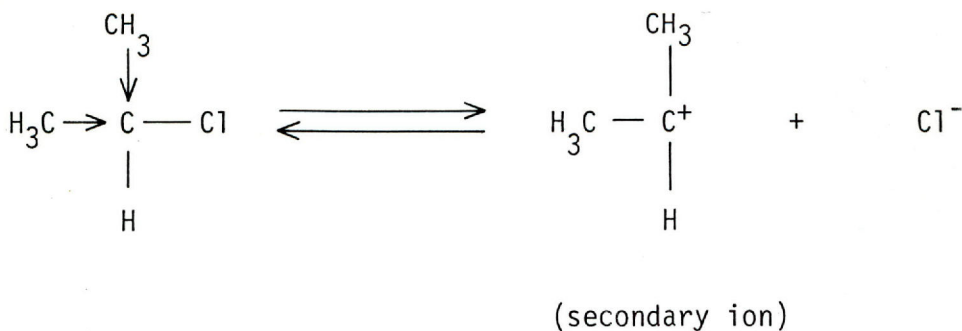
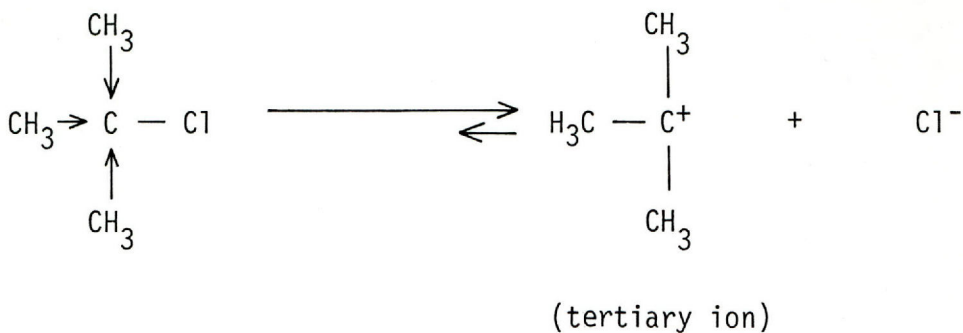


A reaction can proceed no faster than the slowest step in the mechanism. Consequently, the total reaction rate depends only upon the concentration of one reactant, neopentyl chloride, owing to its unimolecular dissociation in the rate controlling (slowest) step of the total mechanism.

The postulated shift of the -CH₃ group between adjacent carbon atoms is consistent with the structure of the final product. This shift occurs through a low energy path in which new carbon-carbon bond formation provides the driving force for simultaneous carbon-carbon bond breaking. This movement is known as a 1,2-alkyl shift.

The only remaining question is, why does the 1,2-shift occur? A great body of experimental evidence suggests that a high degree of substitution at a carbon bonded to

chlorine favors ionic dissociation. Specifically, this may be illustrated by the following series of reactions:



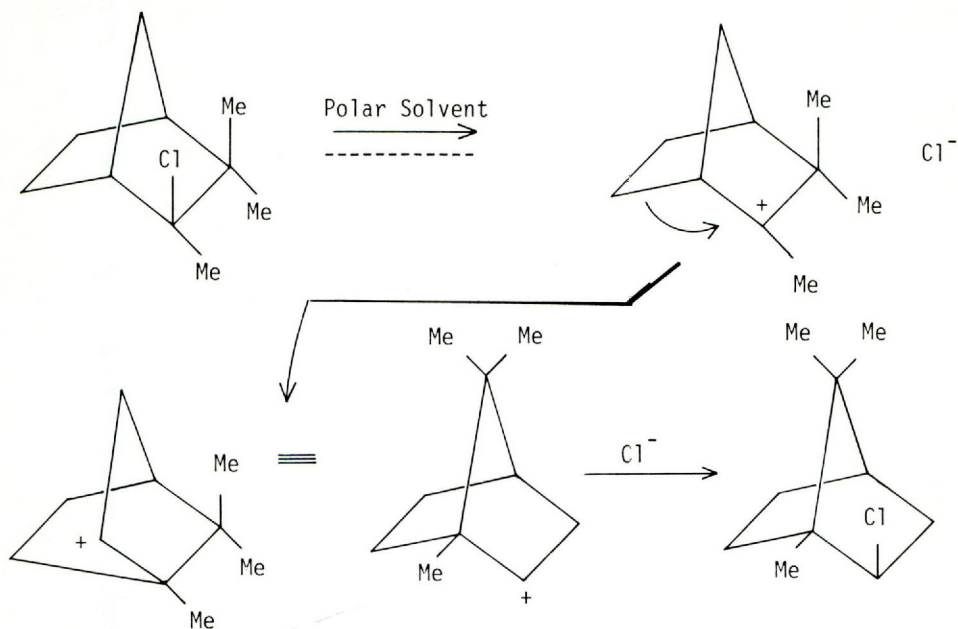
ORDER OF ION STABILITY

tertiary ion > secondary ion > primary ion

In summary the relative order of carbonium ion stability is $3^\circ > 2^\circ > 1^\circ > \text{-CH}_3$. Thus, the 1,2-shift is driven by the lowering of energy when a 2° ion rearranges to the more stable 3° ion.

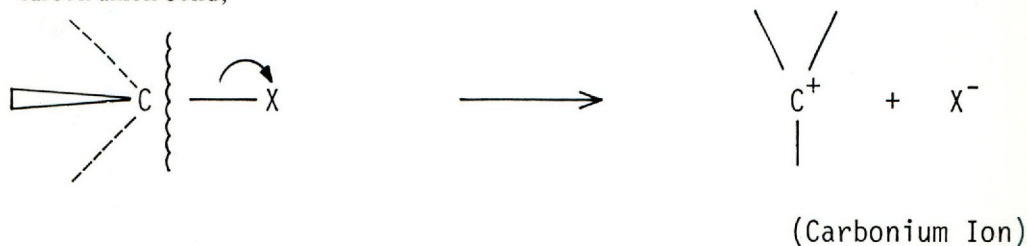
Much of the baffling and complex chemistry of the terpenes was explicable once it was recognized that skeletal changes involving the migration of adjacent groups to positive

carbon were a common occurrence. Consider once again the rearrangement of (I). The apparently vast reorganization of camphene hydrochloride in a polar solvent may be simply explained by a single 1,2-shift of a parent carbonium ion:

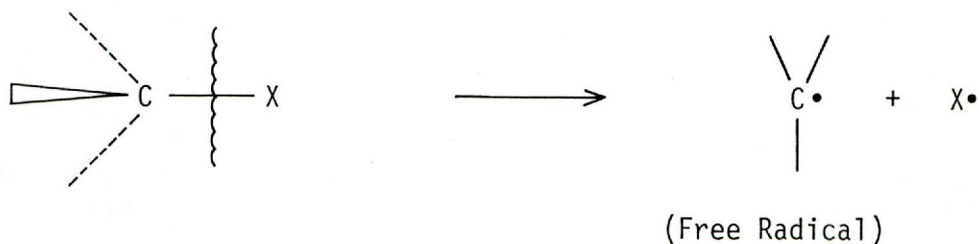


Other Reactive Intermediates

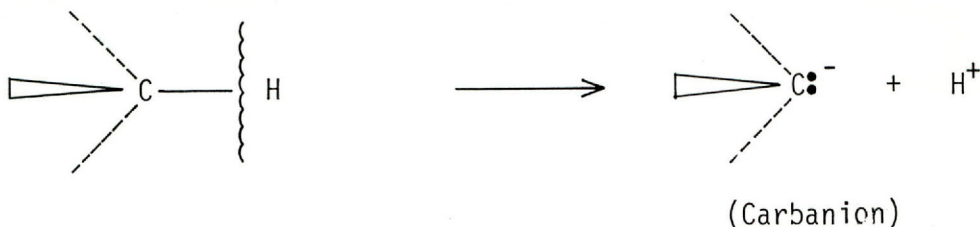
The formation of a carbonium ion is the result of the heterolytic cleavage of a carbon-anion bond;



This intermediate along with those generated by homolytic bond cleavage, a free radical;



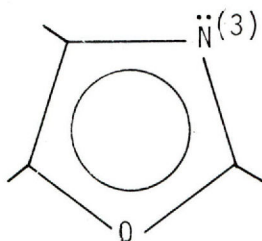
and heterolytic cleavage of a carbon hydrogen bond, a carbanion;



may be successfully invoked to explain and organize a vast body of complex organic reactions. In fact, the discovery of free-radical and carbanion intermediates and the development of reaction theories involving these species historically followed similar patterns to those described in the case of the carbonium ion.

An Unusual Reactive Intermediate Generated Electrochemically

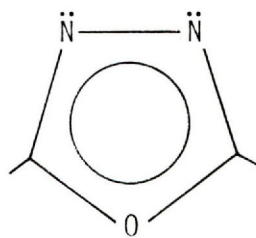
With this historical perspective in mind, which was presented to demonstrate the importance of reactive intermediates to reaction theory, and the fact that several important intermediate species have initially been recognized under conditions not related to most reaction environments, I will describe the results of experiments conducted in our laboratory that demonstrate the existence of a new and novel chemical intermediate. This species was observed while studying the relationship between structure and electron accepting ability of 2,5-diphenyloxazole (DPO) (VI) and 2,5-diphenyloxadiazole (VII),



(1)

oxazole

(VI)



(1)

oxadiazole

(VII)

These are ring compounds containing carbon, oxygen and nitrogen with a structure very similar to the hydrocarbon benzene, Figures 5 and 6. Very little is known about the structure and chemistry of this general class of compounds. In the ground state, the six electrons of the DPO ring occupy three bonding π -orbitals with stabilization energies of

-10, -5.3 and -4.9 electron volts. Unoccupied π -orbitals are predicted to exist at +6.6 and +7.2 electron volts, Figure 7. The intent of the research was to inject one or more

GROUND STATE OF OXAZOLE RING

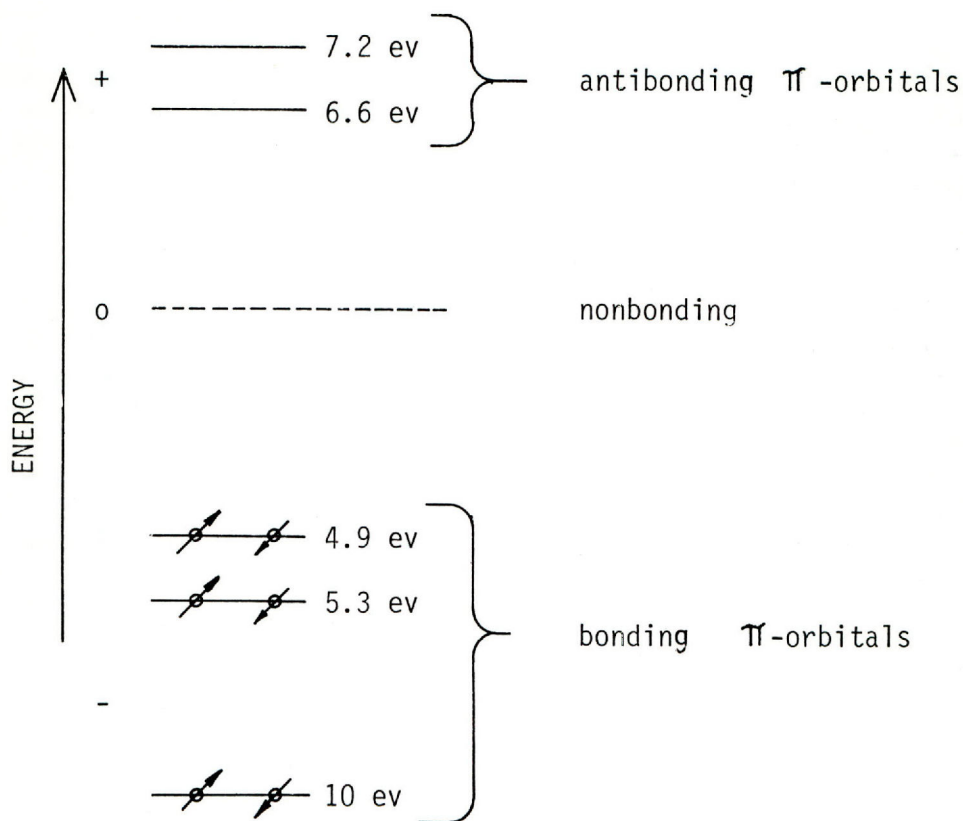
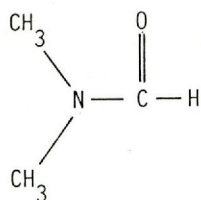


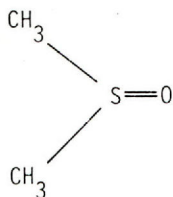
Figure 7

electrons into these available sites by application of an electric potential to solutions of DPO in chemically inert solvents and to then relate the lifetime of product species to various structural and solvent properties. Such information is potentially relatable to the intimate electronic configurations of a group of compounds of similar structure.

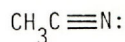
One, of possibly three solvents, was chosen for a reaction medium; N,N-dimethylformamide (DMF), dimethylsulfoxide (DMSO) and acetonitrile (ACN).



(DMF)



(DMSO)



(ACN)

These solvents constitute a unique group of liquids characterized by a high dielectric constant and chemical inertness.⁶ All experiments were conducted in a three-electrode electrochemical cell shown schematically in Figure 8.

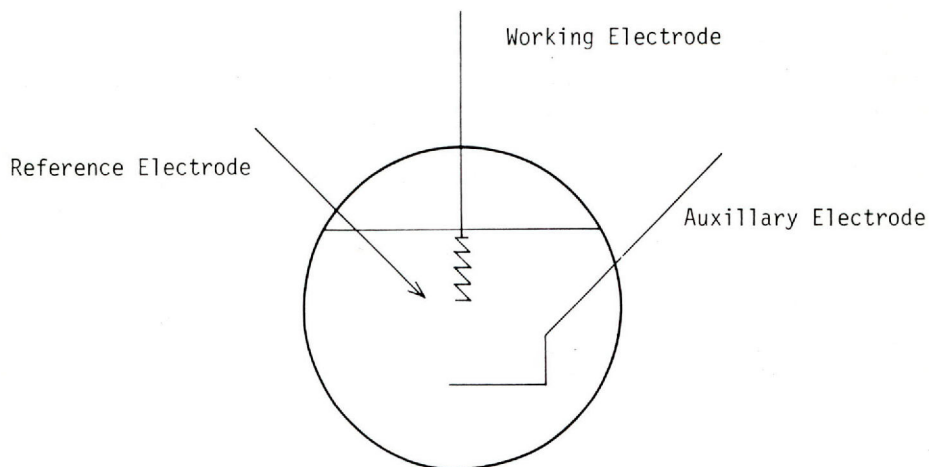


Figure 8

ELECTROCHEMICAL CELL

A controlled electrical potential was applied across the working electrode (negative) and the auxiliary electrode (positive). The applied potential was measured with respect to the fixed potential of the reference electrode. With this configuration, the current flowing through the cell at a given potential is a direct function of the number of electrons passing from the working electrode to molecular recipients at the electrode surface.

⁶Dielectric constant is the measure of the ability of a material to insulate an electrical charge.

The electrode material and structure of the working electrode are significant to the outcome of any electrolysis experiment. The results of electrochemical experiments conducted at a continuously dropping mercury electrode (polarography) and a platinum disk electrode (cyclic voltammetry) will be described.

The results of polarographic electrolysis of DPO is shown in Figure 9. The current increases and plateaus occurring at approximately -2.0 and -2.4 volts demonstrate that the oxazole ring accepts electrons from the negative mercury drop at two potentials. The potentials are related to the energies required to successively inject electrons into the oxazole molecule. The rapid fluctuations in current at all potentials is indicative of periodic buildup and drop of the mercury electrode. The current plateaus result when the rate of supply of DPO molecules to the electrode surface to accept electrons reaches a limiting value controlled by natural diffusion processes.

The results of this experiment were significant to the stated research in several ways. The two current plateaus confirm that electrons may be injected into the DPO ring by application of an electric field. The height of the plateaus which is a function of the total current passing at a fixed potential and the concentration of DPO in the inert solvent, suggests that at each plateau, electrons are passed to the electroactive substance in a ratio of one electron per molecule. In summary, a total of two electrons may be injected into the oxazole structure in two separate one-electron steps at -2.0 and -2.4 volts respectively. It is reasonable to postulate that each electron ultimately resides in the lowest of the two unoccupied orbitals of the oxazole ring, Figure 7.

The polarographic data confirmed only the feasibility of the proposed project. Determination of the lifetime and ultimate fate of the oxazole ring after successive injection of electrons represented the more challenging and potentially informative portion of the project. The lifetime of the reduction product may be determined very directly by employing an electrochemical technique in which the potential applied to a platinum disk working electrode is varied linearly as a function of time in the negative direction, reversed at a preselected potential and sweep positively (cyclic voltammetry). Similar to polarography, the resulting current response is presented as a function of applied potential. The results of a series of such experiments are given in Figures 10 and 11.

The most salient features of these plots may be summarized in three observations. In all cyclic voltage sweeps the current response corresponding to the injection of the first electron has a component in both the negative and positive directions. Letting the symbol R represent a ground-state DPO molecule, this result may be interpreted by the following scheme:

Forward Sweep (negative potential)



Reverse Sweep (positive potential)



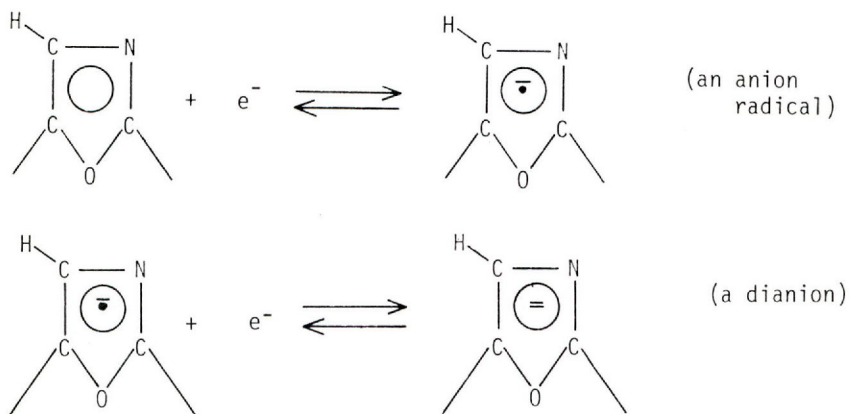
Simply stated, an electron is injected into DPO on the forward sweep and removed on the reverse demonstrating that R^- , the negative ion (anion) of the parent, has a significant lifetime. Experiments in which the potential sweep rate is systematically varied shows the species to have an average lifetime of several seconds.

Voltage excursion and reversal at potentials beyond the potential at which the second electron is transferred generates a current response with only a negative sweep component. The lack of a current peak on the reverse sweep suggests that the addition of a second electron to the DPO molecule precipitates a chemical reaction that removes the added charges or renders them unremovable from the product species.

The last and most revealing observation centers on the current spike near -0.8 volts that is generated only in experiments in which the applied potential is carried beyond the position of the second electron transfer. It must be concluded that this current response represents the removal of electrons from the species generated by electron addition followed by a chemical process at potentials above the second current spike observed on the initial forward potential sweep. This type of behavior is unexpected and not previously reported. In virtually all previous examples reported in the literature, the reaction of a highly charged species generated at an electrode, results in the irreversible production of a stable, neutral molecule that is not electroactive.⁷

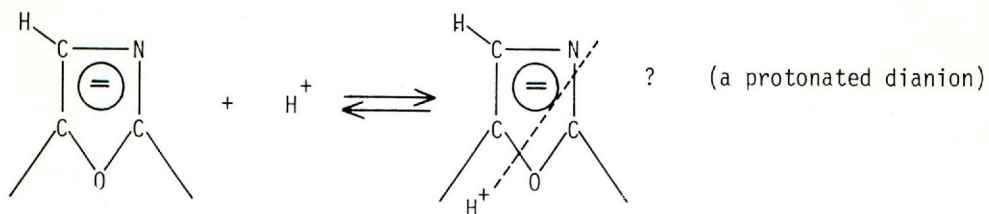
Production of a large quantity of this species was undertaken in order to further investigate its chemical properties. This objective was accomplished by electrolyzing 500 milliliters of a DMF solution of DPO at a large mercury pool electrode at a potential of -2.4 volts. The product of such a generation is a red, intensely colored species with an average life span of several seconds. It is diamagnetic⁸ but sensitive to small amounts of oxygen and water. Each of these properties signifies the existence of a molecule with a loosely held electron pair not involved in a chemical bond. As previously stated, this behavior is particularly unusual in view of the obvious chemical reaction following the second electron transfer occurring at the higher potential current peak.

The determination of one additional chemical property served to more completely define the nature of the unusual species. Addition of small quantities of free hydrogen (H^+) to a solution containing the metastable, electrogenerated product rapidly destroyed the red color, irreversibly producing a stable product. A reaction model consistent with every observation may be written;



⁷K. S. V. Santhanam and A. J. Bard, *Journal of the American Chemical Society*, vol. 88 (1966), 2669. P. H. Geiger and M. E. Peover, *Journal of the Chemical Society* (1960), 385.

⁸Diamagnetic behavior is demonstrated by lack of interaction of the material with a magnetic field.



The current response noted on the reverse potential sweep is consistent with the regeneration of the parent molecule through removal of the electrons and proton addition on the forward (negative) sweep, producing a protonated dianion. The protonated dianion of 2,5-diphenyloxazole is a metastable short-lived species not previously reported in the literature. The specific electronic structure of this species is still not understood; however, similar species with significant life-times generated from other precursors should be detectable in aprotic solvents. The general role, if any, of such species in organic mechanisms involving electron transfer processes is yet to be determined.

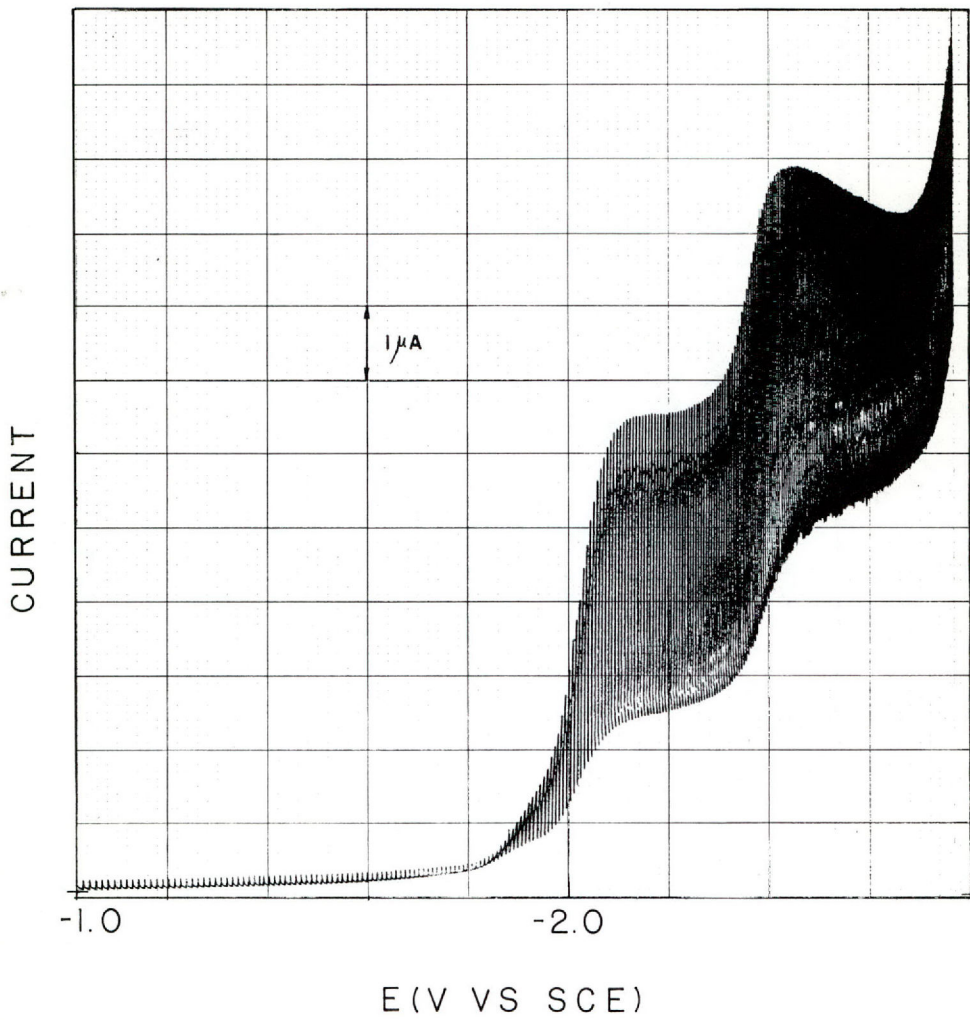


Figure 9

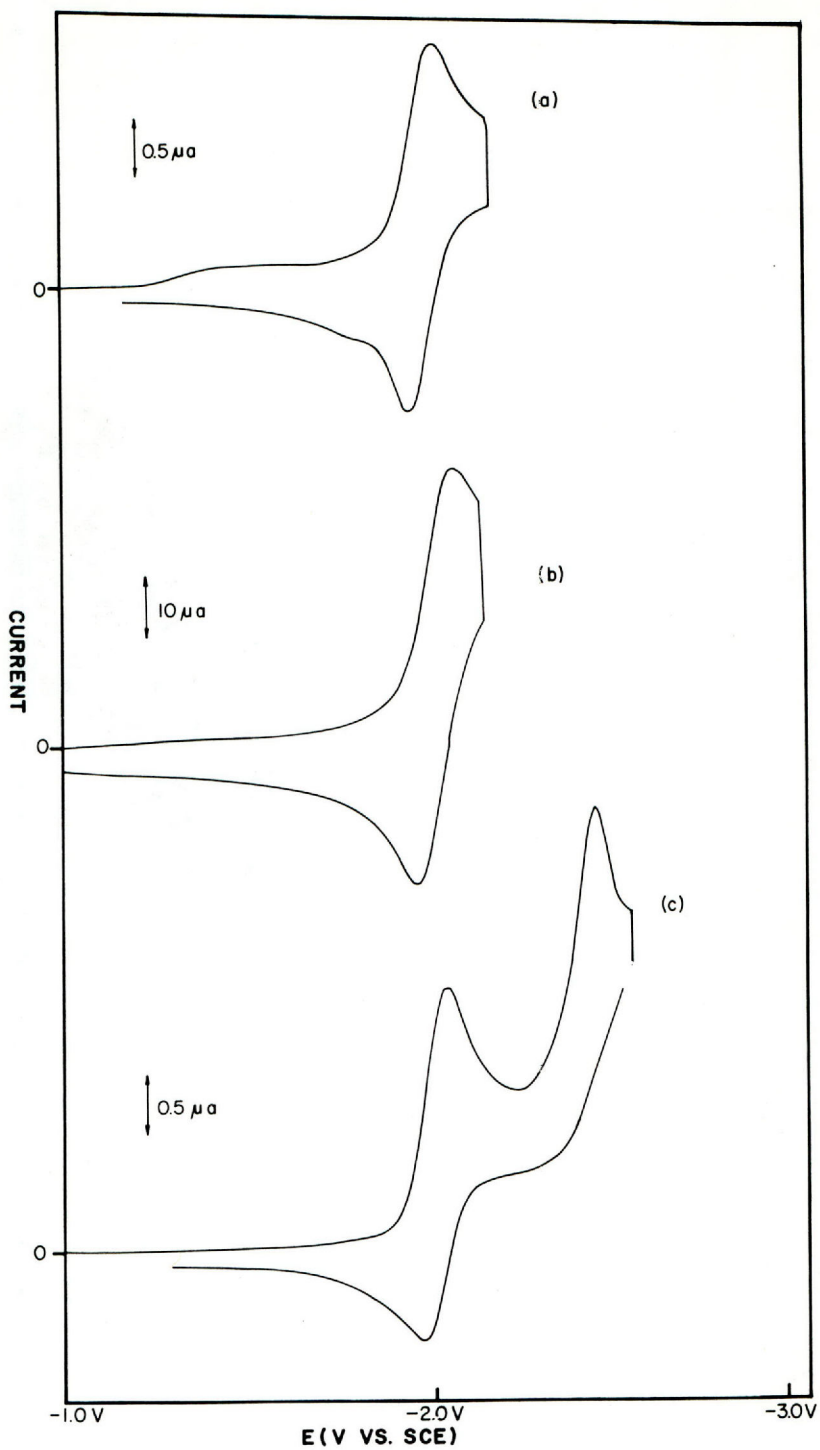


Figure 10

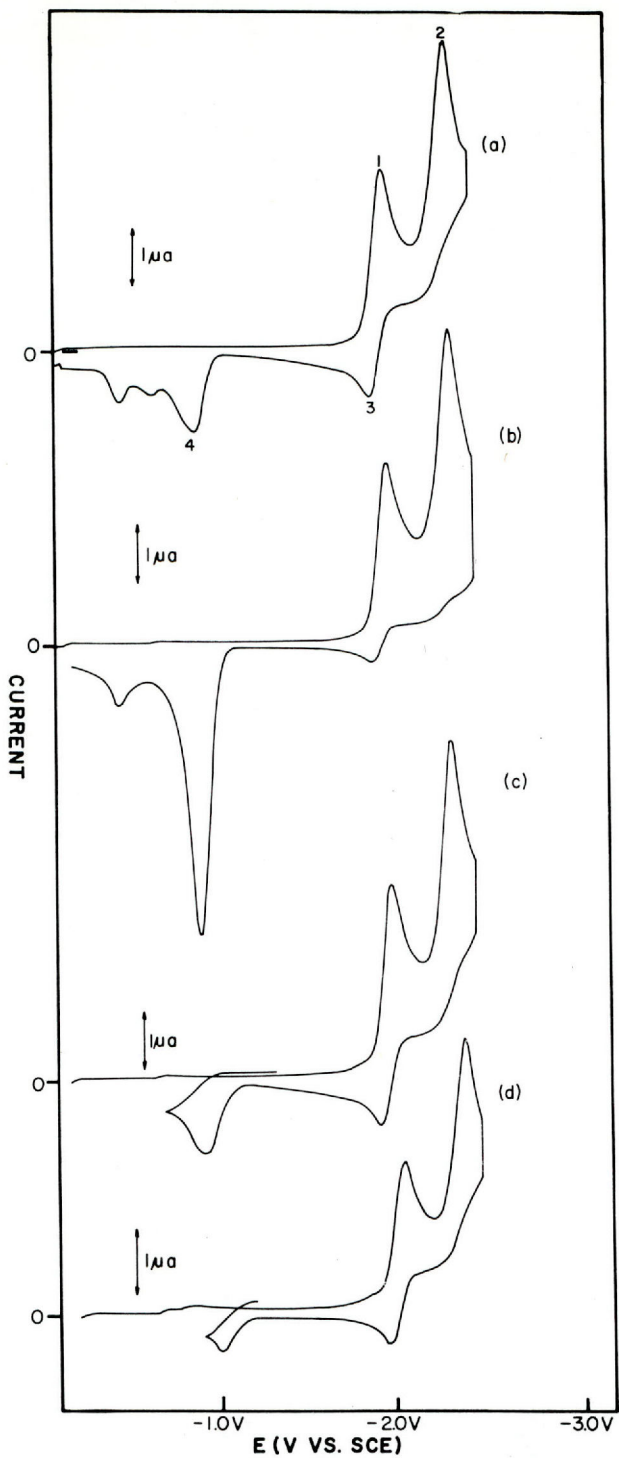


Figure 11

ECUMENISM AND ORTHODOXY IN MORE'S *UTOPIA*

Hamilton P. Avegno*

Gilbert Chesterton and Karl Kautsky—antipodal apologists and both quite *déjà vu*—were in agreement on at least one point: the universal and seminal significance of Thomas More's *Utopia*. The fact that they detected in his writings ideas which they believed consonant with theirs partially attests to the enduring and unprovincial character of More's influence. Perhaps the Christian, the Socialist and the Communist each thought that he may have found an ideological Commons in the *Utopia*:

That the love of Thomas More unites those who might seem to be separated by a considerable gulf is shown by the fact that the Karl Marx-Engels Institute of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Republics should have been seeking for information *about that great Communist* (italics mine) Thomas More from the Sisters of the Beaufort Street Convent.¹

There is indeed a great deal of the esoteric about More's genius; and no one work better illustrates his enigmatic qualities than the *Utopia*, which More himself casually referred to as *meas nugas* and which a highly pluralistic society has proclaimed his *chef d'oeuvre*. I personally find most literary Utopias long on dullness and short on aesthetics. Consequently, I originally regarded More's *Utopia* as a somewhat arid, pretentious, pre-Orwellian blue-print for a socio-economic monolith. However, after much rereading and thought, I concede that, its stylistic starkness notwithstanding, the *Utopia* does embody elements of diversity, humanity, realism and humor.

It is with the ideas of the *Utopia* that this paper is concerned and, for reasons of convenience and order, I have placed them in three broad categories, to which they relate in time and import. The first of these classes may be called the Renaissance group, i.e., those concepts in the *Utopia* which emphasize the humanistic element and seem to constitute departures from the doctrinal rigidity and traditions of the Middle Ages; the second class, the Futuristic, comprises farsighted ideas or suggestions which did not fructify until long after the publication of the *Utopia*, adumbrations which might well have appealed to a Rosa Luxembourg or even a Karl Marx; the third class, the Late Medieval, embraces doctrines and attitudes which mirror the temporal and spiritual character of the high Middle Ages.

The aims of this paper, then, are to classify the ideological ingredients of the *Utopia*; to indicate, wherever possible, their relevance to particular cultural epochs; and to suggest that the *Utopia*, though in structure and effect un-Medieval, is, in its profounder implications, primarily an idealistic simplification and rejuvenation of the *ethos* of the high Middle Ages.

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¹ Raymond W. Chambers, *Thomas More* (London and Toronto: J. Cape Co., 1935), 374.

II. The *Utopia* and the Renaissance

In spite of countless attempts by literary historians to define, delimit and catalogue the Renaissance, the *quattrocento* and the *cinquecento* were primarily centuries of flux and sporadic transitions, of speculative innovation and artistic revisionism. Medievalism did not abruptly evanesce in England at precisely the time when Henry Tudor snatched the crown from the head of Richard III; nor did it merely linger on as a kind of repulsive *revenant* of a benighted past, for it survived in ever lessening degree until at least the years of the Elizabethan Settlement. In many respects More's *Utopia* is a typical example of the miscegenation of the ideological currents of the high Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

By way of simplistic example, Medieval society was tripartite: the clergy to pray, the nobility to fight, and the peasantry to toil. Rarely did either the classes or duties overlap and/or commingle. The Utopian, on the other hand, performs all three tasks: "He labors with his hands, studies in his spare hours and, though he hates warfare, is, at need, a soldier."²

The overall form and *esprit* of the *Utopia* seem to reflect the *zeit-geist* of Renaissance humanism. Its pages contain numerous proposals for the amelioration and perfection of *la vie humaine*. Squalor and filth are decried as anathema, modern, uncrowded hospitals are deemed a necessity, and the futility and stupidity of warfare are trenchantly lampooned. Utopians loathe "war or battle as a thing very beastly . . . and they count nothing so much against glory, as glory gotten in war (Italics mine—*Utopia*, 131-132). Like Pico della Mirandola and Erasmus, More condemned war as an undesirable and uncivilized practice; but the Medieval in him enabled More to justify what the Scholastics call "legal violence," i.e., war in self defense or as a means of delivering "friends" from bondage and tyranny (*Utopia*, 132).

In Book II, More, speaking through a fictional Rafael Hythlodaye, evinces an almost inhuman contempt for the Zapoletes, "a hideous, savage and fierce" people whom the Utopians employ to fight their wars. "They be born only to war," More tells us; and later he adds that the Utopians regard the death of the Zapoletes in war with a calloused indifference verging on sadistic glee, "for they (the Utopians) believe that they should do a very good deed for all of mankind, if they could rid out of the world all that foul stinking den of that most wicked and cursed people" (*Utopia*, 137). Ostensibly, modern "Pentagonitis" and *Utopia* were hardly compatible. Utopian conscientious objectors were not required to fight for the freedom of the Nephelotes (cloud dwellers) against the Alaopolitanes (blind city dwellers). In the event, however, of an invasion of Utopia, the conscientious objectors could not cop-out. If they did, they were either chained to walls or assigned to hard labor in the bowels of a ship.³ (Shades of our own once noble intention to democratize Viet-Nam!)

Despite More's disdain for useless warfare, his prescriptions for the conduct of necessary war (the invasion of *Utopia* or the protection of the freedom of an ally) recall somewhat the rigid training to which Spartan youths were subjected by the *eirenes*. A captain directs the battle fought by a "band of chosen and picked young men, which be sworn to live and die together . . . and, if necessary, the battle is fought with great

²Thomas More, *Utopia* (New York: Heritage Press, 1959), 125. Further references to this work will be in the text and abbreviated *Utopia* with appropriate page numbers.

³William D. Armes, *The Utopia of Thomas More* (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1928), 180-181.

slaughter and bloodshed, even to the utter destruction of both parties" (*Utopia*, 139). On the other hand—and here the humanistic spirit of the Renaissance again asserts itself—the Utopian soldiers neither “waste nor forage” conquered cities; instead they defend them, protect the resources and lives therein, and “hurt no man that is unarmed, unless he be a spy” (*Utopia*, 140). (Incidentally, something of a C.I.A. mentality obtained in Utopia. Great rewards and honors were promised to any one who in time of war might assassinate an enemy prince, for such a *removal* (italics mine) would save lives and hasten the war’s end! (*Utopia*, 184). (*La plus ca change, plus c’est la meme chose!*)

Specific allusions of a pejorative character disparage French military designs in the early sixteenth century. Hythlodaye considers the French king a trouble maker who foments war, draws other nations into the martial vortex, and then finds the management of conquered countries an impossible task (*Utopia*, 57). “Therefore,” Hythlodaye concludes, “it were best for him to content himself with his own kingdom of France, as his forefathers and predecessors did before him” (*Utopia*, 58). Substitute the U.S.A. and Russia for France and Senator Fullbright couldn’t have said it better! A juxtaposition of fact and conjecture is again apparent, for Hythlodaye’s excursions into the realms of theory and speculation are seldom more than two removes from reality.

The Platonic ideas in the *Utopia* have elicited considerable discussion, much of which has given rise to the notion that their presence is proof peremptory of the Renaissance character of More’s “trifle.” All things are held in common in Utopia, as they are in Book V of Plato’s Republic; and Hythlodaye seems to imply economic socialism when he states that no man secures from the Utopian market more than he needs. While the *Republic* prescribes an absolute community of possessions, wives and families, the *Utopia* appears to be content to utilize a system based on a well-known Marxist precept: From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.

I find More’s Utopia more humane, more aesthetic and less forbidding than Plato’s Republic, which I realize is not a Utopia, but a hypothetical, ideal political state whose parts are ordered through and by justice. In More’s Utopia music, architectural beauty and good conversation abound; in the *Republic* the humanities are largely ignored—or else they are referred to as imperfect manifestations of Platonic ideals. Among the Republic’s guardians, children and parents are not allowed either to see or to know each other. Northrop Frye, an eminent essayist and critic, states “. . . for Plato’s state has in full measure the forbidding quality . . . its rigorous autocracy, its unscrupulous use of lies for propaganda, its ruthlessly censored art, and its subordination of the creative and productive life of the state to a fanatical military caste . . . these are all the evils we call totalitarian.”⁴ And Lewis Mumford, who has written voluminously on men and cities, asks about Plato’s Republic: “. . . where are the downy beds, the Corinthian girls? But, above all, where are the poets, artists and dramatists?”⁵ Was Plato emotion-shy and cerebral-high? How would the philosopher kings have tolerated the creativity and grotesqueries of a Rimbaud, a Poe, a Baudelaire, a Hart Crane?

Is the *weltanschauung* of the *Utopia*, then, a complete denial of the Medieval *modus vivendi*? Or did More have in mind a feudal ideal in which possessions, though not owned by all, would be shared in common? In his *Portrait of Thomas More*, Cecil states that the

⁴Northrop Frye, “Varieties of Literary Utopias,” *Daedalus* (Spring, 1965), 331.

⁵Lewis Mumford, *The Story of Utopias* (New York: Viking Press, 1962), 138.

element of Platonic communism in the *Utopia* is essentially medieval and monastic. The aim of Utopian government, according to Cecil, is not "to have all things *equal*, after the manner of the political agitator, but all things *common*, after the manner of the early Christian."⁶ And R. W. Chambers can see in More's communism little more than a reaffirmation of his stand against the new statesmen and *nouveaux riches* of the sixteenth century: "From Utopia to the scaffold, More stands for the common cause, as against the single commodity of the single man."⁷

Here and there in the *Utopia* are coruscations which unmistakably glow with the levity and spirit of the lighter side of the Renaissance. Hythlodaye himself exudes a certain smugness or egotism, which savors of a Petrarch or Machiavelli and which indicates that the Renaissance world-view placed man, not the hereafter, in the very center of things. When More asks Hythlodaye why he does not offer his services and sagacity to some living prince, that peregrinating savant implies that he is too wise and patient and princes too dull and extortionate (*Utopia*, 33, 34). Apropos the present, it would be like casting pearls before Nixon and Rebozo, and giving to Haldeman what is holy.

More's attitude toward women and students coincides with that of Roger Ascham, author of the *Schoolmaster* and undeniably an excellent spokesman for English humanism. Utopian women are much more than bearers of babies and burdens and satisfiers of lust: they work, read, learn crafts along with the men and, on occasions, accompany them into battle as soldiers (*Utopia*, 132). Like the genteel Ascham, More was quite skeptical about the efficacy of corporal punishment as a goad to education: "Therefore in this point, not you only, but also the most part of the world, be like evil schoolmasters, which be readier to beat, than to teach their scholars" (*Utopia*, 37). Unlike More, the late Harry Truman and some of our Texas schoolmen often seem "readier to beat than to teach."

The Utopians are proud of their "beauty, figure, and nimbleness" (*Utopia*, 116). And *Pleasure*, "every motion and state of body and mind" (*Utopia*, 117) affords them the greatest happiness. Elegance and grace, however, do not persuade More to break adrift completely from his Medieval moorings. He does not ignore pulchritude and physical pleasure, but he attributes the greatest "delectation" to the soul or mind, "the exercise of virtue, and the conscience of good life" (*Utopia*, 115). One could almost ascribe such a statement to Thomas Aquinas without fear of its authenticity being impugned. The chances are good that both Aquinas and More derived this notion from Cicero's *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*.

Nonetheless, More's emphasis upon tolerance appears to be much closer to Renaissance humanism and worldliness than it does to virtue and the ascetic pleasures of the soul. The story of the intolerant and perfervid Christian is a *bona fide* Humanist conceit, for the fanatically enthusiastic Christian is exiled, not as an antagonist to religion, but as "a seditious person and raiser up of dissension among people" (*Utopia*, 145). The typical English humanist believed in tolerance and reform; he condemned, however, their accomplishment through violence and revolution rather than by evolution and education. Erasmus, Colet and More felt as alien to Lutheran impetuosity as they did toward the inhumanities and atrocities of the Inquisition. Luther and Tomás de Torquemada perhaps

⁶Algernon Cecil, *A Portrait of Thomas More* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1937), 132.

⁷Chambers, *Thomas More*. 266.

too strongly resembled Utopia's intolerant and contentious Christian to elicit a sympathy from Thomas More.

III. The Futuristic Element in the *Utopia*

The adulation frequently accorded to the *Utopia* by early Socialist and Communist theorists patently stems from a number of seemingly radical innovations introduced by the fictional Utopians. More's solicitude for human beings is unquestionably sincere; however, unlike the Marxian socialist (the advocate of a classless and stateless society), More regarded a benevolent state as the only vehicle through which social reforms and altruistic objectives could be achieved. The "withering away of the oppressive influence that is the state" would have seemed a preposterous eventuality to More, who often stressed the necessity of discipline and conformity.⁸ For example: In Utopia, King Utopus is supreme, the four elected princes serve the king, and the *syphogrants* and *phylarchs* merely prohibit indolence and enforce discipline among the families.⁹

Despite the basic antinomy between Marxist and Morian objectives, there are certain Futuristic elements in the *Utopia* which possess an undeniable attraction for those who regard history as nothing more than a study in socio-economic change. Long before Cesare Beccaria and de Tocqueville, More regarded the transgressor as the product of his social milieu (*Utopia*,44); and, of greater significance and foresight, he advocated fitting the punishment to the crime and the abandonment of capital punishment, a violation of God's law whereby "no man hath power to kill neither himself, nor yet any other man" (*Utopia*,46). In a very logical and realistic manner, More recognized the terrible fallacy of disproportionate punishments for minor crimes: the petty thief, regarding his execution as inevitable, is "constrained to kill him, whom else he would have but robbed" (*Utopia*,47).

The *Utopia* embodied many civic and social improvements which were not to become *faits accomplis* until long after More's death. And it is in the passages in which More designs ideal houses and cities that Utopia assumes the character of Blake's chartered Thames and streets, all too precisely mathematical and coldly logical. The cities are carefully planned and all of their features comply with certain prescribed patterns designed to assure the greatest comforts and hygienic heights. Utopia contains 54 look-alike cities, each having a population of about 5,064. *Amaurote*, the faint, dismal place, is the capital of Utopia—and it resembles the other 53 cities. Uniformity dominates the general plan—and More himself tells us: to know one Utopian city is to know them all (*Utopia*,77).

Each Utopian city consists of four equal parts. Houses, arrayed in rows, are monotonously identical, each having the same amount of garden space, the same number of windows and similar appurtenances. The streets, wide and commodious, foreshadow the boulevards of the late nineteenth century. Four elaborate hospitals, "so big, so wide, so ample, and so large that they may seem four little towns" (*Utopia*,92), serve as bastions against disease and infection. In all probability More is shaming and rehabilitating London's four great hospitals: St. Bartholomew, St. Thomas, St. Mary

⁸Chambers, *Thomas More*, 137.

⁹*Ibid.*

Spital, and St. Mary's of Bethlehem. In most of these six to eight patients were assigned to a single bed!

In all aspects of husbandry and manufacture, scientific improvements are utilized. Fields are rotated and the incubation of chicken eggs is prevalent, an innovation which moves More to hatch a "serious pun," for "the chickens, as soon as they come out of the shell, follow men and women instead of the hens" (*Utopia*, 75).

Utopians would find the Puritan work ethic repugnant. They work only six hours a day—the paucity of their labor is enough to evoke envy from some of today's most tenacious labor leaders! It is even possible that the victims of future shock—real and *soi-disant*—might look back over four hundred years and learn a lot from the Utopians. The latter retire and rise early, take a siesta in the afternoons, and use leisure time to develop their minds and advance their talents.

The ideal of *otium cum dignitate* is facilitated by other safeguards against superfluous and tedious work. Houses are repaired as needs arise; hence, numerous days, which might be devoted to mental effort and pleasure, are not wasted on new buildings or reconstruction. Short cuts and time-saving devices are also utilized in crafts and agricultural pursuits, so that all citizens can "withdraw from the bodily service to the free liberty of the mind and garnishing of the same" (*Utopia*, 75). (I can almost hear Aldous Huxley's Mark Rampion exclaiming "Bravo!")

Utopian fiats against hunting and "cruelty to domestic fowl" are *au courant* enough in spirit and intention to gladden the hearts of the most dedicated ecological crusaders. The messy job of slaughtering edible animals is assigned to a butcher, who is also a bondsman.¹⁰ Hunting itself is totally condemned as "the lowest, vilest, and most abject part of butchery" (*Utopia*, 119). In view of the approbation which Ascham and Elyot, exponents of the New Learning, accorded hunting and hawking, it is easy to infer that More was either looking backwards to Francis of Assissi or forward to "the animal-oriented devotees and cults" of the present. Cecil writes that the Utopians' aversion to butchery partially explains their rational scorn for asceticism:

Asceticism had consequently no place in their philosophy, and they were incapable of understanding how people could be so unreasonable, not to say mad and cruel, as to injure their beauty or impair their strength by fastings or mortifications unless these promoted in some tangible manner the welfare of others.¹¹

It should be remembered, however, that it was Eastern rather than Western monasticism which originally espoused maximum flagellation and maceration as the means to supreme sanctity. St. Benedict of Nursia wanted no part of the 'sacred stench' of Paphnutius and Simon Stylites!

Among the Utopians, hoarding and "bauble worship" are objurgated in an almost pristinely Marxist manner. The miser has no place in a utilitarian, albeit Utopian, society; hence, the hider of gold, on the one hand, and the worshipper of gold, on the other, are equally scoffed at by the Utopians. The story of the Anemolians (the windy braggarts) who sent three gold and silver bedizened ambassadors to Utopia is both amusing and

¹⁰ Cecil, *A Portrait of Thomas More*, 113.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 113.

revealing. Since the Utopians used silver and gold to manufacture commodes, urinals and children's trinkets, the Anemolians elicited considerable scorn from Utopians both young and old.¹² Just as the authentic Marxist considers iron and steel of much greater value than gold and silver because they are useful, so, too, does the Utopian, in a somewhat gentler vein, belittle the folly of humanity in according such otiose metals "higher estimation for the sake of rareness" (*Utopia*, 123).

With respect to morality and marriage, the Utopians adopted and practiced a few customs now associated with either the New Morality or the Sexual Revolution. Euthanasia, which can be as old as Lycurgas of Sparta or as recent as the Mary Quinlan case, is, under certain conditions, an orthodox part of the Utopian *credo*. Mercy killing is permissible only with the approval of the priesthood and magistracy; otherwise the suicide, eligible for neither burial nor cremation, is cast into "a stinking marsh" (*Utopia*, 124). (Contemporary advocates of mercy killing are not far removed in their views from those of the Utopians.) Somehow the concepts of Christian burial, mercy killing and sacerdotalism are inextricably bound together in a perfunctory defiance of the medieval concept of God as the sole author of life and death.

On the subject of marriage Utopians are not quite fully abreast (the puny pun is intentional) of the present. A pre-marital rite among them requires that the prospective bride, in the presence of "a sad and honest matron," be revealed, "whether she is maid or widow, naked to the wooer" (*Utopia*, 123). Thus the future husband is assured of a healthy and physically prepossessing mate, a factor which More deems important, for "the endowments of the body cause the virtues of the mind to be more esteemed and regarded" (*Utopia*, 124). Matrimony can be dissolved by death, adultery and "the intolerable wayward manners of either party" (*Utopia*, 149). Unlike euthanasia, marriage is an exclusively civil function; and it is the magistracy alone which can grant divorces for any one of the three aforementioned reasons. Priests in Utopia may be pre-eminent (*Utopia*, 41), but the clergy and marriage are the twain that should never meet! In 1516, Futuristic indeed, for civil divorce has only recently become a somewhat cumbrous reality in Italy.

IV. The High Middle Ages and the *Utopia*.

That the *Utopia* is rich in what were then *avant garde* moral—or amoral—concepts is almost impossible to deny. Euthanasia, the secularization of marriage, the recognition of civil divorce and pre-marital 'anatomical exposure' are not practices intended to titillate the theological conservatism of either an Innocent III or a Paul VI. As a matter of fact, More's Futuristic concepts would have probably seriously agitated a few of the vaunted 'liberals' of Vatican I and II.

Nevertheless, More's *Utopia* is far from an *in toto* repudiation of the *mores* of the High Middle Ages. It is still permeated by many of the doctrines and attitudes of a theocentric society. More's vehement comminatives against the *Enclosures* movement are, in essence, a reaffirmation of many Medieval socio-economic precepts. The new merchants enclose the common pasturage and drive the people who once lived there to vagrancy and theft; they (the merchants) are likened to sheep, once tame and docile, but now so avaricious

¹² *Ibid.*, 110.

that they “eat up and swallow down the very men themselves” (*Utopia*, 41). Mercantilism, rising prices, the debasement of the coinage and urbanization, all harbingers of the Commercial Revolution, are all rather anti-Medieval and implicit in the *Enclosures* epidemic. About these inchoative capitalists More speaks sharply and clearly:

Suffer not these rich men to buy up all, to engross, and forestall, with their monopoly to keep the market alone as please them. Let not so many be brought up in idleness, let husbandry and tillage be renewed, that there may be honest labors for this idle sort to pass their time profitably. (*Utopia*, 44).

The Utopians are perfectly free to worship the sun, the moon, or what have you; yet Hythlodaye says that they are all in accord as regards the reality of immortality and a belief in awards and punishments in the hereafter as merited by deeds in the present (*Utopia*, 109). Ironically enough, Hythlodaye states that, whereas certain Christians doubt these things, the Utopians, denied the blessings of Christianity, believe them through *reason* alone (*Utopia*, 110). A “veritable communion of Saints,” Chambers asserts, is a basic article of the Utopian faith. The immortal soul, though invisible, returns to oversee and hear its former friends on earth. And being blessed, the souls of the dead enjoy this privilege, of which the living are fully aware and which inspires them “to go more courageously to their business, as having a trust and affiance in such overseers.”¹³

Hythlodaye had instructed the Utopians in the doctrines of Christianity, and many subsequently were converted and baptized. Because of his intolerance and fanaticism, one of these converts was exiled, an act of moderation which reminds us that the Utopians live by reason alone and possess only the four cardinal virtues of wisdom, fortitude, temperance and justice.¹⁴ Consequently, they were reluctant to select a Christian priest from among their number to administer the Sacraments, “which here none but priests do administer” (*Utopia*, 144). In this matter, More’s deference to sacerdotalism may be illustrative of the Medieval *anlage* of much Utopian thought.

The Utopian attitude toward life’s end is analogous to the Medieval idea of a happy death. They lament a man’s sickness, but not his death, unless the dying person “departs from this life too carefully and against his will” (*Utopia*, 147). Such demeanor they construe as a sign of a soul in despair, apprehensive of the punishment that lies ahead. Conversely, the man who dies happily is buried with “cheerful and singing reverence;” his soul is commended to God’s affection and his virtues and merits are praised by those who survive him (*Utopia*, 147-150, *passim*). Although some Utopians worship the sun or the moon, all of them mock soothsayers and “all other divinations of vain superstition, which in other countries be in great observation” (*Utopia*, 149). Miracles, however, occur frequently and they are defined as “works and witnesses of the present power of God” (*Utopia*, 150). Is it still possible for the successor to the Karl Marx-Engels Institute to accept Thomas More as a great dialectical materialist?

Nowhere is the *Utopia* more Medieval than in the deference and pre-eminence it accords to ecclesiastical offices and prerogatives. To begin with, Utopians fall into two sects: those who, remaining chaste and celibate, dedicate themselves joyfully to the life to

¹³ Chambers, *Thomas More*, 267.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 374.

come, and those who marry, toil and procreate children. More might just as well have divided them into clergy and laity. The bishop, “chief head of them all,” is also “the overseer of all divine matters, orderer of religion, and . . . judge and master of manners” (*Utopia*, 151). Bishops rebuke, counsel, and exhort; and, what is more, they excommunicate Utopian priests “whom they find exceedingly vicious liverers” (*Utopia*, 151). Excommunication is a greatly feared punishment and the priestly office, though it allows marriage, receives “more honor and pre-eminence” (*Utopia*, 152) than any other position in Utopia. Deference to the priestly caste almost verges on idolatry. When a priest commits an offense, he is judged only by God and himself. Utopians grant a priest complete clerical immunity, for “they think it is not lawful to touch him with men’s hands, be he ever so vicious, which after so singular a sort was dedicated and consecrated to God, as a holy offering” (*Utopia*, 154). Some of today’s High Church Anglicans and Berriganites may derive some satisfaction from the fact that More did not ban women from the priesthood. Only a few, however, could be ordained. And these were either old or widows.

Churches in Utopia are spacious, imposing and dimly lit, since an excess of light is regarded as a distraction from proper prayer and meditation. Chambers does not believe that either iconoclasm or evangelical Protestantism is responsible for the absence of images and statues in Utopian churches. Images are not used simply because the people cannot agree upon the anthropomorphic aspects of God (*Utopia*, 156). Officiating priests wear symbolical vestments made of vari-colored feathers which purport to illustrate divine mysteries. Wax tapers, frankincense, prayers, hymns and music impart an almost pontifical pomp to the ceremonies. Chambers argues that the average sincere Protestant of More’s day would have recoiled in pious horror from such “popo-holy” works:

He (the Protestant) would have called “the curiosity of their dainty singing” nothing but a “mockery with God.” The tapers offered in these dark churches, for purposes of ritual, would have drawn from the reformer the scoff which irritated More—“Does God need candlelight?” A reformer would have seen only an out-of-date abuse in the inviolability of the Utopian priests; and still more in their vestments, in the various colors of which they asserted that various divine mysteries, of which the priest held the key, were symbolized.¹⁵

Tolerance in Utopia, although it far exceeded that of any other contemporary European country, did not, however, extend to atheism. King Utopus proscribed *in toto* disbelief in either God or immortality. Like the too zealous Christian already referred to, the atheist in Utopia was first placed under a ban of silence and, in the event of any subsequent contumacy, threatened with ostracism and disgrace. (*Utopia*, 158).

The concept of limited toleration held by the Utopians was neither an invitation to agnosticism nor a license for free thought; rather it was a freedom of sorts, limited in scope, and circumscribed by almost as much discipline and authority as today’s popes and Maoists are wont to exercise.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 264.

V. Conclusion

Despite the countless paradoxes and inconsistencies which characterize the *Utopia*, More's *magnum opus* is at heart the work of a 'Medieval humanist' intent upon reformation and humanization within an already established scheme of orthodoxy. More is not liberal in the modern sense of the freethinker who proclaims equal tolerance for the monogamist and the polygamist, for the atheist and the Catholic; rather he is a liberal after the fashion of the citizen who would preserve and strengthen democracy through a declaration of 'peaceful war' and activism against all of its inadequacies, perversions and abuses. The disciples of Luther and Calvin ultimately razed the edifice of Medieval Catholicism because they sincerely believed that it was morally and spiritually corrupt and decrepit. More apparently thought otherwise: he would have renovated while still revering the Medieval Church; have washed its windows; scrubbed its altars; defumigated its priests; and eliminated the plague of termites effectively gnawing away at the very core of its foundations.

How, then, do we account for, or answer to, the wealth of Renaissance and Futuristic elements in the *Utopia*? We merely admit their presence and significance, just as we recognize Dante's debt to Virgil and Caesar, and Aquinas' legacy from Aristotle. At the same time we never lose sight of the primacy of Beatrice as the bringer of beatitude in the *Divina Commedia*, or of Aquinas' primary aim: the creation of a Christian rather than a pagan scheme of thought and belief. The same thesis can be applied to More. The frame and structure of the *Utopia* are of the Renaissance and many of its ideas adumbrated the future; but of greater significance than euthanasia, incubation, hygiene and limited tolerance are the Medieval elements: the indictment of Mercantilism and usury, the insistence upon immortality, the primacy of the priesthood, the dependence upon and respect for discipline and authority, the acceptance of miracles, the communion of Saints, and communal living.

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ACTION AND ANTHROPOLOGY

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My purpose in this paper is an examination of the place of applied anthropology within the field of anthropology as a whole. For present purposes I will simply identify anthropology as the field of study which has as its primary concern the study of culture, and note that for historical reasons involving the nature of the Western Tradition in which it is embedded, anthropology is essentially a "field science" rather than a "laboratory science."

Although there is no universal agreement on the definition of applied anthropology, George Foster's defining statements seem to be sufficiently representative for the purposes of the present discussion:

When anthropologists utilize their theoretical concepts, factual knowledge, and research methodologies in programs meant to ameliorate contemporary social, economic, and technical problems, they are engaging in applied anthropology.¹

At a later point in the same work, Foster elaborates on this theme, suggesting that:

. . . "applied anthropology" is the phrase commonly used by anthropologists to describe their professional activities in programs that have as their primary goals changes in human behavior believed to ameliorate contemporary social, economic and technological problems, rather than the development of social cultural theory.²

This examination deals only with the application of the kinds of knowledge which are regularly associated with ethnology. The concepts and methods—as well as the value aspects—of the application of the special body of knowledge associated with the subdisciplines of physical and archeological anthropology are sufficiently distinctive to warrant their being excluded from the present discussion.

James Clifton has distinguished three kinds of involvement in applied anthropology:

- 1) Involvement in the role of consultant;
- 2) Involvement in programs taking a "research and development" approach; and
- 3) Involvement in what has come to be called "action anthropology".³

The consultant's role for an anthropologist is in nearly all cases that of an employee of some institution the function of which is to effect policy decisions made by the dominant

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¹ George M. Foster, *Applied Anthropology* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), vii.

² *Ibid.*, 54.

³ James A. Clifton, ed., *Applied Anthropology: Readings in the Uses of the Science of Man* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1970), 10.

culture and directed toward changing a subordinate culture or subculture. Even in the best of circumstances the consultant's research is largely dictated by the perceived needs of the institution by which he or she is employed—rather than being responsive to unique research opportunities, for example, or to a perceived need to concentrate research efforts on some particularly problematic issue in the realm of anthropological knowledge. William Fenton's comments seem to be rather representative of the feelings of many anthropologists who have been engaged in the role of consultant at some point in their career, but for whom that role did not constitute a career:

My own experience in applied anthropology (as a community worker) was one of dissatisfaction with the role, although I was able to accomplish some things for the people as a go-between. They and I were happier . . . when we reverted to straight ethnography. I preferred "doing anthropology" for which I was trained.⁴

The "research and development approach" in the field of applied anthropology may best be exemplified by the Cornell-Vicos Project. This program actually involved the anthropologist's taking on the role of *patrón* over an *hacienda* in Peru. In this case the developmental goal was determined by the research team. Reduced to a relatively simple expression the goal of the project was to transform the peasant community of the *hacienda* from a collection of subjects, bound together only by their common relationship with the absentee landlord and an incomplete network of kinship and friendship relationships among themselves, into a corporate entity capable of self-sufficient competition within the economic realm and of self-determination within the limits dictated by the realities of Peruvian politics. The research aspect of the program was phrased in terms of the question "What means will achieve the desired goals or end points?"

The Vicos Project achieved significant progress toward its expressed ends and has taken into account (within limits) the interests of the residents of the *hacienda*. In this sense its success should not be taken lightly, nor its dangers ignored. But for our purposes the nearly absolute control inherent in the legal relationship between the *patrón* and his *hacendados* is so atypical of (and many anthropologists would say inimical to) the situations in which anthropological research is normally carried out that the project can hardly serve as the basis for a useful model of applied anthropology.

Perhaps the most instructive model of applied anthropology for the purposes of this paper is one based on the concept and practice of "action anthropology." The Fox Project may be taken as representative of a variety of programs which intend to put anthropological knowledge into action. This particular project has been central to the development of the area, and the anthropologists who have been associated with it—especially Sol Tax, its director—have been at the center of the process in which the field of applied anthropology has risen to the status (in some minds) of a fifth subdiscipline of anthropology. Equally important is the fact that the Fox Project has been uniquely documented by its participants in *The documentary history of the Fox*

⁴William N. Fenton, personal communication.

Project.⁵ This collection of most of the documentation relating to the University of Chicago's long involvement with the Tama, Iowa, community of the Fox Indians (technically *Mesquakie*, but commonly known as the Fox) makes it possible to examine some of the underlying assumptions which directed the development and operation of this project and—by a more or less reasonable extension—of such programs generally.

Fully a decade before the inception of the Fox Project as an "action program" Sol Tax and Natalie Joffe had done fieldwork among the Fox of Iowa. This research provided the data for doctoral dissertations and for subsequent publications.⁶ While Tax' research was primarily concerned with social organization and Joffe's with acculturation among the Fox, both presented more or less rounded, holistic, descriptions of the Fox as they existed at that time. Both Tax and Joffe foresaw continued success for the Fox as they adapted to the dominant Euroamerican culture which surrounded them. By this time the Fox had been forced out of several "homelands," had spent some time in an unhappy place called Kansas, had gained permission to buy some land in Iowa (which had been their last homeland before they were forced to move to Kansas), and had slowly managed to increase their Iowa holdings to the point that most of the people who identified themselves as Fox could reside there together. They had, in effect, reestablished an acceptable homeland for Fox culture. In addition, the number of people who thought of themselves as Fox and of the Iowa community as home was increasing. In light of these circumstances, Joffe concluded that the Fox would "in all likelihood continue to flourish and increase as they have for the last thirty-five years."⁷

That neither Tax nor Joffe saw the Fox primarily in terms of there being a people with problems may well have been a function of the time in which they began their research. In the midst of the Depression the well-being of the little Fox community at Tama probably did not seem to be in marked contrast with that of any other small, rural, community in the Midwest. In 1948, however, a new generation of Chicago students came to do fieldwork among the Fox. These students—including Lloyd Fallers, Walter Miller, Lisa Redfield Peattie, Robert Rietz, Davida Wolffson, and later Fred Gearing—had originally intended to engage in studies in the general area of acculturation, but as the summer progressed their interests became more and more narrowly focussed on the perceived contrast between the well-being of the Fox and that of their non-Indian neighbors, so that:

By the end of July (1948) the field party's theoretical focus had narrowed (to) the question: what do these people want? and how do they go about getting it?⁸

Operationalizing a concern with "the problems" of the Fox presented the members of the project with a number of problems of their own—especially with reference to the area

⁵Frederick O. Gearing, Robert McC. Netting, and Lisa Redfield Peattie, eds., *The Documentary History of the Fox Project: 1948-1959* (Mineographed, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago).

⁶Sol Tax, "The Social Organization of the Fox Indians" in *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, Fred Eggan, ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), 243-284.; Natalie Joffe, "The Fox of Iowa" in *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*, Ralph Linton, ed. (New York: Appleton-Century Co., 1940), 259-332.

⁷*Ibid.*, 236.

⁸Gearing, Netting, and Peattie, *Documentary History*, 27.

of values. Some of the value statements, or positions, which were basic to the decision to “interfere” in the culture of the Fox can be extracted from the collection of letters, journals, staff memos, and reports that make up the *Documentary History* . . . Wolffson’s journal entry for 2 August 1948, for example, points up some of the basic assumptions underlying that decision.

I am beginning to see why there is a value in preventing the total assimilation of the Fox—not so much because Indians’ ways are any better (in any absolute sense) but simply because they are the chosen and accepted, and therefore the “natural” ways for a good many people here.⁹

Later, in the same entry, she suggests that:

. . . the ideal setup would be some project which would a) make the community self-sufficient at least to the point of raising the standard of living for everyone, b) attract the energies of people with real interest [in vocational training], and c) earn the respect of the surrounding community in the only terms that that community knows—Yankee business spirit. The crucial question would be then, “Can the Fox do this and keep their culture?”¹⁰

Another crucial factor in the decision to systematically interfere in the life of the Fox community was, of course, the director’s response to the students’ expressed desire to take some kind of direct action. In a letter dated 4 August 1948, Tax indicated that his own ideas concerning the relationship between scientific research and social action had been in a state of flux, but that he was inclined to come down on the action side of the issue, and that he was beginning to doubt that it was possible to carry out

“pure research” among the Fox except if you also do what has sometimes been called “action research.” What I say applies not to all problems—I think you could do a study of the kinship system in the usual manner—but it certainly applies to problems of the kind you are interested in.¹¹

In the same letter Tax formulated the essential problem somewhat differently than had Wolffson—avoiding the consideration of the possibility that they were facing irreconcilable ends by the simple expedient of assigning a *negative* and *primary* value to assimilation and describing the range of ends possible in slightly more abstract terms. This letter so clearly (which is not to say “consciously”) points out the ideological substrata of the decisions which were made that it warrants being quoted at length.

I would say that in the long run, left to themselves, the Fox would be apt to become acculturated and be a group of Iowa

⁹*Ibid.*, 31

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 32.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 33.

farmers with perhaps a sort of color line distinguishing them from their neighbors. The question is, do we like this prospect? And in order to answer that question, you'd have to answer another, I suppose: Do the Fox like this prospect? [And] I suppose the answer is that some might and some might not, but a further answer is that I'm sure that none of the Fox really understand what that probably involves. They can't really imagine a situation in which they would be a rural, ethnic minority indistinguishable by culture but probably prejudiced against one way or another. So they are incapable of making a choice. As a matter of fact, none of you, nor I, know exactly what their choice is so we too are incapable of helping them make a choice.

We however, are the social scientists, and it's up to us to figure out what are the possibilities and what are the probabilities if a) nothing is done, or b) if x, y, or z is done. Then it's up to us to educate the Fox to the possibilities, to determine with them what would be the best end product and work with them for getting it. Now, in all this process, we are definitely participating, as well as interfering in Fox society.¹²

Although explicitly stressing the concept of assisting the Fox in making their own decisions, there is something more than an implication that the social scientists will have to direct the development of the Fox culture, and that they (the non-Fox social scientists) have decided that the assimilation of the Fox constitutes an "unacceptable end."

Two value statements seem to be identifiable as the basic assumptions underlying the decision to engage in an action program among the Fox. The first is that the perceived contrast between the well-being of the Fox and that of their non-Indian neighbors is undesirable. Embedded in this, of course, is the judgement that this situation can be modified by the social scientists in the direction of equality. The second value statement is that the loss of Fox culture is undesirable. The assumption that it is possible to reconcile the end of improving Fox well-being (defined as it is in terms of their "standard of living") with the end of avoiding the loss of Fox culture seems not to have been seriously considered in the process which led up to the decision to intervene. Wolffson had raised the possibility that the projected ends were, in fact, irreconcilable in the journal entry quoted above, but there seems to have been no concern with the resolution of the issue. The entire problem has been consistently avoided—ultimately by a rejection of what Peattie refers to as "the means-ends scheme".¹³

Despite some uncertainty with respect to the problems of values inherent in the situation, by the end of the summer of 1948 the decision was made to move in the direction of an extended commitment to an action program in which the University of Chicago would take on the responsibility for the Fox" . . . in the way that we take Illinois archaeology as a responsibility (but naturally with an interest additional to the

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, 300-304.

'scientific')" as Tax put it.¹⁴ The ends of the program were essentially as they had been formulated by Tax and the students in the field. The major aim was to effect a situation in which the Fox would enjoy a standard of living comparable to that of their White neighbors. Other desired ends included the preservation of any elements of Fox culture which the Fox wanted to retain, the creation of an economic situation in which Fox individuals could "make a good living" without having to leave the community, and a reduction of the identification of the Fox with the community such that an individual who chose to leave the community could do so "more as any person leaves his hometown".¹⁵

I would suggest that in this situation we are talking not about an independent and self-sufficient Fox culture, but simply in terms of a more or less distinctive subculture and a relationship with the dominant culture which is little different from the unacceptable end of assimilation. It seems that the end result of a successful Fox Project would be a community in which there would be a relatively high correlation between membership in the Fox ethnic group and residence in the Fox community, but in which the distinctiveness of the Fox as a group would be rather limited. Further, the distinctiveness of the Fox would be progressively reduced as individuals and groups within the community succeeded in competing in the larger society for valued material goods and services—and for social approval. If this is a reasonable analysis of the probable outcome of the program, that outcome is nearly indistinguishable from assimilation. In theory other aspects of the culture *must* change—must become less like the culture which we identify as the Fox—as selected aspects of the culture are modified to facilitate the change in material well-being which the staff holds up as a desirable end. At the theoretical level this is quite clear. That the theory holds for this particular case may be demonstrated with reference to a case of decision-making at Tamacraft.

Tamacraft, or Tama Indian Crafts, is a Fox corporation which attempts to assist Fox craftsmen in the production and distribution of their work. The company wholesales craft products to both Fox and non-Fox dealers. On one occasion Tamacraft received a large, rush order from a non-Fox retailer for hand-painted tiles at a time when one of the people crucial to the manufacturing process was undergoing four days of ritual isolation. In this case it was decided that the man could work in his kitchen—as usual—even though this violated the concept of ritual isolation. In this particular instance a higher value was assigned to the success of the corporation than that assigned to the continuity of the ritual cycle. This may have been a reasonable valuation, but the decision clearly diminished the continuity of Fox culture.

Fallers has suggested that the issue be posed not in terms of whether or not assimilation is an acceptable end, but in terms of the mode of the process and the rapidity with which it occurs. He suggests a kind of holding action in which the larger society would facilitate the creation of "an economically stable community in which acculturation might occur less catastrophically".¹⁶ This suggestion, however, predates the formalization of the program and seems not to have had much effect on the design. To have defined the issue in these terms would have forced a resolution of assimilation as an

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 33.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 32.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 37.

outcome with the outcome of preserving the Fox culture as the desired end, in which case it would have been clear that they were irreconcilable. In a real sense it has been the nature of the Fox Project—in practice—to engage in a series of compromises between irreconcilable ends. I am not at this point questioning the ethics of such programs (although I may have raised some questions about them). What I want to consider here is the assertion—widely accepted—that such activities constitute a kind of anthropology. In order to do this some definitions are necessary.

Tax has defined action anthropology as:

. . . an activity in which the anthropologist has two coordinate goals, to neither of which he will delegate an inferior position. He wants to help a group of people to solve a problem, *and* he wants to learn something in the process. He refuses ever to think or to say that the people involved are for him a means of advancing his knowledge; and he refuses to think or to say that he is simply applying science to those people's problems.¹⁷

Continuing his discussion, Tax notes that:

To some people action anthropology may even be confused with social work . . . But it is not social work . . . Just as action anthropology cannot be pure science for reasons both ethical and academic, so also—for reasons not dissimilar—it can never simply apply knowledge to a practical social problem.¹⁸

In practice, action anthropology tends to be primarily concerned with the amelioration of contemporary social problems and, therefore, falls well within the definition of applied anthropology as Foster and others employ the term. I find the “confusion” of applied anthropology with social work perfectly understandable. What we normally refer to by the term applied anthropology is—in fact—a cross-cultural social work. I would suggest that the essential dichotomy defining the field is that between the “discovery-creation” of knowledge and the “application” of knowledge. At the risk of adding to an already unwieldy store of definitions, I suggest that the term “applied anthropology” might well be restricted to the application of that whole complex of data, hypotheses, theories, methods, techniques, and perspectives which are characteristic of anthropology to the solution of perceived social-cultural problems. From this perspective it can be argued that what the action anthropologists—and other anthropologists—are talking about is not so much the application of a special kind of *anthropology*, but the application of *anthropologists* to a realm of problems for which there are no appropriately trained specialists. There is no specialization within the field of social work in the problems of culture contact situations, although there is a developing expertise in dealing with certain subcultures. Given that situation, anthropologists would seem to be among the best qualified to fill the gap. The distinction between “anthropologists” and “anthropology”

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 168.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 169.

is an important one, because it follows that the decision to become involved in applied programs—or not to become involved—is then recognized as a decision which is of no concern to anthropology. It is a decision to be made by individuals in terms of the ways in which they choose to employ their expertise. The only point at which anthropology *considered as a field* need involve itself is in considering whether or not such programs are conducive to “doing anthropology.”

Clearly an anthropologist who has acquired a special knowledge of the cultures involved in a culture contact situation may be a valuable resource in the amelioration of the problems arising from that contact. There is no reason to doubt that such an anthropologist could be an asset in the role of go-between; a cultural translator. And he might well learn something in the process. But a process of compromising conflicting ends and values sacrifices aspects of the research process which are crucial to doing anthropological research as we know it. I mentioned at the outset of this discussion that anthropology is essentially a field science. One of the principal advantages of the kind of research which we call fieldwork is that the context of the events under investigation remains reasonably close to the situation in which those events “normally” occur. The context is as nearly undisturbed by the presence of the investigator as is possible. This stands in clear contrast with laboratory research, in which the contextual element is manipulated in such a way as to maximize the investigator’s control over the variables involved in the process. In the former case the controls are those of a “normal” setting. In the latter case we *create* settings. In either case we know where we stand with reference to the subject. But applied programs tend to sacrifice both context and control in such a way as to make it difficult—if not impossible—to identify the relevant variables. Such a program is methodologically neither fish nor fowl. In light of the nature of the Western Tradition in which the quality of control characteristic of the laboratory setting—in this case over whole cultures—is neither available nor desirable, anthropology profits from its emphasis on field methods for reasons, to paraphrase Tax, *both methodological and ethical*.

At this point I would like to indulge very briefly in some indication of the gravity of our use of anthropological knowledge in the applied or action sense as two anthropologists who have participated in such programs have addressed the issue. Spicer has described the responsibility involved in the direction of culture change with an appropriate emphasis on the individual, felt, responsibility of the practitioner—there being no *formal* responsibility or sanction of any consequence.

Whenever he seeks to alter a people’s way of life, he is dealing not with one individual, but with the wellbeing and happiness of generations of men and women. If his skill is poor and his judgement bad, he can destroy cooperative human relations and create hatreds that will affect uncountable numbers of people.¹⁹

In spite of Spicer’s warning—and going beyond it—I am afraid that we have in the past (and will in the future) let our desire to “do something” lead us to overestimate not only our individual skills—to which Spicer addresses himself—but the collective skills. Perhaps

¹⁹ Edward H. Spicer, ed., *Human Problems in Technological Change* (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1965), 13.

the dissatisfaction which I feel in reading Fred Gearing's *The Face of the Fox* is the reflection of his uncomfortable realization that some less active approach is necessary if we are to avoid those irreconcilable and unacceptable ends; that we are at a point at which we should be concerned with increasing our knowledge by the best means available to us, and with distributing that knowledge to the Fox and their neighbors so as to increase each culture's knowledge and understanding of the differences among us. Assuming the responsibility for the direction of other people's cultures simply presumes too much of our ability to do what we intend. We might do well to be as honest—with ourselves and with those who seem to need our help—as Mosquito was with the young man who sought Mosquito power.

It is said that after days of fasting and making himself pitiable to the Great Spirit and to Mosquito, when the young warrior who sought Mosquito power was almost dead from fasting, Mosquito came to him.

Then, it is said, Mosquito trembled all over, and, it is said, he spoke. "Indeed you are pitiable. Indeed the Great Spirit has pitied you. Indeed, I have pitied you. Indeed I have come to you."

Then Mosquito, it is said, became silent. The young man, it is said, could not speak. He waited. Many minutes he waited. Then, it is said, Mosquito trembled more fiercely than before, until the ground shook with the trembling and, it is said, he spoke: "But, friend, us Mosquitos ain't got no power." It is said.²⁰

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²⁰ Frederick O. Gearing, *The Face of the Fox* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1970), 153.

INDIANS, NEGROES, AND WOMEN, 1620-1780: AN AMERICAN BICENTENNIAL CONSIDERATION

Peter T. Kyper*

When President Gerald Ford proclaimed the year 1976 as "The Bicentennial Year," he urged all Americans to reflect "on the compelling visions of those who helped shape our constitutional government" and asked educators, clergy, and business and community leaders "to review our history and publicize the shaping events, people, and ideas of our historic beginnings." President Ford's sentiment was an admirable one, but also, we might note, one which has not yet been fully realized. Although many well-intentioned organizations and citizens throughout America have planned many Bicentennial activities, many of these activities give the final impression of being more fashionable than appropriate. As Kenneth Silverman, President of the Bicentennial Committee of the Modern Language Association, has observed: "As of November, 1974, the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration in Washington had recognized 1,895 official Bicentennial Communities. The thinking in many of them could be called Antinomian: the spirit, not the letter."¹ All across our land are Bicentennial programs, Bicentennial projects, and many other Bicentennial celebrations which only pay lip-service to or completely ignore the "historic beginnings" which the occasion of the Bicentennial theoretically is to commemorate. Let me give but one example of this phenomenon, the example out of which the focus of this paper had its origin.

It was almost exactly a year ago that I attended a professional meeting which advertised, as a side activity, a panel made up of various representatives from respective American cultures who were to enumerate the contributions of their counterparts to the development of America. The program was entitled "Cultural Diversity and the Bicentennial." As one who had decided to specialize in Early American studies, I assumed that since the early history of our nation was implied, I would be able to learn more about the contributions of diverse cultures to the early development of our country. I thus attended the meeting with great anticipation, only to be disappointed. The American Indian on the panel, a full professor in Indian Affairs at a major university, did mention the friendly role of the Indian relative to the First Thanksgiving and the Indian contribution of such words as "maize" and "squash" to the American vocabulary, but nothing more that related to the early period. The Negro and women representatives, also college professors, presented the contributions of their respective groups during only the last hundred, not two hundred, years. Surely, I thought, the content of this program could have been presented at any time and in celebration of nothing in particular. Whether or not I misunderstood what the nature of the program was to be, the fact remained that, while the information presented was quite interesting and informative, the time period responsible for the activity in the first place was very largely being ignored.

After the Chicano, the Irish, the Jewish, the Hippy, and the Redneck finished summarizing their group contributions to the development of our nation, I was able to approach the Indian and women representatives. The American Indian could think of no

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¹Kenneth Silverman, "Fourth Report of the Bicentennial Committee," *Early American Literature*, 9 (Winter, 1975), 347.

contributions of his race other than those he had already presented, and the woman, drawing upon her background in American literature, was only able to mention Anne Bradstreet, whose book of poetry, *The Tenth Muse Lately Sprung Up in America*, was the first American book to be published abroad. I had no opportunity to speak to the Negro representative, but it is highly likely that he too would have been just as unknowledgeable of the contributions his race made to the early cultural and historical development of America. I reflected at the time that it was unfortunate that so little was generally known, even among those who belonged to the individual cultures, about the contributions of minorities to making this nation what it is today. After asking several students and acquaintances if they were aware of any minority contributions during this early time and getting negative responses, it became increasingly and unfortunately obvious that most people, even during this Bicentennial, had the idea, probably out of political considerations, that it was only the white male—Washington, Madison, Jefferson, Paine—who dominated and who was completely responsible for the early development of our nation. Thus it was, when invited to deliver a paper for the Faculty Forum, that I decided to present a personal response to what the contributions of the three minorities of Indian, Negro, and Woman were to the cultural and historical development of America, and, on the bases of these observations, to give some general consideration to the state of that celebration we waited two hundred years to observe.

It may, however, first be necessary to draw some guidelines. I have limited the years of consideration from 1620-1780 because it was during these years, ending shortly after the climactic 1776, that the foundations were laid for what was to follow in the rich history of America. Secondly, although the Indian, the Negro, and the Woman were very present and instrumental in all of the thirteen colonies, I have, for the most part, limited my content to the contributions of these groups in the New England area and, to some extent, in the Middle Atlantic colonies, for these areas witnessed most of the meaningful activity leading up to and beyond the Revolution. Finally, some of the contributions which I shall mention are indirect rather than direct. With limited status and individual problems, all three of these groups were often looked upon as entities to be tolerated, with their eventual contributions not realized until the advantage of hindsight in later years. But it remains that the mere presence of these groups and, in some cases, individuals, did pave the way for future developments in America, did offer their share in establishing not only various aspects of political, but also cultural, independence from England.

This does not mean, however, that the Indian did not make any direct contributions. When the Pilgrim Fathers invited the Wampanoag Indians and Squanto to join them in the first Thanksgiving feast (which, incidentally, was in October, not November),² they did so out of gratitude for what the tribe had done to aid them in achieving a foothold in the New World. But the Indian was to continue to help the White Man. It was the Indian who taught the Europeans how to use nets for catching fish. It was the Indian who taught the White Man how to make canoes, a quick and invaluable method of providing transportation on the many rivers of the northern part of the continent, and how to make pottery, invaluable for the storage of that precious commodity called food. And it was

²Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Oxford History of the American People: Prehistory to 1789* (New York: New American Library, 1972), 95.

the Indian who introduced the settlers not only to such native foods as corn, beans, squash, pumpkin, and wild rice, but also to tobacco and how to cultivate it³—tobacco, that crop which became the first lucrative product of America, that crop which provided incentive for others to try their fortunes in the New World, other settlers who helped make further growth in America possible.

Unfortunately, not all the Indians were friendly to our early settlers, but they had reasons to be unfriendly. With their villages often burned, their customs insulted, and their very existence threatened, it was natural that they should try to defend the only way of life they knew. Yet even among the many battles, there were those Indians who aided the White Man. When Powhatan, who previously was at war with the settlers of Jamestown, reluctantly agreed to allow his daughter Pocahontas to marry John Rolfe, this romantic event was more than the first Anglo-Indian marriage in America—it was also the instrument for truce, however uneasy, between the Indians and the settlers of that early colony.⁴ In another instance in Bennington, Connecticut, in 1777, it was the friendly Oneida Indians who warned Colonel Gunsevort of Lieutenant Colonel Barry St. Leger's treacherous expedition down the Mohawk River, thus allowing the general to save the lives of many women, children, and invalids.⁵ There are numerous similar examples of Indian aid in the pages of early American history. It was, however, the Indians' attempts to preserve their culture and lands that is responsible for the greatest, but most abstract, of the Indians' contributions. Tenacious themselves, they forced our early settlers to develop that ruggedness, individualism, and inventiveness that we today associate with the American character—qualities that, had they not been imperative, would have slowed considerably the early development of the nation, including even the audacious and successful attempt of the colonists to inflict those traits on the English crown during the American Revolution.⁶ It is certainly a matter of consideration to those who would defend the Turner Thesis which maintains that the Westward Movement was primarily responsible for these American traits.

As important as these contributions were, however, the indirect influence of the Indian during this time may be more significant. As a matter of fact, of the three groups here considered, the Indian was perhaps the most outstanding example of indirect influence. Burdened by unfamiliarity with the English language, puzzled by an alien culture, and amazed by weapons more sophisticated than he could ever imagine, the Indian found himself, whether friend or foe, as an object of both curiosity and exploitation. It was, largely through these English Puritan attitudes, that he was able to etch even more significant and long-range influences on the early development of America.

When the Puritans came to this land for the purpose of religious freedom, it was ironic that they did not wish to grant others what they themselves were seeking. Having established themselves in the New World, they saw as their godly duty the task of converting the heathen Indian to the ways of Christianity. Their motives also had a

³*Ibid.*, 40-42, 95; Gary B. Nash, *Red, White, and Black: The Peoples of Early America* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1974), 60.

⁴Nash, *Red, White, and Black*, 59.

⁵George F. Scheer and Hugh F. Rankin, *Rebels and Redcoats* (New York: New American Library, 1957), 294-295.

⁶Morison, *Oxford History of the American People*, 46.

sinister aspect, for it was through religion that they saw the possibilities of controlling the Redman politically and in ways to suit their purposes. But because the Indian did not speak English, the task was more difficult than the Puritans first imagined. How were they to introduce the heathens to the revelations provided by the English Bibles? It was thus through a combination of Indian "ignorance" and Puritan zeal that higher education had its beginning in the colonies. Colleges, starting with Harvard College in 1636, were founded for the training of ministers and as instruction grounds for the conversion of the heathens, with two colleges, William and Mary in 1693, and Dartmouth College in 1769, beginning only with the purposes of teaching English and the True Faith to the Indian. Furthermore, out of this very concerted effort, came the first Indian Bible, which was written in the Algonquin tongue by John Eliot, an accomplishment so admired in its time that Cotton Mather saw fit to devote a whole chapter of his famous *Magnalia Christi Americana* to the godliness of John Eliot.⁷ For our purposes, Eliot's Bible, along with the *Bay Psalm Book*, constitutes America's only contribution to the wealth of Biblical scholarship and literature of the sixteenth century.

The Indian was also a major figure in other areas of literature, but for different reasons: his character, and the fact that he was uniquely and distinctly an *American* figure which provided tremendous interest to the reading public of England. The Early American novelist Charles Brockden Brown, for example, said in the preface to his novel *Edgar Huntley* that "the incidents of Indian hostility and the perils of the Western wilderness" were far more suitable "for American fiction than Gothic castles."⁸ Brown made his statement in 1799, but America, by this time, had already realized the Indian influence on native literature. The captivity narrative, such as those written by Mary Rowlandson in 1676 and *The Williams Family* in 1704, had already provided hours of both entertainment and fear for many Americans. They not only made more vivid the dangers and determination prerequisite for settlement in this wild land, but also, as a body (there are over five hundred in the Newberry Library alone with an even larger collection in private hands in Maine),⁹ they constitute a unique genre in American literature, and, even before the short story, America's first significant contribution to the literature of the world. In another respect, it was the Indian who also provided the major tinder for the works of James Fenimore Cooper. Today we may experience more fascination with Hawkeye or Cooper's style, but, in Cooper's day, it was the Indian—the resourcefulness and inventiveness of a Chingachgook or Uncas and the treachery of a Magua—which filled American minds with marvel and satisfied the curiosity of English minds. It was, therefore, the Indian and his culture that was mainly responsible for America's first "best sellers," not only in America but also abroad.

Whatever difficulties the Indians of Early America experienced, they were, for the most part, free; free, however, was something the early Negroes were not. Starting with

⁷Cotton Mather, "The Life of John Eliot," *Magnalia Christi Americana*, in Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson, eds., *The Puritans: A Sourcebook of Their Writings*, rev. ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), II, 407-511. A reproduction of the title page of Eliot's Bible is in Nash, *Red, White and Black*, 101.

⁸Charles Brockden Brown, *Edgar Huntley* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1887), 4; originally published 1799.

⁹Howard H. Peckham, *Captured By Indians: True Tales of Pioneer Survivors* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1954), ix. This work contains a good selection of the best of the captivity narratives, including those by Mary Rowlandson and the Williams Family.

the first Dutch ship in 1619, the Negro was transported from Africa and then from such places as the Barbadoes for the sole purpose of slavery. By the close of the American Revolution, approximately twenty per cent of America's population consisted of Negro slaves. By 1800, the total Negro population was one million, compared to 4½ million white people.¹⁰ Obviously, the slave trade was a lucrative business for both the slavetraders and for all of the colonies who enjoyed the economic advantages that the slaves made possible, such as in New England, where the slave helped create a wealthy class of merchants and farmers, a fact which contributed to the early economic success of the colonies. But it was not only within an indirect economic framework that the Negro made his contributions to the early development of our nation. He also contributed militarily, politically, and culturally, all of which were no mean achievements considering the great subjection he had to suffer and endure.

Militarily, Negro men served in all branches of the armed forces with a total of some three thousand Negroes fighting in the American Revolution.¹¹ In King George's War (1742-1748), for instance, Negroes were in the companies of the colonies of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire.¹² The Negro enlisted in many other companies, including three all-black units in the Continental Army,¹³ but it was during the actual Revolutionary fighting that he militarily gained his greatest distinctions. Probably the most well-known of the black heroes during this time was a runaway slave by the name of Crispus Attucks, who, being shot in the Boston Massacre, became the first man in America to die for the cause of his country's freedom, the event inspiring Paul Revere to make a print in commemoration of the sacrifice.¹⁴ On another occasion, when Paul Revere announced that the British were coming by land, six of the Minutemen who struck the first blow for Independence were black.¹⁵ One of these black Minutemen, Peter Salem of Framingham, Massachusetts, also later fought with Lieutenant Grosvenor and became a hero at the Battle of Bunker Hill. For his efforts, he was presented to General George Washington for "having slain Pitcairn," a British commander.¹⁶ Finally, after most of the fighting had passed, John Hancock presented a silk flag to the "Bucks of America," an all-black unit from Boston, as "a tribute to their courage and devotion throughout the struggle."¹⁷

In spite of the efforts of the Negroes in fighting for American Independence and freedom, it is an irony of history that they, as a race, had to wait many years to realize those same virtues for themselves. But, from a political standpoint, the Negroes of early America initiated verbal and written arguments to secure their freedom and liberties. At

¹⁰ Russell Blaine Nye, *The Cultural Life of the New Nation, 1776-1830* (New York: Harper and Row, 1960), 121, 200.

¹¹ Lorenzo Johnston Greene, *The Negro in Colonial New England, 1620-1776* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, Inc., 1966), 190.

¹² Sidney Kaplan, *The Black Presence in the Era of the American Revolution 1770-1800* (Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society Ltd., 1973), 55. Both Greene and Kaplan present a wealth of black participation in Early American affairs, of which only a few instances are here presented.

¹³ Greene, *The Negro in Colonial New England*, 187.

¹⁴ Kaplan, *The Black Presence in the Era of the American Revolution*, 7-10.

¹⁵ Greene, *The Negro in Colonial New England*, 190; Kaplan, *The Black Presence in the Era of the American Revolution*, 15-18.

¹⁶ Kaplan, *The Black Presence in the Era of the American Revolution*, 18.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 57

the National Portrait Gallery in Washington, D.C., there is on display an exhibit of many petitions, court actions, and other documents with which the early American Negroes sought to gain their freedom in the wake of the revolution they helped make a success. Paul Cuffe, a Massachusetts shipbuilder, at the age of twenty-one, for example, petitioned his state legislature to exempt Negroes from paying taxes since they had "no vote or influence in the election of those who tax us."¹⁸ Although Cuffe's plea was no different from Patrick Henry's "taxation without representation," his plea was ignored, but his argument was to be sounded again and again even into the twentieth century. Prince Hall, another black man, sought means to improve the status of his race and even worked for the emancipation of slaves. On one occasion, Hall, after being denied admission to a lodge of White Masons, established his own lodge which marked the beginning of Negro Masonry in the United States. Through the lodge and his career as a Methodist minister, he devoted the rest of his life to improving the social, economic, and spiritual condition of the New England Negro.¹⁹ A final and more dramatic example can be seen in the case of Lucy Terry Prince. Blessed with eloquence, Lucy used her oratorical ability to urge the Board of Trustees at Williams College to remove the color bar so that her son might go to school.²⁰ It would be a long time before the 1954 Supreme Court case of *Brown vs. Board of Education* would heed the eloquent arguments of Lucy Terry, but even in this early stage of our nation the battle for equal rights in education had begun.

The Negro also contributed culturally to our early development. Upon receiving music lessons, Newport Gardner, a slave in Newport, Rhode Island, displayed greater skill than his teacher and opened a music school of his own where he taught both whites and blacks.²¹ The same Lucy Terry, who argued before the Board of Trustees at Williams College, wrote poetry, probably the first Negro in America to try a hand at verse.²² Jupiter Hammon, of New York, gained distinction not only for being America's first published black poet but also for writing an essay entitled "Address to the Negroes of the State of New York," which attacked the slave system and advocated that young slaves be freed so that the institution of slavery could gradually be abolished.²³ But the greatest Negro writer of the time was Phillis Wheatley. Phillis, brought from Africa in 1761 at the age of seven, was purchased by John Wheatley, a prosperous tailor. Wheatley's daughter Mary taught Phillis how to read and to write English, tasks which she quickly mastered. She read widely, including classical writings in the original and the great English writers of her day, John Milton and Alexander Pope. At the age of nineteen, only twelve years after she had arrived in America, she published her first book of poetry, which revealed that her ability to write both blank verse and the heroic couplet surpassed the attempts of many during her time who had more advantages, but not more skill, than she. Because of her poem dedicated to George Washington, the general was successful in his request that he meet her. He called her "Miss Phillis." She was also a celebrity abroad where she was

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 129.

¹⁹ Greene, *The Negro in Colonial New England*, 315.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 314-315.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 306.

²² *Ibid.*, 242.

²³ Norman Foerster, *et al.*, eds. *American Poetry and Prose*, 5th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1970), p. 216.

introduced to the English court, and today she is recognized as one of the outstanding poetic voices of the American Neoclassic Age.²⁴

Phillis Wheatley and Lucy Terry were not the only women helping to make this nation a complex and meaningful society. Women, in general, were a testy lot, eager to contribute in whatever ways they saw necessary. In fact, in many ways, the colonial woman was more enterprising and independent than the women of today. In their day, these women were accepted as self-sufficient and active. De Toqueville, for example, reported that compared to European women, American women showed "a masculine strength of understanding and manly energy."²⁵ Even one British lady observed that a woman in America did not have to black her husband's boots as a matter of course.²⁶ It was not until the nineteenth century that American women were placed on a pedestal and expected to be pure, pious, submissive, and domestic, the ideal of Wife and Mother. Cultural historians account for this difference in various ways. The shift of American culture from rural to urban centers, the introduction to America of English Victorian conduct books which dictated the ways that women were supposed to act and what was expected of them, and the invention of the typewriter which provided once and for all *the* place for women in the employment world and which established a precedent for the place of females in other respects all tended to restrict the image of the American woman.²⁷

Some may object to the reference of women as a minority, but the fact remains that during our early days, women were so scarce that one frustrated New York family, in order to keep a domestic maid, hired the ugliest-looking girl they could find, but even she was married ten days after her employment.²⁸ That the women were in such a minority, however, makes their contributions to the early development of America all the more remarkable.

In considering the effects of women on Early American culture, reference has already been made to Anne Bradstreet, who was not only the first American to be published abroad but also the first recognized poet of America. Another woman, Mary Rowlandson, was captured by Indians and upon her release wrote what is considered today to be the finest of all the Indian captivity narratives, since its time published in at least thirty different editions.²⁹ Madam Sarah Knight, keeper of a school in Boston which Benjamin Franklin attended,³⁰ wrote a journal of her trip through Rhode Island and Connecticut. In Mrs. Knight's *Journal*, her sketches of the Yankee bumpkin and her general

²⁴Foerster, *American Poetry and Prose*, 214-215; Morison, *Oxford History of the American People*, 377.

²⁵Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (New York: Schocken Books, 1961), II, 252; originally published 1840.

²⁶Nye, *Cultural Life of the New Nation*, 143.

²⁷Patricia Jewell McAlexander, "The Creation of the American Eve: The Cultural Dialogue on the Nature and Role of Women in Late Eighteenth-Century America," *Early American Literature*, 9 (Winter, 1975), 252-253.

²⁸Nye, *Cultural Life of the New Nation*, 143.

²⁹Elisabeth Anthony Dexter, *Colonial Women of Affairs: Women in Business and the Professions in America Before 1776* (Clifton, N.J.: Augustus M. Kelley, 1972), 133. This work, invaluable for any consideration of the early contributions of women, presents many different instances, only some of which are here used for illustration.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 83.

observations of physical postures and speech provide the finest and one of the fewest examples of the beginning of American humor. In addition, this work is usually credited with being the first of what was to become eventually America's most prolific genre of literature, the travel book, which ranges through Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* to John Steinbeck's *Travels with Charley*.

Women were just as active in the colonial business world. Chances are very good that all the inns where George Washington and a lot of other people slept were operated by women—operated very strictly and very jealously. Not only was it almost impossible to escape without paying the night's fee, but the hostesses of the taverns even formed groups similar to our unions to make certain that no man opened an inn. Inns were women's business!³¹ Other women who were known for their shrewdness were equally ambitious as merchants who carried all kinds of goods both foreign and domestic. It was the women, furthermore, who were the clothiers of Early American men, women, and children and who preserved foodstuffs, all for sale, with some women engaging in such unlikely businesses as chair-caning, second-hand furniture, carpentry, cutlery, coach-making, horseshoeing, and ropemaking.³² These, too, the Early American women considered to be women's work. One might wonder if many of our colonial towns could have survived without the economic ventures of these women.

Women were even in printing. The earliest woman printer of whom we have knowledge is Dinah Nuthead, who took over the press after her printer-husband died.³³ Other women followed in her footsteps with the wives of James Franklin, James Franklin, Jr., and John Peter Zenger all keeping the presses rolling after the deaths of their husbands.³⁴ The most notable woman-printer of the time, however, was Mary Katherine Goddard, who ran a printing shop in Baltimore, Maryland. Mary Katherine Goddard not only gave first-hand reports of the events of the Revolutionary War, but also printed the first copies of the Declaration of Independence, complete with a list of fifty-five of the fifty-six signers. We also have this early woman to thank for a principle of journalism which is just as important today as it was then. After the publication of a satirical letter, Mrs. Goddard refused to reveal its author to the Whig Club of Baltimore. With the Whig Club considering her lack of cooperation as an act of treason, and after many threats and much violence, the dispute finally reached the Maryland Assembly which ruled in Mary Katherine's favor, thus establishing a state precedent for the affirmation of the freedom of the press and the right of the press to protect its sources of information.³⁵

If women were instrumental in the establishment of freedom of the press they were also instrumental in the establishment of freedom of religion. Women did their part all over New England for religious causes, with many of them writing sermons and similar works.³⁶ Furthermore, although the teaching of Methodism in this country goes back to Whitefield and Wesley, the first Methodist Church in America was founded in New York

³¹ *Ibid.*, 1-17 *passim*.

³² *Ibid.*, 18-57 *passim*.

³³ *Ibid.*, 166-167.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 168-170.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 172-173.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 134-137.

in 1766 under the direct influence of one Mrs. Barbara Heck.³⁷ But it was a woman by the name of Anne Hutchinson and the women who were involved in the Salem witchcraft trials who struck significant blows for freedom of religion in America. Anne Hutchinson defied the Puritan ministers by announcing her Antinomian heresy of being saved and inspired by God without having first being one of the elect. Anne Hutchinson defied the Puritan ministers who, through religious control, had been accustomed to maneuvering the legal, educational, and social institutions of the colonies.³⁸ In the case of the Salem witchcraft trials, it was a slave woman by the name of Tituba who allegedly persuaded several young girls of the village of Salem into believing the existence of witches. Through a series of coincidental and accidental occurrences, the young girls began to accuse certain women as witches in the village. Like an epidemic, the witch scare spread, with many men and women executed. The whole episode constituted one of the most frightening chapters in American history. After it was all over, the ministers, who contributed to the hysteria by their unfair trial tactics, themselves began to doubt their infallibility in religious matters, including the ministers and judges Hathorne, Sewall, and Cotton Mather, who unjustly sentenced the unfortunate victims.³⁹ The total effect of this experience, along with Anne Hutchinson's defiance, were significant in detracting from the power of the theocracy which very likely would have continued long into the nineteenth century and probably, because of the ministers' English sympathies, would have delayed not only the Declaration of Independence but also the writing of the Constitution. In these ways, Anne Hutchinson and the women involved in the Salem witchcraft trials were instrumental in paving the way for the Great Awakening, which was soon to follow, and a desire among Americans for freedom of religion, which the ministers, had they the confidence of their following and in themselves, would have fought against.

As many of our Indian, Negro, and Women forefathers—and foremothers—have made clear the early development of America was because of the concerted efforts of many different types and classes of people and that matters were, in many ways, related or similar to many of our current issues. They make clear that America's Independence, the Constitution, and all that was to follow, those freedoms and characteristics which we hold so dear, were not born full-blown, but forged, with the sacrifice and efforts of many, including minorities, as the kindling fire.

In the light of all the contributions (and there are more than has here been presented), of the Early American Indian, Negro, and Woman, one could indeed be perplexed by the lack of exposition on the parts of those respective speakers who talked of cultural diversity. Whether it is because Americans have developed a kind of historical amnesia or whether it is because of a general apathy, it is unfortunate, especially during the Bicentennial, that the lack of knowledge relative to our early period, as indicated by the speakers at that meeting a year ago, seems to be the rule rather than the exception. And there is so much that could be done to bring the colonial past to life again, to show

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 149-150.

³⁸ There are several biographies of Anne Hutchinson and her experiences during the Antinomian crisis, but one of the best is Winnifred King Rugg, *Unafraid: A Life of Anne Hutchinson* (Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1970); first published 1930.

³⁹ The most complete and accurate account of the Salem witchcraft happenings in Chadwick Hanson, *Witchcraft at Salem* (New York: New American Library, 1970).

Americans what it was really like back then. Methodist, Baptist, and Episcopal Churches, for example, could devote at least one Sunday to the singing of the tunes of their Early American believers. They could even deliver one of the Early American two-hour sermons to show what it was like to go to church in those days. They could also hold group discussions noting the differences between earlier and current beliefs. Local museums and galleries could devote part of their funds to displays of Early American dress, cookery, table settings, and other materials, even if they all had to be made by local hands. At least, they could make a nice display of pictures. Interesting lectures and symposiums on such matters as the Salem witchcraft trials, the Great Awakening, the literature of the period—the list is endless—would provide much stimulating thought and discussion. Local and college drama groups could produce Early American plays, such as Royall Tyler's *The Contrast*, or some of the "blockhead" plays, which would not only be extremely entertaining but also additional reflections of the times in which they were written and first performed. More importantly, once some energy and funds were directed to projects such as these, there is no telling how many excellent ideas could be generated relative to the letter as well as to the spirit of the Bicentennial. Hopefully, in the 1976 that is still left, we might gain some insight and awareness and concern. Is it too superfluous to ask if it's possible that by the time of the Tricentennial we will have forgotten what it was *all* about in 1776?

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ARISTOCRATIC REVOLUTION: THE ENGLISH BARONS AND CLERGY IN SIMON DE MONTFORT'S REBELLION

James Richard King*

For the most part, society lives according to well established patterns which are represented by our political and social institutions. In ordinary times men accept these institutions without much question as being valid and useful for their own lives and interests. In fact, the stability of social and political systems depends upon that acceptance. Not even the strongest and most ruthless of police states possesses sufficient coercive force to maintain itself against the attack of a great enough majority of its subjects. As long as the majority of men are satisfied with their social and political structures, the system will survive. On occasions, a majority of those men who represent the essential power base of society have lost that satisfaction and rejected the established patterns. At such times either a social, or a political revolution, or both have occurred. As, for example, during the Reformation when so many men of Western Europe rejected the pattern of church order which had enjoyed nearly universal acceptance for more than a thousand years, or during the French and Russian revolutions when both the political and social orders of their respective states were rejected. Simon de Montfort's Rebellion and our American Revolution are examples of yet other sorts of revolutions. Simon de Montfort's Rebellion, a revolution which incidentally failed, involved an effort to modify the role of monarchy within thirteenth-century English society. Our American Revolution was also a struggle against monarchy. The rebels not only rejected the institution of monarchy but also severed their political allegiance as well.

My comments on the nature of revolution are not prompted by any desire to do lip service to the American Revolution in our Bicentennial Year. They are prompted rather by change in the meaning of revolution which has developed since its time, and which makes it difficult to understand revolutionary movements which do not share the new meaning. Until the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789, the generally understood meaning of revolution was essentially that with which the word is used in mechanics. That is, that a revolution is a turning over as in the revolutions per minute of a car engine, or as in the revolution of the planets around the sun. A political revolution was therefore a return, a turning over, to a situation which had formerly existed.¹ Thus the Reformation fathers thought of themselves as restoring the proper church order which had existed in the ancient church and then was lost during the Middle Ages. Or, as John Locke described it, the Glorious Revolution was one which restored the proper relationship between the prince and the legislature as specified in a social contract.

Since 1789, events have worked powerfully to change that meaning. Beginning with the attack on the Ancien Regime in France, the idea of revolution has taken on a connotation of radical social change and class warfare. On the whole this aspect of revolutionary movements had disappeared with the end of the Archaic Age in Greece. It

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¹ Eugene Kamenka, "The Concept of a Political Revolution," in *Revolution*, ed. by Carl J. Friedrich as *Nomos VIII, The Yearbook of the American Society for Political and Legal Philosophy* (New York: Atherton Press, 1969), pp. 124-5. Mark N. Nagopian actually argues that aristocratic movements cannot even be considered as revolutions. *The Phenomenon of Revolution* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1974), 29-30.

has returned in our modern era and today it seems so characteristic of revolutionary movements that men now question whether any movement which lacks it can be a true revolution. Thus today the word "revolution" is almost synonymous with class struggle. Although this development is largely a product of the convictions of nineteenth-century socialists and anarchists such as Marx and Bakunin who believed that change and social justice could only be achieved through revolutionary means, in the twentieth century their use of the word is accepted by nearly everyone.

The modern revolutionary movement is therefore much more than an attempt to restore institutions to their proper order. It has become a matter of simple survival for all concerned. Whether the revolution succeeds or fails, the penalty for the losers is death, exile, or mass imprisonment. In the nineteenth century it was the lower classes who generally failed. In France in 1848 and 1871, great numbers of the urban masses who supported revolutionary regimes were shot or exiled to Devil's Island. In the twentieth century, the revolutionaries have more often succeeded, and so we have seen the great numbers of refugees from Russia after 1917, from China after 1949, and from Cuba after 1959. The desperate nature of these struggles has caused the successful parties to perpetrate real bloodbaths so that now, for many people, the very word "revolution" conjures up pictures of wealthy and aristocratic men and women lined up before walls to be shot by impromptu execution squads of thuggish, bearded cut-throats, of the Tsar Nicholas II and his family brutally machine-gunned to death in Ekaterinburg in 1918, of village patriarchs in China kneeling to be shot in the back of the head by the local commissar for crimes against the people, or of the guillotine ending the life of Louis XVI with its shuddering crash. Even those who are deeply sympathetic with the aspirations of the revolutionaries have been appalled by their capacity for violent and bloody revenge. I am quite certain that this image of the revolutionary as terrorist has been the most powerful reason that the United States, which has the strongest of revolutionary traditions itself, has allied itself against so many revolutionary movements over the past twenty-five years or more. While granting that there are other reasons for United States policy, I believe nevertheless, that particularly in the case of Viet Nam, well meaning Americans continued to support the war primarily because of the fear that it would end in a bloodbath.

For the historian, the development of this concept of revolution is a major problem. We write history through the eyes of today, of our own society. His image of revolution has an inevitable effect on the way he deals with any revolutionary struggle, on the way he gathers his evidence, on the way he interprets that evidence, and on the way he writes about it. I first came to grips with this particular problem while completing my research in the involvement of the clergy with Simon de Montfort's Rebellion. I was finding it difficult to evaluate the evidence, to come to a satisfactory understanding of what had happened. I gradually became conscious of the real problem while teaching our graduate course in Historiography, the study of the nature and development of history writing. A major concern of the course is the examination of the problems which can invalidate the history such as the effects of personal and cultural bias. My discussions with our graduate students suddenly made me aware that my difficulties derived from this form of cultural bias. I had been treating the thirteenth-century revolution which I was studying as if it were a twentieth-century struggle. I was looking for popular involvement and ideology. I was very perplexed because the king showed no interest in charging the rebels with

treason after the rebellion was over and had failed. They were treated all the while as honorable men, and were generally received back into his good graces. Only those who actually died in battle lost their lives. In other words, the behavior of the winners was altogether too cool and too reasonable to suit my twentieth-century prejudices. I even spent a good deal of time looking into the law of treason. I discovered that resistance to royal authority was not even considered to be treason until the mid-fourteenth century.²

Despite the fact that it lacked the modern attributes of revolution, Simon de Montfort's Rebellion was quite definitely a revolution by the earlier and equally valid usage of the word. It was an effort by the English aristocracy to restore themselves to what they felt was their proper role in the realm. In their effort to do so they undertook what was a radical attempt to alter their and the king's relationship with the royal government. I agree, therefore, with the judgment of the English historian R. F. Treharne who called it "the first deliberate and conscious political revolution in English history."³ The rebellion which is often called the Barons' War, spanned the years 1263-1267, but it was only the violent culmination of the revolutionary movement which began in 1258. It produced divisions which split society at all levels. Englishmen of all classes turned against each other and committed acts of violence which ranged from full scale battles to petty acts of intrusion and destruction of property. At its heart, however, the movement was aristocratic in nature. It involved a program which was formulated by the secular and ecclesiastical leaders of society, and which was directed to changing the basic position of the monarch within society.

It must be understood that medieval men were monarchists to such a degree that, although a few republics, notably Italian city-states such as Venice, Florence, and Genoa, might exist, the average man assumed that a properly organized state was headed by a king. It was also understood that the king's government was his property and his affair. Men were aware that the king's government had its public side but, prior to the thirteenth century, no one suggested that the public should play any role in the direction of the government. For example, although courts serve a distinctly public function, medieval English kings treated the royal courts as their private property. Even while seeking to increase the number and kinds of cases heard by his courts, the king was capable of withholding the privilege of bringing suit in them from anyone he disliked. A common entry in the Patent Rolls of Henry III may provide insight into the nature of royal government. It would read something like this:

Henry, by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, Duke of Aquitaine and Normandy, Count of Maine, Anjou, and Poitou to all my sheriffs, justices, escheators, foresters, etc.; greetings. Because I have conceived a great rancour and indignation of mind against John, lord of Appleby, I order you to harass him.

²In the wording of the Statute of 1352, it became treason to "Levy war against our lord the king in his realm." Frederick Pollock and Frederic William Maitland, *The History of English Law Before the Time of Edward I*, 2 vols. 2nd ed., with intro. by S. F. C. Milsom. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1968), II, 505. For a discussion of its development prior to 1352, see J. C. Davies, *The Baronial Opposition to Edward II* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1967), 39-41.

³"The Significance of the Baronial Reform Movement, 1258-1267," in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, (hereafter TRHS), 4th Series, Vol. 25 (1943), 35.

The receipt of such an order would indeed result in harassment. The sheriffs would enter into John's lands and distrain his property. The justices would deny him suit in the king's courts so he would have no remedy against enemies who caused him injury. Escheators would deny him any inheritance which might be due him, and the king's forester would harass his men. The procedure sounds nothing so much as a nightmare dreamed up by the President's men of the Nixon era. Such behavior by modern governments is obviously not unknown, but today it is clearly thought of as wrong, as a misuse of power. For Henry III it was a right, and no one seriously questioned that right. Knowing as we do that John of Appleby will suffer great harm from the king's wrath, we are not surprised to discover a later entry which would read:

Henry, by the grace of God king of England, etc., to all my sheriffs, justices, escheators, foresters, etc.; greetings. Because John, lord of Appleby, has made fine with me in the sum of 100 pounds received at my treasury of Winchester, I am relieved of the rancour and indignation of mind which I had conceived against him and I receive him into my peace and goodwill. Cease to harass him.

Needless to say the entries are fictitious, but there was a John, Lord of Appleby, in England during most generations of the Middle Ages and any one of them could find himself subject to the king's anger and ill-will.⁴ There are many, many entries like my fictitious ones in the Patent Rolls. There is no sense of government as a public servant in such actions. The king's government was simply an instrument of his will.

When Henry III behaved as just described, he was less clearly in the right than his father and grandfather had been. A change in attitude was developing in the thirteenth century which was not complete until much later. The new attitude stressed the public role of the king. The change appeared publicly for the first time in 1215 with the drafting of Magna Carta. Many clauses were included in the Charter which were designed to limit the arbitrary use of royal power.⁵ Out of the activity associated with the Charter, a concept known as the "community of the realm" developed among the barons and greater churchmen of England. It involved the idea that somehow they shared a common interest in the proper ordering of the kingdom.⁶ This idea was separate from the conviction shared by all aristocratic societies that the monarch should rightfully consult with them on all great issues, and favor them with positions in his government. In 1258

⁴ J. E. A. Jolliffe, *Angevin Kingship*, 2nd ed. (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1963). Jolliffe devotes an entire chapter to this attribute of kingship, the king's "*Tra et Malevolentia*." Although Jolliffe concentrates on Henry II and his sons, the Patent Rolls of Henry III clearly demonstrate that it was equally characteristic of his grandson's government.

⁵ The most famous of the restrictions on the arbitrary use of royal power is Article 39. "No free man shall be taken or imprisoned or disseised or outlawed or exiled or in any way ruined, nor will we go or send against him, except by the lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of the land." Quoted from the translation of the text in J. C. Holt, *Magna Carta* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1965), Appendix IV, p. 327. This is only the most generally stated of the articles. The charter deals with specific cases of heirs, widows, courts, etc. in separate articles designed to restrict arbitrary acts by the king.

⁶ Article 61 of the Charter which was to insure its observance refers to the "*communa tocius terre*". Holt, *ibid.*, pp. 334-5. Very nearly the same term was used at the time of the Provisions of Oxford which spoke of the "*commune de nostre reaume*". Sir Maurice Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 146.

the English aristocracy went radically beyond this to hold that the king was so wrong in his handling of his affairs that he must turn over all direction of his government to them. Their actions were based on the conviction that their interests were so intermingled with his that the community of the realm was endangered by his incompetence. By their assumption that the King's incompetence entitled them to take over his affairs they were led to revolution.

The king against whom this revolution was made was Henry III. His father was the infamous King John, and his mother was Isabelle of Angouleme, one of the strangest women in English history. Their marriage was a great disaster for the Angevin dynasty. Isabelle was stolen by John from her betrothed Hugh le Brun, count of La Marche. In doing so, John violated the rights of one of his most important vassals. When Hugh appealed to their liege lord, King Philip II of France, John failed to appear. Philip was able to then declare John's lands and titles in France forfeit.⁷ In the end, John's infatuation with Isabelle cost him and the Angevins the Duchy of Normandy, and the Counties of Maine, Anjou, and Poitou. When John died in 1216, Isabelle abandoned the three children she had borne him and returned to France. She then married Hugh le Brun, count of La Marche, the son of the man to whom she had once been betrothed. Isabelle and Hugh then had a whole houseful of children.

Whether or not it derived from his desertion by his mother, Henry III grew up as a suspicious and often secretive man.⁸ He was nine years old when his father died. He came to the throne as the first minor to be king of England since the Conquest. He grew up against a background of political infighting among the English magnates who struggled to control the regency and so enhance their own positions. In addition, his inheritance was clouded by the war which was still going on when John died.

Despite the disabilities of his youth, Henry III grew up to be a good man. He was a man of truly fine taste and was a noteworthy patron of the arts. As an act of personal piety he built the great church of the abbey of Westminster.⁹ He was devoted to his wife, Eleanor of Provence, whom he married in 1236, and he was happiest when he was surrounded by his family. When Eleanor came to England she was accompanied by several of her uncles, members of the house of Savoy. Henry III showered them with favors, enjoyed their company and advice, and gave them high office in his government. In 1241, he procured the election of one of them, Boniface of Savoy, as the archbishop of Canterbury.¹⁰ When his half-brothers and sisters, the children of Isabelle and Hugh le Brun, grew up he received them in England, and graciously provided them with gifts of lands and titles.¹¹ All his life, Henry was a generous and dutiful family man. He was also

⁷ Austin Lane Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta, 1087-1216*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 379-384.

⁸ The best biography of Henry III is Sir Maurice Powicke's *King Henry III and the Lord Edward*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947).

⁹ Powicke, *Thirteenth Century*, 224-5. Henry III was a noteworthy patron of the arts. For a detailed discussion, see E. F. Jacob, "The Reign of Henry III: Some Suggestions," *THRS*, 4th Series, vol. 10 (1927), 33-38.

¹⁰ The most even-handed treatment of Boniface of Savoy is made by Marion Gibbs in her joint work with Jane Lang, *Bishops and Reform, 1215-1272* (London: Humphrey Milford for Oxford Univ., 1934), 19-22.

¹¹ Harold S. Snellgrove, *The Lusignans in England, 1247-1258* (Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1950), 32-7.

a fine administrator. During his reign the effectiveness of the operations of the royal government was constantly improved.

It would seem that Henry III should have been respected by all men. And yet, he was not. The English baronage resented deeply the favoritism he showed his French relatives who were an unpleasant brood. It seems that only Henry really liked them. The English lords also disliked the queen's Savoyard relatives who were as capable as the king's half-brothers were worthless. The English were in a xenophobic mood in the thirteenth century and the royal relatives were resented as foreigners and as usurpers of English rights. The most emotional issue of the revolution was the question of whether the king had the right to have "aliens" in his government.

English churchmen were annoyed by the effectiveness of his control over the church. Between 1232, when he assumed active control over the government, and 1258, Henry III was remarkably active in his intervention in church affairs. He was especially interested in procuring high church office for his relatives and servants. The most notorious such intervention occurred in 1250 when Henry coerced the monks of the chapter of Winchester to elect his half-brother, Aymer de Valence, as bishop. Aymer was grossly unfit for the office.¹² In the manner of such men, he refused to be consecrated for ten years while he enjoyed the income of the office as bishop-elect. He finally allowed himself to be consecrated at Paris in 1260 only to die one year later. Henry was regularly successful in placing former officials of the crown in important church offices as well. His friend and clerk, John Mansel held so many church offices that he was considered the richest clerk in Christendom.¹³ The most notorious case of royal patronage was the election of Peter d'Aigueblanche, an able but ruthless Savoyard who followed the queen to England, as bishop of Hereford.¹⁴

The king's control over the church was altogether too effective to satisfy reformers such as Robert Grosseteste who was bishop of Lincoln from 1235 to 1253.¹⁵ Grosseteste was one of the most intelligent and ablest men of the Middle Ages. Before his election as bishop, he had been the first chancellor of the university of Oxford and a true scholar. Although he was already an old man when he was elected bishop, he became one of the most active reformers and pastoral leaders among the higher clergy. Through his influence and that of the universities, a genuine reform movement developed during Henry's reign. It was a movement which was especially opposed to the placing of unworthy men in church office. Grosseteste once even refused to institute a nephew of Pope Innocent IV for that reason.¹⁶

Even those churchmen who were uninterested in reform resented another aspect of

¹² *Ibid.*, 56-60.

¹³ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, 5 vols., ed. by H. R. Luard, *Rerum Britannicum Medii Aevi Scriptores, or Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages* (hereafter cited by its common title, the *Rolls Series*). (London: Record Commission 1872-84), V, 355. Paris says of Mansel, "*ita ut temporibus nostris con est visus clericus ad tantam opulentiam ascendisse.*"

¹⁴ T. F. Tout, "Peter d'Aigueblanche, bishop of Hereford," *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 15, 946-951.

¹⁵ The best and most recent work on Grosseteste is, *Robert Grosseteste: Bishop and Scholar*, ed. by D. A. Callus (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955).

¹⁶ The man was Frederick de Lavagna. See J. A. Strawley, "Grosseteste's Administration of the Diocese of Lincoln." *Ibid.*, 162-3.

Henry's policies. They shared with the baronage a strong dislike for his ever increasing tendency to choose his officials from members of the court rather than from the secular and ecclesiastical lords of the kingdom. Henry III clearly was unwilling to entrust high office to men he could not control. His refusal to use the great lords seemed to them to be a rejection of their traditional role in society.

The king pursued other policies as well which demonstrated his determination to dominate the magnates. He was a careful and energetic manipulator of feudal rights and practices in his own interest. He used his rights of wardship and escheat to decrease vastly the numbers of great honors in the hands of the baronage. The success of this policy was capped by the confiscation of the earldoms of Leicester and Derby after the Barons' War. Altogether he managed to reduce the number of earldoms in baronial hands from the twenty-three which existed in 1216 to only nine in 1272 at his death. Of these, four were held by two families. In 1272, the only earldoms held by baronial families were Warwick, Hereford-Essex, Norfolk, Gloucester-Hertford, Lincoln, Surrey, and Huntingdon. All the others were in the hands of the royal family. The reduction in the number of great honors was deeply resented by the baronage.¹⁷

Revolutions are not caused by resentment about royal favoritism, or by aggressive attacks on aristocratic privileges. Such policies do sharpen the determination of men when situations develop which convince them that revolution is necessary. Such a situation did develop in England in the 1250's. During that period Henry III managed to entangle himself in a series of difficulties which became steadily more serious with every year. The first and least of his problems was a war with the king of France which he had inherited as part of his legacy from his father, the unlovely and unloved King John. John's loss of the Angevin possessions in France was not accepted by Henry and throughout his reign he sought to regain them. In the 1230's and 1240's he campaigned in France in an effort to do so, but his campaigns were failures. Henry III was no warrior king and his efforts to lead armies were an embarrassment to himself and to his barons who followed him. By the 1250's, he was still saddled with the war, but his hopes of eventual success had diminished to the vanishing point.

The second problem was a great deal more serious. It was the king's "Sicilian Business". In addition to his war with the king of France, Henry III was also committed to a war in Italy as an ally of the papacy against the Hohenstaufen Manfred for the kingdom of Sicily. In 1245, the papacy had declared the emperor Frederick II deposed. Pope Innocent IV deprived him and his heirs of their realms of Germany, Burgundy, Lombardy, and Sicily. The papal action was meaningless until Frederick's death in 1250. As one of the most effective leaders of the Middle Ages Frederick was easily able to withstand the papal attack, but his heirs were not so strong. After 1250, Innocent IV pressed the attack while seeking allies by holding out of the promise of the throne of Sicily as a reward. He offered it to the brothers of both Louis IX of France and Henry III. Both men considered the project impractical and refused.

In 1254, while in France, Henry III was approached by a papal representative who offered him the throne of Sicily for his younger son Edmund. Henry reacted as a loving father, and without consulting any of his greater subjects, accepted the papal offer. He committed himself to bring an army to Italy as soon as possible, and to assume the debts

¹⁷J. E. A. Jolliffe, *The Constitutional History of Medieval England*, 4th ed. (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1961), 282-3.

already incurred by the pope for the war. In return, the pope freed him from an earlier promise to go to the Holy Land on crusade. He was also allowed the income from a crusading tax already levied on the income of the English church. The tax of a tenth of the income of English clerics was also extended from three to five years.

The proposed war, the tax on the clergy, and the debt which the king had assumed were dropped like a bombshell in the laps of an assembly of clerical and lay lords in England in 1255. The barons declared that they would have nothing whatsoever to do with the project. They had not been consulted, they considered it foolish and impractical, and would not be involved. For the clergy it was another matter. Their support had been committed by the pope, and however much they might dislike the affair, they had no choice but to accept. Innocent IV had done nothing which exceeded the powers of the papacy as they were understood in the thirteenth century. Nevertheless, the clerical lords were even more upset with Henry III than the lay lords since the project struck directly at their pocketbooks. The king had managed to alienate the majority of the opinion makers and power brokers of his kingdom with a single rash decision.¹⁸

It quickly became apparent that Henry III's acceptance of the Sicilian affair was foolish financially even more than militarily. The papal debt which he had agreed to pay was revealed to be the enormous sum of 135,541 marks plus all the interest and carrying charges due on the amount. With the mark valued at two-thirds of a pound, this was in excess of 88,000. The income of the Sicilian Tenths on the clergy amounted to only about half of that sum. Henry III also had to raise and finance his own army. He had nowhere near the resources to manage that. The pope, now Alexander IV, was impatient as well. The king was ordered to pay on pain of excommunication.¹⁹

With the enormity of his problems over Sicily, Henry III sued for peace with the king of France. Negotiations had barely begun, however, when a new problem developed which was much closer to home. In 1256, the Welsh on the western border of England rose up under the leadership of their prince, Llywelyn of Snowdonia, and began ravaging the border country.²⁰ For the medieval English the Welsh border area was the most sensitive of all regions. It was known as the Welsh March and almost every great family of England held lands there and aspired for more. The March was technically outside of England although it was subject to the king. In the words of medieval English law, "The king's writ did not run there." A baron was more a lord there than any other place. The Marcher lords were warlike and aggressive men. No English king could rule against their opposition and nothing made them unhappier than damages wrecked on them by their Welsh subjects. It was imperative that the king suppress the Welsh immediately. At this point apparently the barons lost all confidence in the King's ability to solve his problems, and the Welsh rising made his problems important to all of them.

On April 30, 1258, Henry III was confronted by a group which was made up of the seven greatest lords of the land. It was an imposing group. It included the earl of Norfolk, Roger Bigod, and his brother Hugh, Richard of Clare who held the two earldoms of

¹⁸ William E. Lunt, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Medieval Academy of America, 1939), 269.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 266-7.

²⁰ T. F. Tout, "Wales and the March During the Barons' War," in *Historical Essays by Members of the Owens College, Manchester*, ed. by T. F. Tout and James Tait, Rev. ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1907), 84-5.

Gloucester and Hertford, the earl of Leicester, Simon de Montfort who was married to the sister of the king (another Eleanor), Peter of Savoy, one of the uncles of the queen, and the lords John fitz Geoffrey and Peter de Montfort. The barons' appearance was made even more imposing because they came before the king dressed in armor, bearing swords, and prepared for war. Such dress without summons for war violated all protocol for the court and served to emphasize the seriousness of their purpose. Through their spokesman, Hugh Bigod, they demanded that Henry give up his control over his government. In turn, they were prepared to intercede with the pope to get Henry relief from his promise to go to Sicily.

The barons proposed that the king should choose twelve men whom he trusted to speak for him, and that they should meet with twelve men of their own choice to decide the future direction of the realm. Henry III accepted their demands. The Committee of Twenty-four met at Oxford in June of 1258. The result of their deliberations is known as the Provisions of Oxford.²¹ The barons at Oxford agreed that a committee of Fifteen men should be chosen to undertake the day to day supervision of the royal government. Henry III was to become a figure-head who reigned but did not rule. All major decisions were to be made in consultation with a standing committee of twelve men elected from the baronage at-large in three mandatory parliaments each year. They were to meet at Michaelmas (September 29), Candlemas (February 2), and on June 1. All major royal officials were to be appointed in consultation with this group. All the "aliens" were banned from the king's government. The body also revived the office of justiciar which Henry had allowed to lapse after he removed Hubert de Burgh in 1232. Hugh Bigod became justiciar and he immediately began a far-reaching investigation of abuses by royal officials.²²

The changes instituted by the barons at Oxford were a revolutionary program. Because of the reforms initiated by Hugh Bigod, and also because of the legal reforms produced by a parliament at Westminster in 1259 known as the Provisions of Westminster, historians have traditionally treated this as an era of reform as well. If it was it was short-lived. Medieval aristocrats were not accustomed to concerning themselves with any affairs other than their own. They were also unaccustomed to cooperating with one another. Within two years the major problems which brought the barons together were largely solved. Peace was made in Wales, at least for a time. The pope agreed to release Henry from his involvement with Sicily. And, with the Treaty of Paris, peace negotiations were concluded with Louis IX. With their solution, the "common enterprise" broke down. By the summer of 1260, the two most strong-minded and overbearing of the magnates were at odds. At the June parliament, Richard de Clare and Simon de Montfort engaged in a shouting match. Their argument was decisive. The spirit of cooperation was broken, and by 1261 Henry III again took control of affairs. Simon de Montfort left England in a huff.

The idea of the common enterprise was not dead. Men who disagreed with the king began a series of violent attacks on those persons most closely identified with him during

²¹ *Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History: From the Earliest Times to the Reign of Edward the First*, ed. by W. Stubbs, 9th ed., rev. by H. W. C. Davis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), 381.

²² For the work of reform initiated by Hugh Bigod, see E. F. Jacob, *Studies in the Period of Baronial Reform and Rebellion, 1258-1267*, *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History*, vol. VII, ed. by Paul Vinogradoff (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), pp. 71 ff.

1263. Before the autumn of that year Simon de Montfort returned to England and became the leader of the movement and symbol of resistance to the king. His party demanded that the government of the Provisions of Oxford be restored and that the "aliens" must again leave England.

Simon de Montfort was a greatly admired man throughout Christendom.²³ He was French and was the younger son and namesake of the great crusader against the Albigensians. He came to England in 1231 to seek the earldom of Leicester to which his family had a claim. Henry III befriended him, gave him the earldom, and allowed him to marry his own sister. Then, mysteriously, the two men had a falling out. Between 1238 and 1258, Simon de Montfort and the king had one disagreement after another. Simon became admired as a crusader and developed strong friendships with the great churchmen of the age. He gained such a reputation as a genuinely holy man that after his death in 1265, a strong movement to canonize him developed. Within a few years after his death over two hundred miracles were attributed to him.²⁴

After Simon de Montfort's return to England the rebellion quickly gained force. He was joined by many of the younger barons including Gilbert the Red, the son of Richard of Clare; Henry of Almain, the son of Richard, earl of Cornwall (the king's younger brother); Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford; and Robert de Ferrars, earl of Derby. Simon also enjoyed the support of a great number of English ecclesiastical lords. The majority of the English bishops supported the rebellion as well as a great number of the monastic leaders, the abbots and priors.

Medieval ecclesiastics were not usually rebels. Their priestly calling was opposed to violence while their great property holdings and important position made them natural conservatives. And yet, out of the seventeen bishops of England, only five remained constantly loyal to the king. They were the bishops of Hereford, Rochester, Carlisle, and Norwich, and archbishop of Canterbury, Boniface of Savoy. All five were especially close to the court, and the rebels had treated the lands and persons of two of them with a considerable degree of severity. These were the very unpopular Savoyard bishop of Hereford, Peter d'Aigueblanche, and Simon Walton, bishop of Norwich who was a former justice of the king's court *coram rege*.²⁵ Of the other twelve, five were active rebels and the others gave varying amounts of sympathy and support to their cause. Of them, eight were charged with rebellion by the king in 1265. They were the bishops of Durham, Ely, Lincoln, London, Chichester, Winchester, Salisbury, and Worcester.²⁶

The most important rebel ecclesiastics were all products of universities, and all but one, Walter de Cantilupe, bishop of Worcester, became bishops during the period after the

²³ The best biography of Simon de Montfort is Charles Bémont's, *Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, 1208-1265*. Revision of 1884 French edition, trans. by E. F. Jacob (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930).

²⁴ Printed by James O. Halliwell in his edition of *The Chronicle of William de Rishanger of the Barons' Wars: with the Miracles of Simon de Montfort* (London: Camden Society, 1840). The movement is discussed by Josiah Cox Russell, "The Canonization of Opposition to the King in Angevin England," in *Anniversary Essays in Medieval History by Students of Charles Homer Haskins*, ed. by Charles H. Taylor (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1929), 286-7.

²⁵ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1258-66* (London: H. M. Stationary Office, 1913), 273.

²⁶ *King's Bench Rolls*, m. 21 d (49 Henry III). These cases are also included in the *Placitorum in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi Asservatorum Abbreviatio Temporibus Regum Ricardi I, Johannis, Henrici III, Edwardi I, Edwardi II* usually referred to as the *Abbreviatio Placitorum* (London: Record Commission, 1831), 159.

Provisions of Oxford. They were therefore a product of the only period during which Henry III was unable to dominate the church. The four bishops were Richard de Gravesend of Lincoln, John Gervais of Winchester, Henry of Sandwich of London, and Stephen Berksted of Chichester. Berksted was a saintly man and was especially close to Simon de Montfort.

Formal hostilities between the king and the rebels began in March, 1264, when the royal forces gathered at Oxford. Suspecting the loyalty of the masters and students of the university, Henry III ordered them dispersed. Fighting began with a royal attack on Northampton in April while the rebels laid siege to king's castle at Rochester. In May, the first important battle of the war was fought at Lewes in the south of England. Although the rebels had a much smaller force, the king's lack of military ability led to disastrous defeat. Henry III, his son Edward, his brother Richard, and most of the senior barons of England were captured. Simon de Montfort was in control of the government.

During the period from May, 1264, until August, 1265, the king was under the control of the rebels. The government of the Provisions of Oxford was restored in a modified form. A Council of Three was established consisting of Simon de Montfort, Gilbert of Clare, and Bishop Stephen Berksted. They in turn choose a council of nine men to advise the king with the provision that three of the nine should always be in attendance with him. The ultimate authority remained with the Council of Three which was empowered to settle any dispute which might arise between the king and his council of advisers.

The government of the rebels failed to establish firm control over the realm even after their military victory. The Marcher lords were antagonistic and their opposition was crucial. In May, 1265, Edward, the king's eldest son and heir, escaped and joined them. On August 4, 1265, a force under his command surprised Simon de Montfort at Evesham. The earl was killed and the cause was lost. Simon's head was cut off and sent to the wife of Roger Mortimer, a great Marcher lord.

Although their leader was dead, the rebels continued to fight in isolated strongholds until 1267. Thus the violence and bloodshed was prolonged for two more years. Through the influence of a great papal legate, the Cardinal Ottobuono Fieschi, a peace settlement known as the Dictum of Kenilworth was eventually worked out, and fighting gradually ended.²⁷ By 1268, the rebels had mostly made their peace with the king. The bishops of London, Lincoln, Winchester, and Chichester were suspended from their dioceses and sent overseas to make their peace with the pope.²⁸ The settlement was a remarkable achievement. Peace was restored, the rebels were reconciled to the king, and in 1268 at Marlborough the major elements of the legal reforms of the Provisions of Winchester were enacted as a statute. So at least a part of the work of the revolution had lasting effect.

The overall failure of this thirteenth-century effort to modify the structure of the monarchy was due to a number of factors. The revolutionaries failed to keep the support of the Marcher lords who were the most important military force in Angevin England. In addition, even after the king's defeat at Lewes, too few of the secular lords were willing

²⁷ Powicke, *Thirteenth Century*, 209-212. Ottobuono Fieschi eventually became pope as Adrian V in 1276, but he lived for only one month after his election. His legation included two other men who later became pope. They were Tebaldo Visconti who was pope as Gregory X (1271-76), and the famous Benedict Caetano who took the papal name of Boniface VIII (1294-1303). *Ibid.*, 207.

²⁸ *Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia*, vol. 3 in *Annales Monastici*, 4 vols., ed. by H. R. Luard (London: Rolls Series, 1866), 247. Discussed by Powicke, *Henry III and the Lord Edward*, II, 529.

to join the rebels. Simon de Montfort and his supporters were forced to depend much too heavily on the ecclesiastical lords. In January, 1265, he held a famous parliament which clearly reveals the disparity of his support among the two great elements of the aristocracy. He summoned 118 ecclesiastical lords but only five earls and eighteen barons.²⁹ The program of the rebels was simply too radical to succeed without a broad base of support among the barons and that had existed only for the short period of 1258-1260.

The most decisive factor in the failure of the revolutionary program was its radical character. In the thirteenth century, men would not accept such far-reaching limitations on the power of the king over his government. It was condemned by the papacy and rejected by most men who believed that no one could truly be a king under such conditions. In 1264, both parties asked Louis IX of France to arbitrate their differences. He was the most respected man of his age, and was renowned as a just man. It is impossible to imagine a man who would more truly typify the ideals of his age than Louis IX. In his decision which is known as the Mise of Amiens, he totally rejected the barons' program. A king could not be a king unless he could summon whomsoever he wished to service whether "alien" or native born. He could not be a king unless he could regulate his own household and control his own castles. The very principle that the barons had a proper interest in the king's affairs was rejected.³⁰

The revolution was based on an idea that was before its time. We all know that in England in the seventeenth century, the principle of aristocratic control over the monarchy was established by the Civil War and by the Glorious Revolution. There is a temptation to regret the failure of the thirteenth-century attempt. I believe it is a temptation the historian must avoid. There is no certainty that the secular and clerical lords of 1258-1267 would have directed the royal government any more capably than the king, or even have done so any more in the public interest. Medieval aristocracy was neither so well meaning, nor so willing to show concern for any man's affairs other than their own to allow us to assume that they were better able to direct the affairs of the whole kingdom than the king.

One final note. I think I can safely say that I am no antiquarian in love with everything from the past simply because it is old. On the whole I believe modern society is vastly superior to any time that has gone before. Yet there is, somehow, something to admire about this movement which could attempt so much and yet not touch off the sort of bloodbath we have seen so often in our own time as both sides take their revenge for the injuries done by the one class on the other. Even though the war produced widespread support among the townsmen and peasantry, there is no more evidence of executions of lower class rebels than of aristocratic rebels. Measured against the example of our own modern class warfare, it all seems strangely civilized.

²⁹ *Close Rolls, 1264-1268* (London: H. M. Stationary Office, 1938), 84-7.

³⁰ Powicke, *Thirteenth Century*, 183.

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ON BEING A PEACOCK IN A GORILLA SOCIETY

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There is no problem for Peacocks living in a Gorilla society until someone gets the idea that Peacocks are simply defective Gorillas. It is not even plausible to make a value judgement concerning the relative worth of Peacocks and Gorillas. When a value judgement is made, a loss of dignity ensues which precipitates a chain of unfortunate events. The purpose of this discourse is to define some variations of language and learning development and discuss the consequences of certain variations. Special attention will be given to the results of viewing a variation as an aberration. Because the subject is widely publicized, emotionally laden but poorly defined, the present paper will of necessity be a wide ranging and cursory treatment designed to channel the future investigations of individuals who may encounter these problems professionally or personally.

The particular variation under discussion is called a language and/or learning disability and also minimal brain damage, in Texas. The same child in Oregon would have an Extreme Learning Problem. In Minnesota this child would have a Specific Learning Disability but if residing in West Virginia would be a remedial reader with dyslexia. The label usually reflects the professional orientation of the writer and may be a source of hilarity to the onlooker. Historically, such labels as Word Blindness (1877), Congenital Typolexia (1909), Amnesia Visualis Verbalis (1935), Bradylexia and Analfabetica Partialis (1944) have been brought forward and sent back. Wold¹ surveyed the literature and found 92 ways, starting with associational deficit pathology and ending with symbolic confusion, of saying, "There is something wrong with his language development." One of the most popular terms is Dyslexia. In the present discussion, the term Learning Disability will be used to cover variations of reading, writing, spelling, and other language behaviors.

It has been conservatively estimated that at least 28% of the elementary school population within the United States suffers from a learning disability.² One research study reported that 41% of the kindergarten and first-grade children within a school district were categorized by teachers as exhibiting characteristics associated with learning disabilities.³ Recent federal legislation (Public Law 94-124), however, has designated a limit of 2% of a school population as being eligible for learning disabilities moneys.⁴ This legislation will have inevitable effects upon states, such as Texas, whose special education programs rely heavily upon federal funds. It will, in fact, limit the availability of specialized help to a very small number of extremely severe cases. Whatever the frequency of incidence, there is no question as to the existence of these learning disabled children.

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¹Robert M. Wold, "Why Doesn't Johnny Read Better?" in *Visual and Perceptual Aspects for the Achieving and Underachieving Child*. Robert M. Wold, ed. (Seattle: Special Child Publications, 1969).

²R. Brunincks, G. Glaman, and C. Clark, "Prevalence of Learning Disabilities: Findings, Issues, and Recommendations," *Research Report*, no. 20 (Washington, D.C. Department Health, Education, and Welfare, 1971).

³R. Ruben, and B. Balow, "Learning and Behavior Disorders: A Longitudinal Study," *Exceptional Children*, vol. 38 (1971), 193-299.

⁴"Education U.S.A.," *Washington Monitor* (December 8, 1975) Washington, D.C. National School Public Relations Association, 89.

Their existence has been well documented by both educational and medical authorities.⁵

In character with many educational endeavors, the definition of learning disabilities is not as precise as the foregoing labeling or prediction of incidence. As with the labeling, the definition depends upon the perspective of the diagnostician. Perhaps the most important aspects of the variation known as a learning disability are negative statements. A learning disability is not mental retardation. These individuals have potential to perform normally, including for many, the possibility for college graduation. It is this aspect of the problem which creates effective difficulties for the zookeepers. We are frequently culturally trained to think in dichotomies: smart-dumb, ambitious-lazy, good child-bad child. If a child can be labeled as dumb, we may be comfortable in dispensing pity and dismissing both ourselves and the child from academic responsibility.

Neither is the child severely mentally ill, out of touch with reality to the extent that he cannot function within the classroom. These children, known metaphorically as Peacocks, are not lazy. The writer has never been approached by a professional football scout. The reason most assuredly has not been a lack of the hard work necessary to be successful on the field. It is a matter beyond the writer's control, a problem of size, strength, coordination, and now age. While society does not demand that every male be equipped for professional athletics, the zookeepers become unglued when a child of normal intelligence does not learn how to spell, read, or display flowing, well-formed handwriting. Being denied the label "dumb", the label of choice is "lazy." Returning to the metaphore of the hour, Peacocks are viewed as Lazy Gorillas.

Concluding the negative aspects of learning disabilities, that the primary problem is usually not a lack of adequate *traditional* classroom instruction, should be stressed. Many parents dismiss their children's problems with, "His teachers ain't learned him no phonics." Recently a father blamed his son's sixth grade problems on attendance at a "linguistic" kindergarten. There are no magical or inimical methods or materials which will prevent or create the problems attendant to learning disabilities. Some methods or materials may act as a catalyst in triggering latent problems.

Positive definitions of learning disabilities may stress either educational or medical symptoms.

Educational Symptoms

Most frequently the problem is reading (dyslexia). The child may have an immense listening and oral vocabulary, be a whiz with mathematics, but be totally unable to learn to read simple words. This is in contrast to the less verbally gifted child who has no strengths at all and is really reading at his maximum level. There may be severe problems with spelling. Learning disabled children usually spell phonetically, making the wrong choices among the numerous ways of making each English phoneme. Spelling errors are also frequently a matter of getting the letters correct but in the wrong order. Sometimes these sequence errors are also made when copying from the board and will also occur when copying arithmetic problems. Contrary to popular folklore, accurate spelling requires adequate visual memory, a frequent weakness of learning disabled children. Phonics is not useful beyond very rudimentary levels because of our extremely confused orthographic system.

⁵Paul H. Wender, "The Minimal Brain Dysfunction Syndrome in Children," *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, vol. 155, (no. 1, 1972).

Much has been made, in the popular press, of "reversal" problems with primary children. Some children rotate either horizontally or vertically such letters and figures as p, b, d, q, w, m, 3, 7 in either reading or writing or both. Reversals may also occur in the order of letters within words or the order of words within sentences in both speech and writing. Parents should not become anxious about reversals until the end of the third grade. Most reversals are symptoms of general neurological immaturity and time will eliminate the problem if the child is not drilled until he hates writing.

Quite a few learning disabled children have some degree of inability to write speedily and fluently, as well as with acceptable letter formation. This is called "dysgraphia" Their manuscript may be less than acceptable until adolescence and stylistic cursive handwriting may never be possible within their lifetime.

Dysgraphia presents a particular problem to the Peacocks because most of their school responses are in handwriting. If a child is a slow writer, time is his most precious possession. Copying problems from the board or from a book add to his burden. Work is not finished within the allotted time, and the 11th Commandment, "That which is not done is wrong," is invoked by the zookeepers. He could, of course, take home extra homework. This deprives him of music, sports, and a child's life, thereby making schoolwork a punishment for an organic weakness about which he can do nothing. It therefore becomes easier for the Peacock to state that he cannot do the work at all and accept failure.

The three foregoing problems, inaccurate spelling, reversals, and labored handwriting, share another common problem. All are physiologically based in the learning disabled child. Extra practice such as extra spelling drill or extra writing drill, will not eliminate the problem. Such remedial efforts usually provoke Peacocks to hate school and their zookeepers.

Classroom behavior rather than academic achievement may be the focus of diagnosis. An almost universal problem is distractibility. Learning disabled children may be at the mercy of every sight and sound. Their attention is captured by sensory stimuli which normal children can ignore. Hyperactivity is another frequently mentioned problem. Here, however, there are some variables which go unnoticed. Hyperactivity is usually a value judgment. Tranquility is doing what the zookeeper wants, any other movement is hyperactivity. Neither do we presently have norms established as to what is a normal activity level for children of certain ages. Hyperactivity may be an escape mechanism. In a few cases, hyperactivity does have an organic basis.

Learning disabled children tend to be uncoordinated, emotionally explosive, and unable to inhibit the impulse of the moment. It should be recognized, however, that many of these symptoms may be caused by numerous events, including boredom caused by giftedness, or boredom caused by inept teaching.

Some specialists who work with learning disabled children focus on perceptual or cognitive weaknesses. The Bender Gestalt Test, the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities, the Frostig Visual Perception Test, or the Purdue Perceptual-Motor Test may be used to diagnose the specific problems. The child may be said to have a visual-perception deficiency. This would include difficulty in interpreting printed symbols because he sees symbols turned around in space or because he is unable to sort out symbols from background clutter. Eye-hand coordination, the ability to move the eyes smoothly from left to right, the sense of direction, the sense of body position in space may be impaired.

While these problems are highly correlated with school problems, it is emphasized here that extant research indicates that they are not the direct cause of school failure.⁶

Other diagnostic findings may include an inability to tell the difference among sounds, inadequate auditory or visual memory, inability to remember items in the correct sequence, or inability to use touch to identify objects. In many cases there is great similarity between learning disability symptoms and the symptoms found in Cerebral Vascular Accident patients.

There are numerous other areas of human development and learning which are legally regarded under the domain of learning disabilities. These areas, such as calculation ability, are not discussed in the present paper.

Medical Symptoms

In order of frequency, the most common symptoms are: hyperkinesia, dysdiadochokinesia, the inability to hop on one foot, Babinsky signs (toes go up after age 3), synkinesia, and dysarthria.⁷ Fifty per cent will have an abnormal EEG although there is no established diagnostic pattern. Hyperkinesia is usually determined by observing excessive movement. Dysdiadochokinesia is difficulty with rapid alternating movements. The child is told to hold out his hand and quickly turn it over, back and forth. A learning disabled child with neurological involvement might quickly lose control and lapse into wild movements. When testing for synkinesis, or mirror movements, the child is told to hold up one hand and touch his thumb with his first finger, then the next and so on. The unused hand is observed. Many neurologically damaged children move the fingers on one hand when trying to do simple tests of coordination with the fingers of the other. Dysarthria is difficulty with speech caused by organic impairment of the speech organs.

During the past two decades research has shown that lefthandedness, crossed dominance (left-eyed, right handed or vice versa) and problems of visual acuity or eye movement are not symptoms of learning disabilities and do not cause school problems.⁸ It is unfortunate that many parents still express concern about their children being left handed and equally disheartening that there are so many pseudo-professionals who charge large fees for remediation of these areas under the stated or implied belief that school performance will be improved.

Etiology

The causes of learning disabilities are rarely established in any given case. Absence of oxygen, malnutrition, toxicity, high fevers, and cerebral insult are frequently mentioned causative factors. There is evidence that some symptoms are genetic in origin. Premature birth increases risk. Children from socio-economic groups likely to suffer neglect, malnutrition, abuse, or inadequate medical care have a relatively high incidence. Males will suffer learning disabilities at a rate of eight to one more frequently than females. A growing number of specialists believe that in most learning disabilities cases, immaturity of specific neurological functions is the culprit. The child isn't ready to spell or print

⁶Donald, Hammill, "Training Visual Perceptual Processes," *Journal of Learning Disabilities*, vol. 5, (November, 1972).

⁷Avrum Katcher, *MBD: Office Diagnosis*, (CIBA Pharmaceutical Co., January, 1972).

⁸Daniel P. Hallahan and William M. Crickshank, *Psycho-Educational Foundations of Learning Disabilities* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973), 97.

when the system tells him he will spell or print. In a few months, his normal biological growth rate will take care of the problem, but that is too late. He has already been labeled as a defective gorilla, peacock feathers notwithstanding.

Prognosis

The excruciating reality is that Peacocks will remain Peacocks, regardless of their Gorilliaism lessons. Extant research⁹ reveals the following:

1. Highly publicized visual-motor and visual-perception programs virtually never result in increased academic ability and rarely in increased performance in the skills actually practiced, when compared with children who have not been treated.¹⁰
2. Frequently prescribed drug treatment is a palliative and does not cure the learning disability.¹¹
3. Even though there are massive amounts of money being poured into learning disabilities programs and private schools claiming to have a solution are doing a thriving business, it has not been possible to find a state, major school district, or private school which is evaluating its program by academically rigorous means.¹²
4. The small amount of research that is available reveals that learning disabilities programs have been ineffective in producing academic achievement beyond what would occur within a nontreatment program.¹³ This finding may be an indictment of an inflexible gorilla-operated system to which the peacock must return rather than a commentary upon the programs themselves.
5. Historically, remedial reading programs for “dyslexia” have been ineffective in producing long-term gains.¹⁴
6. Regardless of the age at which treatment is begun, length and type of program, learning disabled children will continue to display many educational and medical symptoms throughout their entire school experience. The tendency is to shift from visual-motor or activity level symptoms to social behavior maladaptations.¹⁵
7. While a present trend of looking to early detection and early childhood education as a preventative or curative is in vogue, research evidence indicates that such programs

⁹Practitioners in learning disabilities have had difficulty discriminating among controlled comparison research, correlations, and pontifications by self-proclaimed experts such as Frostig, Kephart and Getman. Studies cited and summarized herein are controlled comparison studies with statistical evaluation. Specific references are selected as representative and are by no means exhaustive.

¹⁰Tonis H. Falik, “The Effects of Perceptual Motor Training in Kindergarten on Reading Readiness and on Second Grade Reading Performance,” *Journal of Learning Disabilities*, vol. 2, no. 8 (August, 1969), 10-17.

¹¹Arthur Weins, K. A. Anderson, and R. G. Matarazzo, “Use of Medication As an Adjunct in the Modification of Behavior in the Pediatric Psychology Setting,” *Professional Psychology*, vol. 3 (Spring, 1972), 157-163.

¹²Melissa J. Lane, “An Investigation of Evaluation Programs in Learning Disabilities,” unpublished research paper, Honors Program, Midwestern State University (Spring, 1974).

¹³K. Minde, Gabrielle Weisse, and Nancy Mendelson, “A 5-Year Follow-up Study of 91 Hyperactive School Children,” *Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry*, vol. 11, no. 3 (July, 1972), 595-610.

¹⁴Norman E. Silberberg, and Margaret C. Silberberg, “Myths in Remedial Education,” United States Office of Education ERIC Document No. ED 025-384, 1968.

¹⁵Linda C. Eaves, and John U. Crichton, “A Five-year Follow-Up of Children with Minimal Brain Dysfunction,” *Academic Therapy Quarterly*, vol. 10, no. 2 (Winter, 1974-75) 173-180.

neither prevent nor cure.¹⁶ It is appropriate here to imply, as in Number 4 above, the problem is not with the treatment but with the generalization that first grade curriculums and/or teaching methods do not change with the addition or deletion of early childhood programs.

Discussion

We are presented, then, with a group of children who are entirely normal except that one or several of their language behaviors do not meet mass-education standards or expectations. These variations of normal human development are such that exercise, practice, or other educational manipulations will not accelerate growth of neurological integrity. A learning disability is a relative thing! One does not have a spelling disability until one is forced to spell words by an irrational but conventional set of standards. If one could communicate acceptably without meeting the conventional standards, there would be no disability. The problem of the peacock is that if he cannot spell, his papers will not be accepted even though he may express brilliant thoughts and be a storehouse of a wealth of knowledge. This is the problem of SPREAD. He is identified as a peacock because he cannot spell as well as his teacher thinks he or she can spell. Low grades result, producing discouragement, hostility, and aggressive behavior. The peacock is told that he is dumb or lazy and is required to do endless spelling drill. A bright child, capable of being a physician, lawyer, or community leader may drop out of school. All of this resulting from an immature visual memory function occurring in conjunction with educators and parents who demand that all of the peacocks become gorillas in order to be acceptable.

Professional homes have a special problem in that they tend to be academically oriented. Frequently one or both parents are voracious readers, stylistic writers, near perfect spellers, and excellent students. Extreme pressure may be applied to a Peacock to develop a prehensile tail. Frequently within such a home the resident male has been, or fantasizes that he has been, very good at athletics. The problem is deepened when the attendant lack of coordination prohibits the learning disabled child from being an athlete. Unconscious and subtle parental rejection follows, compounding the problems of the already emotionally battered child. In many homes, overprotection and indulgence follow as a product of parental guilt.

The appropriate course of action would appear to be to accept a peacock as a normal and desirable individual. Strengths should be praised and encouraged. It would seem foolhardy, given the present evidence, to race around trying to find a clinic or school which changes peacocks into gorillas. Many families have literally bankrupted themselves trying to make their child the same as every other child. It would seem that the most important parental role is one of protection. Peacocks must be protected from family members who ridicule and compare him with other family members or friends. (Why can't you be interested in reading like your little sister?) There must be protection from teachers and systems which will not yield gorilla standards to protect the mental health of the peacocks.

Responsible individuals within the community have an even deeper responsibility. The educational system is faced with a complicated and many-faceted decision, which may be

¹⁶“Education U.S.A.,” *Washington Monitor*, (May 7, 1972, Washington D.C.: National School Public Relations Association) 202.

over-simplified in the following manner. We must either change the child to fit the system or change the system to fit the child. Metaphorically, we must either teach all of the birds to eat bananas or provide more than one diet to the zoo inmates.

Research cited herein has concluded that we have attempted for decades to make the child fit the system. We have drilled and drilled, piled the homework higher and deeper. We have used sightword readers, phonics readers, linguistic readers, programmed readers, language-experience readers, and artificial alphabet readers. We have done all of this in an attempt to turn dyslexics into good readers so that they will fit the system and our teaching methods will not have to change. We have hired remedial reading teachers, learning disabilities teachers, teachers of the brain damaged, resource room teachers, all of which are charged with the task of turning the peacocks into gorillas so that nothing will have to change in the classroom. We must further conclude that given our present level of knowledge and expertise, we can expect failure from most of our attempts.

Scholars and professionals must therefore work in behalf of and support those school board members, administrators, and teachers who offer to make the system fit the child. Back to the basics is a worthy motto (probably meaning basic football, basic pep rallies, and basic PTA programs) if it does not also mean back to the traditional means of teaching. Let us not confuse "academic standards" which might be applied in the latter years of school to sort out the scholarly from the mundane with the ongoing job of bringing full education to peacocks as well as gorillas. Shorter reading assignments for slow readers, grading content rather than mechanics for the child with poor handwriting or poor spelling, shortening assignments for the very slow writer, and a general inclination to grade and reward knowledge rather than production are just a few possibilities. Areas of physical isolation for the distractible child and permission for frequent nondisruptive movement for the truly hyperactive child should be granted, as further examples.

A listing of provisions and remedies could be encyclopedic. It is sufficient to allude to these few examples. There are some teachers who are doing much to accommodate peacocks within their normal classroom. Quite a few teachers, however, continue to view peacocks as defective gorillas and are intent upon transforming all birds into simians. At the time when the system strives to fit the child, the peacocks won't even know they aren't gorillas.

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