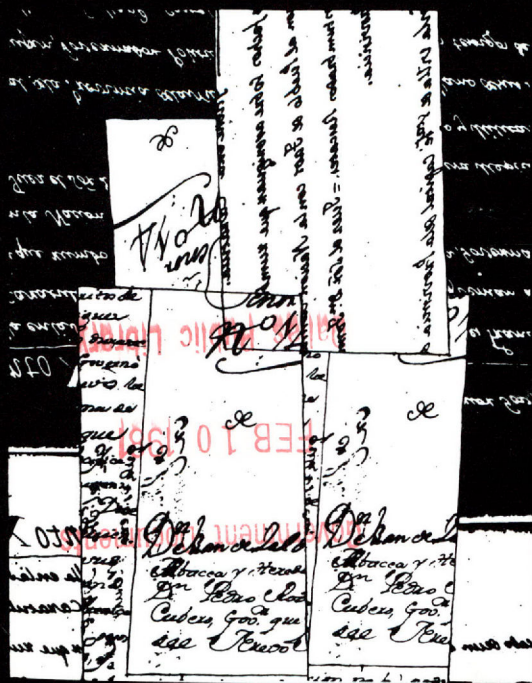# Faculty Papers
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1978-1979

FACULTY PAPERS
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Papers Presented
at
The Faculty Forum

Kenneth E. Hendrickson, Jr.
Program Coordinator

James R. King
Editor

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   Richard M. Ash, Professor of Art

INTRODUCTION

Faculty Forum is now an established part of the academic life of Midwestern State University. Each year more faculty seek positions on the program than can be accommodated while the quality and variety of the papers presented grow stronger and broader. This year's papers do reflect the impact of natural disaster. The last paper of the 1978—79 program had to be cancelled because of the Tornado of April 1979. Our journal, *Midwestern State University Faculty Papers*, is distributed coast to coast and has received much praise, but more significant is the fact that it represents a commitment by our administration to support the professional activities of the faculty. This is perhaps the most important single aspect of the Faculty Forum program.

As coordinator of the Faculty Forum program, I wish to express thanks on behalf of the entire faculty to our President, Dr. John G. Barker and our Academic Vice President, Dr. Jesse W. Rogers for their enthusiastic support. I also wish to thank those members of the faculty who have contributed papers during the past six years and those who will do so in the future. Finally, we all owe a profound debt of gratitude to our editor, Dr. James R. King, who has devoted many hours to the preparation of this issue.

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Kenneth E. Hendrickson, Jr.
Professor and Head
Department of History

Program Coordinator

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A MEDITATION ON COMEDY

James Hoggard*

> . . . *and we went back to town, running over odd*
> *squealing things on the way.*
> *— —A Clockwork Orange,* Anthony Burgess

Meditation is scholarships cousin; and when one, by way of either method, directs his attention to the larger subjects, he inclines toward humility, because the effects of those subjects are as likely to undermine the spirit as they are to energize it. This is especially so when one confronts comedy, whose tradition, Jung reminds us, is perhaps as ancient as God. Though notions about comedy address many forms of it, the side we are going to contemplate is that which makes us laugh. At the beginning, though, we should note that what inspires laughter in one might very well incite belligerency or disgust in another. Before we finish, we shall try to bring the sides together—not because we're so addicted to peace and harmony but because those two kinds of responses, laughter and disapproval, come from the same source. For a point of comparison, we might recall the the three Greek names for love—*eros, filios, agape*—have often divided individuals and sects to the point at which they felt obligated to insist that one is vastly superior to the other two: that love for God is greater in quality than love of fellowman or mate; or that romantic love means more than friendship or the religious impulse. Some, of course, have seen one form of love as good in itself while being a metaphor for the other two. Still others have recognized what is perhaps even closer to the truth: that the three kinds of love are but three different directions taken by the urge for bonding. In that case, what we find are not three different loves but three directions love can take. The same would be true of the seemingly alien forces of the Apollonian and the Dionysian. Only to the fragmented—error-ridden we'll call them—are those two forces antithetical to each other. Both affirm universal unity. Their source is a common matrix. An apt image for describing them might be two arms outstretched. The hands are far apart, but the hands don't belong to two separate and necessarily disputatious creatures.

Comedy's effects are related to these matters. Hearing a joke, one might become mirthful in the presence of wit's tripdancing inventiveness. One might also be struck by the heartlessness and grossness of the joke or its teller, so much so that the joke might be called "sick" because it pokes fun at physical or intellectual infirmity or takes imprudent advangage of one's ethnic or group association; it may also be called dirty because it focuses on the scatological. A joke may do all these

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* Mr. Hoggard is Professor of English at Midwestern State University.

things; but before we discuss reasons for whichever response comes, we should record what happens at the end of the joke. If we think it's funny, we laugh: a phenomenon, Arthur Koestler reminds us in *The Act of Creation*, which involves the involuntary contraction of fifteen facial muscles accompanied by an altered breathing pattern.[1] On the other hand, if we don't think it's funny, we might groan or hiss, shake our heads, or manifest our disapproval by some other audible or visible sign. At first glance, there doesn't seem to be anything remarkable in any of that. Considering the matter further, however, we realize that our response to the joke will almost always be physical; that fact, in itself, is enough to suggest how notable the comic is. As Koestler also reminds us, comedy is perhaps the only form of expression which guarantees an external response.[2] If, for example, the person next to us senses something as sad or tragic, we might not know it. He may weep or grimace; but he may also show no evidence of his response. He might internalize his reaction. On the other hand, if he thinks something is funny—and we're paying attention to him—we'll certainly know it. Moreover, if he thinks the joke is stupid, not at all funny for any number of reasons, we'll also be able to detect that, and without difficulty. Contemplating the comic, then, we're dealing with something which affects our minds and our bodies, externally as well as internally. Whether that force is primarily associated with insensitivity, vulgarity or wisdom, or a curious combination of those, we'll deal with later.

We need, first, to note some important responses to the comic. Appropriately, some of our observations will be more oblique than direct. At the end of Plato's *Symposium*, for instance, Socrates begins saying that the genius of comedy is the same as the genius of tragedy and that the "true artist" is master of both. Aristophanes, one of the greatest comic playwrights of any time, falls asleep during the great sage's discussion; and in one of his own works, *The Clouds*, he creates a scene satirizing Socrates and his Thinking-Factory, a scene in which a lizard, sunning itself on the roof, defecates on Socrates' head. More directly, though less colorfully, other writers have dealt with the comic impulse. In his *Poetics*, Aristotle describes comedy as "a representation of men who are morally inferior . . . ludicrous."[3] Sigmund Freud, in *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious*, remarks on the efficiency of comedy by showing that the comic moment quickly brings together disparate ideas and images: the further away they are from each other, and the quicker they come together, the funnier the joke is.[4] Freud's book is also as thorough a compendium of Jewish jokes as we're likely to find. In fact, when we read it, we keep entertaining the idea that Freud was as much interested

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[1] Arthur Koestler, *The Act of Creation* (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1967), p. 29.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 31

[3] *Aristotle*, trans. by Philip Wheelwright (New York: The Odyssey Press, 1951), p. 295

[4] Sigmund Freud, *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious*, trans. by James Strachey (New York: The Norton Library, 1963), pp. 216–217, 233–236.

in telling jokes as he was dedicated to analyzing the mechanics of what they're about. In this, he differed from Aristotle who considered comedy as worth little more than a descriptive note. Another writer, the French philosopher Henri Bergson, in *Laughter*, turns from his major concern with the nature of Time to the nature of the comic and observes that the basic thrust of humor involves the human being looking at his own kind in terms of the mechanical, that which is not only less than human but quite often less than living. Making his own mark, Arthur Koestler, a novelist and essayist whose work is often concerned with psychology, challenges Bergson's emphasis by saying, in *The Act of Creation*, that if Bergson is right, if humor is based on man being reduced to machine, then the funniest thing would be a corpse.[5] Most notable about his observation is perhaps the fact that Koestler, in his book which is dominated by a high and often deadly analytical seriousness, used a joke to make his key point of attack. Going beyond the barb, however, Koestler coins a word, *bisociation*, to denote the human capability for, among other things, making and responding to humor. The term refers to man's ability to think on at least two levels simultaneously. That capability, Koestler concludes, fosters civilization and sophistication. Our training in this, he suggests, begins as early as infancy when the child is tickled by the parent. The parent is known to be friendly, a nurturer even, but the action of tickling involves a gesture of attack; the two images of friend and threatener clash; the pressure of their collision is released in laughter. The baby pushes away but readily tries to pull the large person back, to get him to continue the tickling — to push him away, then again to draw him back. We might say that he's learning to live with ambiguity; he's learning in at least an inchoate way the basics of analysis and synthesis. In a commentary in *The Trickster: A study in American Indian Mythology* by Paul Radin, C. G. Jung associates the comic impulse with no less than God. The Fool-figure, or Trickster, he recalls, has traditionally been associated with inconsistency; he's a master of surprising and disconcerting acts of appearance and disappearance; sometimes he uplifts, sometimes he levels. This elemental sense of variety, Jung says, is suggestive of the changing images of God in the Old Testament.[6] He's often there when the Children of Israel don't want Him; He's often absent when they're in trouble. Sometimes He's loving, forthrightly paternal; at other times He's vindictive or capricious. We begin noticing, then, the aptness of that epithet for God in the book of *Job*: "the voice out of the whirlwind." Order and chaos are seen in one force. What Jung and the representative others are indicating, of course, is the factor of the universally important in the force of the comic.

A quick survey of the few examples of comic perception will serve to remind us how changeable our own tastes and senses of reality are. Ordinarily, for instance,

[5] Koestler, p. 47.

[6] C. G. Jung, "On The Psychology ot the Trickster Figure," trans by R. F. C. Hull, in *The Trickster: A Study in American Indian Mythology* by Paul Radin (New York: Bell Publishing Company, Inc., 1956), pp. 196, 203.

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the idea of cold-blooded murder gives us anything but pleasure. We might mention that killing out of righteous indignation, or thinking about it, is another matter, a fact or fantasy which is not "cold-blooded" at all. Nonetheless, we can't fail to note the humor in a scene from William Faulkner's *Light In August*, where a character describes the victim of a wanton homicide, a woman whose head was cut off. Already the image seems chilling. Nonetheless, we find ourselves laughing, at least chuckling, when the man who found the body is reported as having said:

> . . . that what he was scared of happened. Because the cover fell open and she was laying on her side, facing one way, and her head was turned clean around like she was looking behind her. And he said how if she could just have done that when she was alive, she might not have been doing it now.[7]

Another example comes from Jean Genet, the French novelist and playwright and former homosexual prostitute-cum-thief whom Jean-Paul Sartre tried to canonize in *Saint Genet*. We won't go into the comedy of that, but we shall turn to Genet's article in *Esquire* (Nov. 1968) on the riotous events outside the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago. Most treatments of those incidents concentrated on the brutality or chaos or rightness or wrongness of what took place. In his own article, however, Genet seemed most impressed by the "splendid" thighs of the Chicago policemen: "very beautiful beneath the blue cloth, thick and muscular." (p. 87) Another helpful figure comes from Mark Twain's description of the ratty facilities of a stage-coach stop. On the dining table, he wrote in *Roughing It*, "was only one cruet left, and that was a stopperless, fly-specked, broken-necked thing, with two inches of vinegar in it, and a dozen preserved flies with their heels up and looking sorry they had invested there."[8] It would be easy to give other examples of the curious and unseemly made funny, but for now one other incident should suffice.

Ordinarily we think of courage and honesty as superior traits and cowardice and lying as inferior. Few of us are inclined to cheer as wonderful an overweight, middle-aged alcoholic. Confronting Shakespeare's Falstaff, however, we do just that. During a fight, in *Henry IV, Part One*, Falstaff falls down and plays dead. When it's safe to get up, he rises and stabs a corpse, hoists it on his back, then throws the body down and brays about his own courage: "I gave him this wound in the thigh; if the man were alive and would deny it, 'zounds, I would make him eat a piece of my sword." (V, iv) We respond with amusement, not contempt, with admiration even for the brashness of his gall. The underlying reason for that seems to come from our approval at what might be called Falstaff's "good, conservative

[7]William Faulkner, *Light In August* (New York: The Modern Library, 1950), p. 80.

[8]Mark Twain, *Roughing It*, Vol. 1 (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1913), p. 26.

sense." He affirms life more than death. One of his later statements (in *2 Henry IV*; I, i)—"I will turn diseases to commodity"—certifies his kind of response to struggle and calls to mind that there is much more in comedy than a representation of man's inferior traits. There is an intimation, as we shall see, of transformation with the comic force acting as catalytic agent. Our other examples above could, without much gerrymandering, fit into certain implications of this notion. The naiveté of Faulkner's "countryman," whom we mentioned, relieves us from the burdens of the ghastly, as does Twain's narrator. Genet's observations could be said to provide welcome relief from debilitatingly confusing politics. We could also, with ease, apply Bergson's idea of man-reduced-to-machine, inert matter, to each example; or Koestler's concept of bisociation; or Freud's notion of efficient work as the salient characteristic of comedy. Doing that, we'd be correct; but we still would not have answered: What does all this mean? Is the effect the same as the cause? Is the cause merely desire for the effect? If so, or if not, what are the implications of our fooling?

If at this point I said, "I don't know," and stopped, should I be called irresponsible, incomplete, wise, tricky, considerate or realistic? If you responded by, "I don't know either," how should you be evaluated? Or if someone else said, "Who cares?" how should he be judged? When those questions are asked, we begin to confront the serious. We also begin to confront the comic. But the major questions, of course, are these: Do the serious and comic exclude one another? Why?

In *A Vision*, William Butler Yeats placed the Fool on level 28, the phase closest to God.[9] The Fool, Yeats suggests, is keener of mind than the Saint while being as close to embodying the twisting effects of mortality as the Hunchback, The positive side of the Fool, Yeats said, describes and masters the twisting complex of the universe. The negative side, however, calls to mind rashness and insensitivity. Keeping in mind Yeats' cosmology, along with Jung's affirmation of the Trickster as an image of universal importance, we come to realize that the force of the comic is mythic. It describes in one moment what is, was and shall be. It shows us hopeful for improvement. It reminds us of breaks we have suffered, or difficulties a reversal of fortune might bring. It shows us calm and in control, but at the same time the involuntariness of our laughter reveals that our control has been but temporary. Its embracement of the painful is connected with the authority coming from its

[9]W. B. Yeats, *A Vision* (New York: Collier Books, 1966). Perhaps an essay would be necessary to elucidate satisfactorily this idea. However, the point seems legitimate when we keep in mind that Yeats, calling the Fool "natural man" and "The Child of God," says that Phase One, a supernatural and non-human incarnation characterized by "complete beauty" and "complete plasticity"—obviously what we can only call God—"can better be described after Phase 28," the Fool who "is his own *Body of Fate*" (p. 182). Because of this, we see that the Fool, to Yeats, is more a force than a person, though people, of course, can embody or reflect that force, just as in Christianity an individual can participate in and even symbolize divinity (i.e., "Even as ye have done it unto the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto me."). See especially, in *A Vision*, pp. 105, 135-137, 176-184.

nourishing of pleasure. In spite of that, we remember something equally disrupting to our drive for clarity, and that is our habit of honoring the comic with physiology —those involuntary contractions of fifteen facial muscles accompanied by an altered breathing pattern—while quite often, in discussions of works giving those effects, dismissing them as trivial. It seems we're inclined to consider as serious those works (or parts of works) which put vertical indentations between our eyes —worry-lines we call them—while considering as enjoyable but ephemeral those other works, the comic works, which affect our bodies with much more visible and auditory intensity.

In reference to this tendency to think of the bleak in terms of special importance, the philosopher Martin Heidegger, in *What is Called Thinking?*, has noted:

> We call thought-provoking what is dark, threatening and gloomy . . . . When we say "thought-provoking," we usually have in mind immediately something injurious, that is, negative. Accordingly, a statement that speaks of a thought-provoking time, and even of what is most thought-provoking in it, is from the start tuned in a negative key. It has in view only the adverse and somber traits of the age. It sticks exclusively to those phenomena that are good for nothing and promote every form of nothingness—the nihilistic phenomena. And it necessarily assumes that at the core of those phenomena there is a lack—according to our proposition, lack of thought.[10]

In his lecture, Heidegger goes on to show the inadequacies of those views which assume the serious is limited to that which is, at first glance, primarily dreary. Rather than chronicling such, we should examine more closely some things which become evident when we reflect on the humorous.

Beginning our attempt to synthesize those elements below and above surfaces, we shall analyze a joke or two. The first one is well known; it seemingly satirizes those religiasts who make their points by quoting Scripture out of context. The joke is this: "And Judas went and hanged himself. Go thou and do likewise." Although the two clauses are direct and sensible statements from the Bible, their contexts have been jumbled. It is easy enough to see in their juxtaposition a satirical judgment made against those overly earnest intellectual powderpuffs who try to turn the awesome complexities of the Bible into simplistic assortments of spurious bits of advice. I doubt, though, that a minor stab against inadequate scholarship would in itself give us a notable spasm of laughter. Let's look at the joke again. The statement, whose parts are well known, counsels suicide; and it does so in the tone

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[10]Martin Heidegger, *What Is Called Thinking?*, trans. by J. Glenn Gray (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1968), pp. 28-29.

of what may be called well-reasoned maturity. But it also does something else. It links us, by means of association, with a person famous for his treachery. On reflection, we note that no part of the statement even suggests the horror of Judas' betrayal of Jesus; and it certainly doesn't call to mind those legitimate questions which ask if Judas himself weren't a chosen one, a necessary step in an ultimately redemptive sacrifice. To put it more pointedly, the statement does not allude to anything like the concept of the "fortunate fall" expressed in Romans XI: 31-32, where St. Paul says: "Even so have these also not not believed, that through your mercy they also may obtain mercy. For God hath concluded them all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all." One might conclude, however, that it's not prudent to make light with Holy Scripture, that if we do so we're miscontruing its purpose and putting ourselves in a position of unnecessary vulnerability. Of course, one might conclude a number of things: say, two plus two equals five; or, better yet, that one multiplied by one equals Adam's apple. Nevertheless, whether we laugh or snarl at joke's end, we have still responded with at least some degree of enthusiasm. That, however, is not as striking as the implications of the joke, which exist concomitantly in our response and in the trick itself. In other words, the response and the joke make up a single complex. What is most striking about our response to this joke ("And Judas went and hanged himself. Go thou and do likewise.") is the fact that a certain strength, a balanced presence of mind, is evident in us when we laugh. We have not only poked fun at a nuisance, but also we have demonstrated that we are resilient enough to *play* with the idea of suicide, a possible alternative which is obviously a metaphor for our own mortality (if we can kill ourselves, then death is no mere fantasy); and it's that element incited by the joke which is more interesting than the initial thrust of satire we recognize in it. Some might say, however, that our laughter is a disguise, a covering up of our fear. In this case I doubt it, although even if the projection is true, the joke still works, whether or not fear comes later. Nevertheless, at the moment of our response our spirits seem to take on an Ariel-like lightness similar to that felt when monkeys in the zoo amuse us. It's not monkeyness we're laughing at, but a projection of our own kind: *homo ridens*, an epithet which is perhaps more accurate than *homo sapiens*.

For point of illustration, let us make another joke. In *Acts*, St. Peter tells his congregation that all they have to do to receive God's grace is "Repent, and be baptized." (2.38) The tone of his statement is unworried, the shape of his statement is simple. The mood of it suggests finality, that there are no alternatives. Let's go back, though, and after repeating the statement add another one to it, to see what happens. "Repent, and be baptized. Th- th- that's all, folks." In one sense we haven't distorted Peter's dictum; the information in our addition *states* what is *implied* in the first statement. There are two elements, though, which we have added: one, stuttering; two, Porky Pig. Already we see the rightness of Freud's analysis: widely divergent factors are slammed together to create humor. The mechanics of such were described as well by Koestler in statements and diagrams

which show the comic moment occurring when two different value systems collide.[11] Let us try to go further, by dealing with the effect of the stuttering in the latter clause of the joke. Peter's statement is characterized by a certainty of attitude; there is no hesitation in his delivery, and apparently no question in his mind about the correctness of his opinion. Even a superficial knowledge of the salutary effects of confession ("repent") and commitment ("be baptized") will make us see Peter's advice as essentially responsible, even if some might quibble with the particulars of his cosmology. The dominant import of his statement is that we'll have a better life if we recognize our limits and align ourselves with something inspiring, something which seems larger than the puniness we've fiddled with heretofore. There's obviously not much debatable in that. Nevertheless, in the joke, the second statement begins with stuttering. On the surface, we seem to have tried to make the profound silly. Under the surface, we might be recognizing that we're unsure about the heroic task we're being asked to commit ourselves to; the stuttering, then, suggests our trepidation: momentary failure of nerve; or perhaps a realistic awareness that we might not succeed in completing the major imporvement we're considering dedicating ourselves to. In that case the joke creates a third character, a sympathetic amalgam of speaker and audience. The laughter would indicate amazement at our sudden participation in that drive for redemption; the amazement would also indicate something less than total involvement: detachment rather than full intimacy. The stuttering would likewise indicate an inferior manner of speaking, a character with a speech defect, a character whose abilities are less than "normal." On the one hand, then, we have a speaker who is confident, a speaker who feels comfortable with his understanding of the universe, as expressed in the relationship between man and God; on the other hand, we have a speaker who needs to take a course in public speaking, who needs to think more positively about himself than his halting manner indicates he does at present. Even before we realize that, however, we realize that by some stroke of whimsy a cartoon character has interjected itself into a scene involving pastoral counseling. We say, "That's ridiculous; the terms don't jibe." In spite of our urge for logicality, we realize that the jamming together of disparate qualities has already been achieved; and our amusement certifies the synthesis: all of which says that we're able to handle a most complex situation. Again we're reminded of Koestler's realization that the comic ability indicates a high level of development and, with it, a sense of security.

At this point, one might say that even though that may be so—that the Trickster is remarkable—comedy debilitates us morally by injecting the vulgar into the struggle for the sublime—or, to be generically fair, by invaginating the sublime with the vulgar, binding our heaven-anxious spirits with the frivolous earth-binding we're trying to soar beyond in the first place. One might also say as well that without the earthbound, without man, there would be no religion. Siding with tradition, we recall that the prophets never intended to destroy religion; they were intent on

[11]Koestler, pp. 34, 35, 37, 85, 88.

fostering grace in those born mortal: all of which says they recognized the earthly as an irrevocable part of the universal scheme of things; and comedy has been one of the major forces for reminding us that, like it or not, we are mortal, that "it rains on the just as well as the unjust." Going back to our joke, we realize that the implications of it embrace a sense of prudence as much as they connote the sacrilegious. If one thinks we've merely engaged in some questionable acrobatics, one might call to mind the old truism which says the most intense form of prayer is blasphemy; one doesn't curse what one considers irrelevant or non-existent. Similarly, it may be said that comedy helps keep alive what we call "concern" as much as it appears to dissipate the sources of concern.

Shortly before, we indicated our jokes were representative. None of us needs to be reminded that the subjects of jokes include those things we're often most sensitive about: religion, politics, sex, ethnic or social alignment, physical or mental characteristics, other crucial states of being, including our ability (or inability) to use language with inventive precision. Other jokes, on different subjects, could have been used. In any case, they would all have pointed to the curious relationship between one who controls and one who is controlled. Even the "shaggy dog story" —the long and apparently pointless joke—binds together the willfully conscious trickster and the naif; so in each case opposites are brought together. The fact that we laugh indicates our ability not only to endure but also to enjoy, at least for the moment, that which is complex and even confusing.

Another idiom for helping us understand the force of the comic is Blues-music. To see more clearly, we'll deal for a moment with the kinds of lyrics and instrumentation commonly used in Blues. The subjects of the stories therein focus on catastrophe; the presentation of those subjects, however, is most often ironic, with detachment used to conquer sentimentality, wit to avert the suffering one from the temptation to dive into the "slough of despond." In the Blues, we find adultery, for instance, referred to as "someone's been diggin my potatoes." In one of her songs, Bessie Smith sang of being jilted in terms of "my bedsprings don't creak no mo." In a Lightning Hopkins ballad, the need for quick adaptation to sudden and disastrous change is articulated by the refrain: "You gotta bottle it up'n go." To see the underlying character of that approach we can contrast the Blues-approach to understanding with other popular songs whose speakers, confronting various kinds of loss, have made such dubious claims as "I cried a river of tears" or "The stars don't shine no more." The sense of those statements is clear enough; the rendering of the sentiment, however, is out of joint with the facts of reality. Even the most lachrymose person, for instance, is not likely to leak even a bucket of tears during an entire lifetime, much less a river during a single crisis. To say that one person's grief causes stellar disturbance is likewise absurd. The stars may not shine metaphorically for me when I'm upset, but they do shine. So we return to the Blues. We again hear Bessie Smith lamenting the fact that the bedsprings aren't creaking any more, that she's estranged from her lover. Her statement is not only more accurate than the sentimental approach to grief, but more moving too, be-

cause she gives us a concrete and personal image of a change in her life. The precision in her wit shows strength. In the Lightning Hopkins song, a fuller survey is warranted. The ballad referred to indicates all sorts of changes one might face. There's a reference to a bar-fight breaking out; one has to "bottle it up'n go" to avoid getting hurt or arrested. There are references to job-loss and, after that, house-loss because he has no money for the rent; in each case he says, "You have to bottle it up'n go"; he doesn't even entertain the possibility of freezing into what Karen Horney describes as neurotic immobility. He doesn't pretend he's glad the changes have occurred; but he does indicate one can deal with those changes without being destroyed. In the last stanza he articulates the scope of what he's been dealing with. Singing of his grandmother, he says:

> She may be old,
> She's ninety years,
> But she still knows how
> To shift them gears.
> You gotta bottle it up'n go . . .

In other words, one never stops having to face change and make the necessary adaptations to it. The lightness of Hopkins' tone indicates a faith in one's ability to survive without becoming pitiably crippled. Such is not the case with those utterances which claim that one person's calamity results in countless gallons of tears or the luminary cessation of astronomical phenomena. In fact, long before one cried a river of tears, one would expire from dehydration.

The instrumentation in Blues also supports what we've been saying about the comic, its curiously continuous connection with reality. Quite often in traditional Blues, the guitarist plays a monotonously regular rhythm on the bass strings with his thumb while with his fingers plucking complex patterns on the treble strings. The regular bass rhythm is comparable to the human heart-beat; the treble patterns imitate the dizzying varieties of experience. Simplicity and complexity become complementary. The combined rhythms furnish another item of interest. Quite often Blues-rhythms seem off balance, or jacklegged, a factor parallel to the obliqueness of surprise in jokes. The musical term for this is syncopation. The accent comes on the up-beat rather than on the down-beat. Also, the accents are often delayed until the second note in the bar, and sometimes later. This makes the rhythms seem to laugh and, surprised by the disarming tempo, part of us laughs with them. To achieve the Blues or comic rhythm, one must obviously be coordinated, like a rodeo clown whose clumsiness is only an appearance. If he were truly clumsy, he'd get gored or trampled. So the clown or Blues musician or trickster reminds us of our limits while at the same time demonstrating with his agility that we're able not only to endure the calamity but also to dance around it and in it. The energy of those antics seems more inspiring than debilitating.

The process generating that Blues-energy is recorded most effectively in a sec-

tion of Ralph Ellison's novel, *Invisible Man*. Unable to distinguish dream reality from conscious reality, a character, a sharecropper named Jim Trueblood, commits what in the West used to be called, before the pre-eminence of psychoanalysis, a "crime against nature": incest. Recalling how he felt battered by shame and his inability to rectify the awful situation, he tells the narrator:

> And I'm still settin' there when she (his wife, Kate) comes back with some women to see 'bout Matty Lou (his daughter). Won't nobody speak to me, though they looks at me like I'm some new kinda cotton-pickin' machine. I feels bad. I tells them how it happened in a dream, but they scorns me. I gits plum out of the house then. I goes to see the preacher and even he don't believe me. He tells me to git out of his house, that I'm the most wicked man he's ever seen and that I better go confess my sin and make my peace with God. I leaves tryin' to pray, but I caint. I thinks and thinks, until I thinks my brain go'n bust, 'bout how I'm guilty and how I ain't guilty. I don't eat nothin' and I don't drink nothin' and caint sleep at night. Finally, one night, way early in the mornin', I looks up and sees the stars and I just starts singin'. I don't mean to, I didn't think 'bout it, just start singin'. I don't know what it was, some kinda church song, I guess. All I know is I *ends* up singin' the blues. I sings me some blues that night ain't never been sang before, and while I'm singin' them blues I makes up my mind that I ain't nobody but myself and ain't nothin' I can do but let whatever is gonna happen, happen. I made up my mind I was goin' back home and face Kate; yeah, and face Matty Lou too.[12]

By means of detachment modified by the acceptance of his own frailty and, later, the absurdities of society's reactions, Trueblood, achieving the Blues (i.e., the comic spirit), moves beyond despair in such a way that he becomes more resilient, more realistic. Stabilized by an embracement of irony, he says, "Except that my wife an' daughter won't speak to me, I'm better off than I ever been before." (p. 65)

Although the force of comedy inspires us to go beyond the temptation to surrender to enervation, we have to admit that the result of the joke doesn't lead to anything definitive. In this it's different from tragedy, which seems to assume that it's a worthwhile effort to explore the dark spaces of ourselves in such a way that, however realistic we might be, we at least, by implication, hope to reach that still point of clarity which with finality would put everything under the sun into a just

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[12] Ralph Ellison, *Invisible Man* (New York: Signet Books, 1952), p. 63.

perspective. The tripdance of comedy does not do that; it seems content to play with the facets of surfaces. Though it subtly admits the tangles and labyrinths below the surface, it shows no obligation to dedicate itself directly to them. Working antically in series of explosions, it leaves aside the urge for stillness. From that comes its strength as well as its ultimately aggravating effect. Never still, the comic force can be seen as parallel to the continuous and rapid movements of atomic and subatomic particles. Perhaps that's the unspoken reason for our enjoyment of it; it's in line with what is. We may also find ourselves getting tired of that same comic force, when we start asking ourselves, "What does all this mean? Can't we have something definitive for once? Something still?" Quite drily, the comic view answers us, "No"; and its counseling brother, tragedy, adds, "It's this limbo of spirit we have to withstand," but by that time Aristophanes has gone to sleep, to dream perhaps of making more mischief, or to recognize the mischief with which the Unconscious plagues us and entertains us.

Pleasing as the above image might be, we still have not come fully enough to grips with why figures like Yeats and, especially, Jung would place the comic force so high on the scale of human values. Certain observations, however, might help us. One, it's obvious that laughter is enjoyable. It gives us a sense of well-being and, after the fact, often encourages reflection; it makes us reconsider the importance of those once-impressive elements which have been leveled; it makes us re-evaluate our attitudes toward those elements we were once content to deem inferior; it increases the scope of our view if we reflect on the meaning of seeing things afresh; it also momentarily dissipates our tendency toward violence; in short, the comic serves as pleasurable balancer, something quite different from the temperance enforced by the pressures of single-minded tyrannies. Next, the description of experience given by the comic seems realistic. It views Being in terms of complexes which do not always merge into oneness, complexes whose tangential relatedness may not even seem coherent. Mirroring that often disconcerting situation, it does not oversimplify experience. On the other hand, its use of distortion—by means of exaggerated features, selectivity in regard to elements portrayed—indicates that sometimes it does oversimplify matters. Recognizing the conflicts in these details, we begin to see the comic as a description of ourselves: what we are, what we have been, what in subsequent moments we surely shall be: and that is, incisive as well as droll, playful as well as judgmental. Those descriptions of ourselves are, in turn, seen as metaphors of our relationships with others, with the natures of our environments, and also with buried parts of ourselves. In fact, the dividing lines made by perceptions we've gotten used to are often erased by jokes. Nonetheless, other jokes might strengthen those lines of division by appealing to the many kinds of prejudice we consciously and unconsciously participate in. So the comic force is an expression of the overt and covert parts of experience. Recognizing it as such, we have no trouble now in understanding why major thinkers would see it as important. Its effects are intense; the scope of its vision is broad and deep. It reminds us, for example, that even the most sublime of reverential mystics have to go to the bathroom. In other

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words, it keeps us in touch with the realities of the earth; but it also describes and satisfies our need to transcend the earth by sailing beyond the limits of logic and social constrictions. The comic becomes, then, a force of synthesis.

Recapitulating the obvious, we have to say that our confrontation with comedy has carried us beyond the notions that it's by and large a sign of self-indulgence or an instrument for our survival, because so much of it undermines our fantasies of importance and control, if not immediately, at least in the long run. Depression is as much a threat as enlightenment is a promise. We have also seen that although the comic might momentarily relieve our feeling of being downtrodden, it does not in the main certify our cravings for sophistication; so much of it emphasizes that we haven't escaped our "baser" parts. What it does, though, is to synthesize, like Nature in its kinesis, the varieties of ourselves into a tripdancing whole. Its shape-shifting impact, its breakage of order, is illusory in regard to its effects of dissemblement. The shapes it creates may not be simple, but they will be recognizable; and our laughter, if only for a moment, will certify them as appropriate: a playing with reality which depicts the past, present and future of ourselves.

Comedy shows us quick-tongued and stumble-footed, agile and stuttery, arrogant and banal, wise and gross, charitable and cruel. It brings to mind that we're creatures comfortable in the motions which distract, detract, deflect, depict, ennoble, enslave and endear us to and free us from what we are, which is to say that which we're involved with, both in fantasy and action. Its method for doing all that is oblique, even when we find ourselves the butt of the joke; for when that occurs, we find ourselves placed in the tradition of those sacrificed: a position, of course, well below for now the levels of the gods in power. Nevertheless, the sacrificed have also been known as the chosen ones of the gods, those whom cultures measure time by. If we are quick enough and civilized enough to enjoy that position—to feel comfortable laughing at ourselves (which is what jokes directly and indirectly make us do)—we rise toward the gods' levels. We stretch. We snap. We laugh at the rendering. We rise again, like the jack-in-the-box, the movement much faster than the Phoenix' regeneration; but doing so, we also remember the theme of the old Spiritual: "Ever'body talkin bout Heaven aint goin there—Heaven, Heaven." There's a barb in the refrain, an enlivening and accusatory point of wit: the force of the comic which, with whimsy and wisdom, finds delight in offering water to those with tendencies to be hydrophobic.

FULL EMPLOYMENT AND FISCAL INTEGRITY:
THE DEATH OF A DREAM

Tim D. Kane*

Introduction:

All economists can agree on the importance of a fully employed labor force and nearly everyone else can agree upon the importance of restoring fiscal integrity. However, because of their perspective and their training in Keynesian economics contemporary economists have seldom been as interested in fiscal integrity as has the average voter.

It does seem to follow that the attainment of these two goals simultaneously would satisfy both groups. This paper examines how these two goals have been perceived during the last 100 years of economic theory and closes with an observation on what the current empirical relationship between full employment and fiscal integrity might be. This observation suggests a redrawing of the strategy for economic policy making—to downplay overt actions and to emphasize the management of expectations.

These perceptions—the Classical, the Keynesian, and the empirical—are represented by the following propositions descriptive of the relationship between full employment and balanced budgets:

Proposition 1: Since full employment takes care of itself, the budget may be balanced by reducing the size of Federal deficits.

Proposition 2: Full employment is not automatic and may require stimulative Federal Policies. However, because of certain peculiarities in the economy, these larger deficits might actually lead to a balanced budget.

Proposition 3: The Federal government cannot balance its budget while chasing full employment no matter how hard it tries — but the private sector can do it for them!

The Classical View:

Proposition 1 dates back to the period of Classical economic thought (we economists call it "Classical" instead of "old" or "obsolete" for obvious reasons) which held sway from 1776, when Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* appeared, until 1936 when its description of unemployment was replaced by that of John Maynard Keynes' in the *General Theory*. Briefly put, the classical theory of full employment and balanced budgets went like this:

*Dr. Kane is Associate Professor of Economics at Midwestern State University.

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1. The economy seeks a natural balance—or equilibrium—at which the forces at play equal one another.

2. "Full Employment" is assured by a flexible wage rate and competition.

3. The Federal government could reduce a budget deficit simply by increasing tax rates or reducing expenditures.

4. Attempts to balance the budget would not disturb the automatic attainment of full employment because reductions in government purchases would be offset by increases in private ones.

When combined, these four elements describe a system which, like its counterpart in the pure sciences, attains a position of equilibrium without artificial help. Given the nation's stock of capital, technology, and labor supply there would be only one level of production that would be sustainable period after period. The full employment characteristic is assured by a competitive wage rate which fluctuated to maintain a balance between those seeking jobs and those firms in need of workers. If more workers offered services than employers wished to hire at that particular wage rate there would be a surplus of workers (unemployment) in the market. As with all other commodities a surplus tends to drive down the price — the wage rate. As wages fall, employers find it more profitable to hire additional workers and some of those previously offering to work decide not to. As a result unemployment was automatically eliminated by the competitive labor market.

So full employment can be assured by the natural operation of the market, without a specific government policy other than to ensure the flexibility of wage rates. What of fiscal integrity?

On this question the 19th century economist and the layman could agree. If living within one's means was sound advice for individuals it was sound practice for governments, too. For example, cutting back on Federal outlays to bring them in line with revenues could be accomplished without losses of production and jobs according to the classical theory. As outlays fell, so would the need to issue and sell government bonds to borrow from the public. As the demand for these funds declined so would the price of these funds—the interest rate. Lower interest rates would, in turn, reduce the incentive of households to save for future consumption and thus encourage them to spend more on current consumption. Ultimately, this increased spending by households would be equal to the decline in public spending. As a result there need be no production cut backs and no loss of jobs, just a recutting of the production pie with a smaller piece going to the government and a proportionately larger one going to the private sector.

A view such as this places the blame for deficits squarely upon those in government. Deficits could not be justified by citing the need to maintain production or employment.

This simple and direct view of the compatibility of full employment and balanced budgets died from exposure—to reality and the events of the Great Depression. As unemployment lines lengthened, wages did fall, but instead of employment rising it declined, eventually idling one quarter of the work force. Attempts to

balance the budget proved to be self-defeating. Every cut in spending reduced sales in the private sector prompting still more production declines and layoffs. As employment shrank, so did workers' income and so did tax revenues. In the end, the government found itself facing a larger deficit than the one they attempted to eliminate in the first place.

The Keynesian View:

Apparently the balanced budget-full employment relationship of the Classical economist failed because it was erected upon a faulty view of the relationships which hold the economy together. In 1936 John Maynard Keynes offered an alternative view of these basic relationships. The so called "New Economics" was built upon the following premises:

1. Instead of only one, there are many possible positions of equilibrium—some of them at high production levels and others at very low ones.

2. Each particular output level required the services of a certain number of workers, and since the number of persons available for work was thought to be fixed in the very short run, there was only one production level that would generate as many jobs as there were workers. Or put another way, only one of these potential equilibriums produces full employment.

3. Should the economy become balanced at a position which did not generate sufficient jobs there was no automatic resolution of the resulting unemployment problem. That unemployment would persist until the pace of economic activity expanded requiring more production and creating more jobs.

4. By either spending more itself, or by encouraging the private sector to spend more, the Federal government could boost sales and hence push the economy from a low production-employment equilibrium to a higher one thus moving closer to full employment.

5. Because of its structure any initial increase in spending, either by government or by the private sector, would boost total spending production, and employment by an amount several times larger than the initial disturbance. Economists refer to this phenomenon as the "multiplier process".

6. When coupled with the fact that tax revenues, and to an increasing extent government outlays, are themselves functions of the level of income, the "multiple" impact of economic policy holds forth an intriguing possibility that the Federal government could stimulate the economy and at the same time reduce the budget deficit.

A brief scenario might illustrate the collective importance of these six elements. Picture an economy in recession with high unemployment and a large budget deficit aggravated by lost tax revenues and increased outlays for unemployment compensation and other transfer payments.

The Federal government cuts *tax rates*. This increases consumers' take-home pay *and* the present deficit by an amount equal to the lost revenues. Consumers respond by spending part—but not all—of the increased take-home pay. The businesses

whose sales have risen now have higher incomes equal to the new spending. These firms would then expand production, hire additional workers and pay out more wages, rents, interest and dividends thus creating a second round of income increases.

Their newly-hired workers spend part of their new incomes thus inducing a third round of income gains and so on. Because only a portion of each increase in income is actually spent—the remainder being saved or paid out in taxes—each subsequent increase in income is necessarily smaller than the one before. In practical terms, this process of generating new income would end when the increases in spending became too small to measure.

As a result of this expansion in spending, production and jobs, the unemployment rate has fallen and we have moved closer to full employment—but what about our budget problem?

The expansion has also reduced the number of persons drawing unemployment compensation and other government transfer payments thus automatically reducing government outlays for these programs. On the other side of the ledger the treasury would be receiving progressively higher tax revenues as the average level of personal and corporate incomes rose, and as the unemployed moved onto private payrolls, which are taxable, and off unemployment compensation rolls which are not.

The combined effects of reduced outlays and rising tax revenues even at the new lower tax rate, might be larger than the initial loss of revenues from the tax cut. It stands to reason that the larger the "multiplier" the larger the expansion, and hence, the greater the possibility that the deficit *after* the policy would be smaller than the deficit which *initiated* the policy. Thus the proposition that one might reduce the Federal deficit by first making it larger!

Why We Believed in this Scenario:

The empirical evidence of the so-called multiplier confirms this aspect of the scenario—a policy change of a given size *will* result in a change in the level of economic activity which is several times greater than the policy itself.

Similarly, we have strong evidence that the tie-in between increased economic activity and reduced deficits was a significant one. Although estimates of this tie-in vary, one fairly common one[1] places the tax revenue gains from a 1 percentage point reduction in the unemployment rate at $14 billion, and the savings in reduced transfer payments at $2 billion for a net reduction in the size of the deficit of $16 billion.

A case in point: In the early part of 1977, the Federal government was estimating their budget deficit at around $65 billion. The unemployment rate stood at 7.8 percent. If we assume that full employment is represented by a 3.5 percent

[1]Ray Marshall, "Full Employment: The Inflation Myth," *AFL-CIO American Federationist*, August, 1976.

unemployment rate and we apply the above estimate to this case, it reveals that reducing unemployment from 7.8 percent to 3.5 percent would have raised revenues (*without* changing tax rates) and reduced outlays (*without* eliminating any programs) by a collective amount equal to $68.8 billion. Enough to turn the $65 billion deficit into a $3.3 billion surplus!

Why the Keynesian Prospect Also Failed:

All of which brings us to the question of why this dream failed like that of the Classical one. The reasons for its failure lie partially in the labor market and partially in the international sphere. First, let's consider the labor market.

Labor force developments during the last fifteen years have considerably changed the nature of the full-employment target.[2] The goal, when stated in percentage terms is still about what it used to be: 3.5 to 4.0 percent, but in today's economy it is not realistic to translate that percentage figure into a fixed number of jobs which must be created by policy.[3] Changes in the size and structure of our labor force have made full employment a moving target.

Studies of labor force participation rates[4] indicate that the number of people in the labor force is itself influenced by the unemployment rate so that when the rate declines there is a surge of new entrants into the labor force; thus making subsequent reductions in the rate more difficult than earlier ones.

The unemployment rate also captures compositional changes within the work force. For instance, during the last ten years women, Black Americans, and teenagers have all increased their representation in our labor force. Members of these groups have a higher probability of experiencing unemployment than do adult white males, so everytime we replace the latter with a member of one of these three groups the unemployment rate increases.

Finally, there have been changes in the unemployment experience itself. In 1974 only 7 percent of the unemployed had been out of work for longer than 27 weeks. In November of 1977 (well past the Recession) over 14 percent were in the grips of

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[2]For a detailed review of these elements see: Tim D. Kane, "Our Changing Unemployment Rate: What Is It Telling Us Now", *Intellect,* 106 (April, 1978), 387–8.

[3]New attention has been focused upon the percentage unemployment rate which represents full employment. For example see: Robert E. Hall, "Why Is The Unemployment Rate So High At Full Employment," *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity* (1970:3), pp. 369–416.

[4]This rate expresses the number of persons in the labor force of a certain age/sex/race category as a percentage of all persons over 17 who comprise the category in the population. Several theories of how this rate influences the aggregate unemployment rate are reviewed in Jacob Mincer, "Labor Force Participation and Unemployment: A Review of Recent Evidence," in Robert and Margaret Gordon, eds., *Prosperity and Unemployment* (NY: Wiley, 1966); and William G. Bowen and T.A. Finegan, *The Economics of Labor Force Participation*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton U. Press, 1969).

a long term unemployment experience.[5] Because the unemployment rate is derived from a random sample of selected households,[6] and since each household is surveyed for a number months consecutively, the longer one remains unemployed the more often he shows up in the monthly unemployment rate.

The current unemployment experience also finds American workers being unemployed more often—as illustrated by the trend increase in job turnover.[7] The latter usually accounts for half of all unemployment, but this ratio increased to 65 percent during the 1975 Recession and two years later it was still above 60 percent.

The collective significance of these labor market developments has been to sharply reduce the leverage which a given sized policy might have upon the aggregate unemployment rate. The rate still declines when the economy is stimulated, but not by enough to generate the extra tax revenues and the reduced outlays required to confirm the balanced budget-full employment scenario.

Since 1969 our steadily weakening international situation has added to the evidence against the scenario as well. A deficit in our balance of payments not only feeds the surplus of dollars circulating overseas; thus driving down the price of the dollar, but a deficit also represents income earned in the U.S. which is going overseas to buy foreign-made products. In short, the deficit represents yet another leakage out of our spending-production-income cycle analogous to those of savings and taxes. An increase in these leakages means a reduction in the proportion of every new dollar's worth of income which is actually spent here. A deficit in the balance of payments, then, reduces the amount of new income which will be created by a given tax cut.

Implications:

If domestic incomes do not rise by as much as we had hoped for then tax revenues will not increase by as much either, and if unemployment rates do not decline by as much as we had hoped, outlays for unemployment compensation will not decline by as much either.

In short, the combination of market changes and international developments has reduced the multiplier impact of policy as well as that policy's leverage over the unemployment rate. We *can* move closer to full employment through conventional policy, but the results are disappointingly small and the overall budget deficit will be increased by those policy efforts.

[5]U.S. Congress, Joint Economic Committee, *Economic Indicators* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, December, 1977), p. 13.

[6]For the details of how the rate is derived see: Byron E. Calame, "The Jobless Rate" in Richard L. Rowan, ed., *Readings in Labor Economics and Labor Relations* (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, 1972).

[7]Job turnover is expressed as the percentage of the unemployed who lost their jobs or who voluntarily quit work.

Mr. Carter and Proposition 3:

Our experiences with the counterproductive efforts to balance the Federal budget during the early stages of the Great Depression proved the Classical ideas wrong. The private sector did not expand its purchases to offset the cutbacks in the public sector and, as a result, the depressing effects of budget balancing attempts resulted only in additional job losses and falling tax revenues—our efforts to reduce the deficit actually made it larger.

Similarly, our policy experiences in the 1960's and 1970's showed that while the Federal government could produce an economic expansion by deliberately making its budget deficit larger, the resulting decline in unemployment rates was not enough to generate the extra tax revenues and the reduced transfer payments needed to make the *ending* Federal deficit smaller than the one at the *beginning* of the process.

That seems to eliminate entirely any balancing of the Federal budget which originates from within the Federal sector itself and leads us to something resembling the first half of proposition 3: "the Federal government cannot balance its own budget while chasing full employment—no matter how hard it tries."

Now to the last half of that proposition: "but the private sector could do it for them". This idea was brought into sharp focus by Mr. Carter's pledge to achieve full employment and balance the Federal budget by 1981. If we consider his intentions in light of the second proposition whereby deficit finance yields full employment and balanced budgets we must conclude—as the Joint Economic Committee did that: ". . . the administration has gotten itself into (an awkward situation) by promising a combination of economic targets that are plainly inconsistent."[8]

If however, we assume the President's advisors were also aware of the dismal prospects of proposition 2 we have to look elsewhere for the economics in his statement.

The Role of Psychology:

Economists have long been aware of how fragile their predictions are. They hinge upon correct diagnosis of the facts of the situation and also upon that uncertain element—psychology. Let us trace out a sequence in which psychology plays a pivotal role in bringing about an outcome consistent with Mr. Carter's pledge.

The election of Mr. Carter brought to an end the turmoil and uncertainty of the Watergate era—an era which when coupled with the recession of 1974–75 produced one of the longest periods of immobilized policy in our recent history. Business postponed capital investment purchases relating to energy and other areas until a national policy relating to inflation and energy could take shape. Might not the business sector greet the election of a new president as a signal to go ahead with

[8]U.S. Congress, Joint Economic Committee, *The Macroeconomic Goals of the Administration for 1981: Targets and Realizations*, August 5, 1972, p. 15.

those plans—especially if he stressed the importance of getting us out of the recessions' grip?

The release of this backlog of capital investment projects would give the economy a tremendous shot of new spending which would then be multiplied by the responses of firms and consumers. Production would increase and employment with it thus moving us along toward full employment. Even with a smaller multiplier, the expansion would generate additional tax revenues and would reduce outlays for unemployment compensation. Since the expansion was not touched off by a tax cut or other actions, which initially increased the deficit, these extra revenues and reduced outlays will all show up on the plus side of the ledger—the deficit would be reduced.

In such a scenario the Federal government assumes a passive role relying upon the appearance of action to nurture those expectations which are capable of bringing about an expansion. Once underway, the Federal government can simply ride the expansion and watch the deficit decline.

How realistic is this third proposition—the one we must rely upon to make sense out of Mr. Carter's earlier pledge? Hindsight now tells us that this objective will not be accomplished by 1981 and reveals that while expectations are strong elements, our ability to understand their origin, much less direct their paths, leaves much to be desired. We are now several years down the road with the desired results nowhere in sight. In fact, the thrust of economic policy has now changed from concern over recession to worry about a renewed dose of double digit inflation. With this shift in policy goes the hope of attaining these two goals—full employment and fiscal integrity—through a passive policy which emphasized psychology rather than the traditional tools.

Summing Up:

In conclusion it is simply not possible to balance the Federal budget and reach full employment by cutting government spending and increasing tax rates as the classical theory promised, nor is it possible to make the final deficit smaller by first making it larger as the Keynesian theory suggested.

It is still possible for the Federal government to balance its budget and reach full employment if the private sector becomes optimistic enough to embark on an expansionary course by itself.

The prospects of such an event would seem to hinge upon the Federal government's ability to create and sustain a mood of intense optimism without actually resorting to the conventional tools which, while they stimulate the economy, also create larger deficits.

THE ELECTION OF 1864:
THE CAMPAIGN AND THE ISSUES

Melba S. Harvill*

Presidential elections provide an invaluable source for the study of the American political system at work. The election of 1864 is one of the nation's most interesting and most significant, if for no other reason than that it proved that the American system could withstand the rigors of a civil war.

As the first Republican president of the United States, Lincoln faced problems of staggering proportions. Though it is not the intent of this paper to present a detailed discussion of these problems, a brief review of them will serve to set the stage for a discussion of the campaign and the issues to be resolved.

Discontent was apparent in every corner by 1864. Politically, the cabinet was at odds, and Congress was dominated by the wing of the party hostile to the administration as a result of the mid-year elections. As it convened in December, 1863, Congress rejected Lincoln's choice for the House Speakership, and the important committees were headed by men who opposed Lincoln's conservative policy. The Border States, politically important as the sites of Lincoln's initial reconstruction plan, were kept in the Union by political maneuvering and military occupation. The President and the Radical element of the party clashed over command problems and military affairs. In addition, emacipation aroused the Radicals, as well as creating military and political problems involving the Union's relationship to the Confederacy. It was in such a climate that the nation prepared to elect a president.

Nominating conventions had produced the candidates. The Democrats met in late August, and they found themselves divided into three factions. One group, the War Democrats, favored the war. A middle group, led by Horatio Seymour of New York, believed that the restoration of the Union was the paramount war aim. The third faction was the ultra-peace wing or the Copperheads led by Clement L. Vallandingham of Ohio. The Democrats had had no real leader or national spokesman since the death of Stephen A. Douglas in June, 1861. The Copperheads were strong, but they, too, had no real leader. Thus George B. McClellan appeared to be the logical choice, though there was strong opposition to him from the press and the War Democrats. However, McClellan was nominated, and his running mate was George H. Pendleton of Ohio.[1]

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*Mrs. Harvill is Director of Libraries at Midwestern State University.

[1]William F. Zornow, *Lincoln and the Party Divided* (Norman, 1954), pp. 119–121; Noah Brooks, *Washington in Lincoln's Time*, ed. by Herbert Mitgang (New York, 1958), 174; Arthur M. Schlesinger, ed. *History of U.S. Political Parties*, 4 vols. (New York, 1973), II, 888–889.

The Republicans had met in June, and the convention took little time in selecting Lincoln as the standard bearer. But the vice presidential nominee proved to be a bit more difficult. Hannibal Hamlin was favored, but the party was tied to the War Democracy. And Hamlin's state was safe, anyway. It has been asserted that Lincoln desired Andrew Johnson of Tennessee as his running mate. In the first place, Johnson could conceivably bring the War Democrats into the Union camp. Secondly, the Union party might expect favorable reaction from abroad if the second spot on the ticket went to one from a reconstructed state. Though the convention heard many nominations, Johnson was chosen on the first ballot.[2]

As the presidential campaign opened, Lincoln's re-election looked virtually hopeless. Campaign Manager Henry J. Raymond wrote that Lincoln could not possibly carry Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Indiana; and that he would lose New York by at least 50,000 votes. The military picture was dark; there was no good news from Grant in Virginia. To make matters worse, the Confederate cavalryman, Jubal Early, swooped down on Maryland and created a panic in the capital.[3]

Moreover, there was still a move afoot to remove Lincoln from the Republican ticket. On August 4, 1864, a group of malcontents met in Ohio to try to force the withdrawal of Lincoln and Frémont, who had been nominated by a Radical group. The meeting amounted to little except to give rise to another conclave in New York. The New York meeting, called for August 18, was held in the home of Mayor George Opdyke of New York City. It was spearheaded by journalistic leaders such as Horace Greeley, Theodore Tilton, and Parke Godwin. Political luminaries also attended; among them were Benjamin Wade, Henry W. Davis, Governor John A. Andrew of Massachusetts, David D. Field, and Charles Sumner. This august assemblage urged all who would desire another candidate to meet at Buffalo on September 22. The September meeting suffered a blow when Governor Andrew refused to attend. He switched his support to Lincoln when he learned that the President favored a constitutional amendment banning slavery.[4]

As the campaign began in earnest, both major parites relied on similar techniques and procedures. The most important campaign tactic was the pamphlet, and it was via this media that both parties disseminated their information. The distribution was handled by special organizations for the Republicans, such as the Union League of America and the New England Publication Society. There were others, and they were all secret. The Democrats also had their organizations to spread campaign

[2]Albert C. Riddle, *Recollections of War Times* (New York, 1895), 282; Zornow, pp. 100-101; New York *Times*, June 9, 1864; Christopher Dell, *Lincoln and the War Democrats* (Rutherford, New Jersey, 1975), 295.

[3]Zornow, p. 113

[4]*Annual Cyclopaedia of the Year 1864* (New York, 1871), p. 732. Hereafter cited as *Appleton's Cyclopaedia*; Zornow, pp. 114-117; Harlan H. Horner, *Lincoln and Greeley* (Urbana, 1953), p. 350.

literature; among them were the Sons of Liberty and the Order of the American Knights. In addition, both parties relied on colorful personalities of the times as speakers in behalf ot the respective candidates. Also, both parties attempted to capitalize on the word "Union". Shortly after the outbreak of the war, hoping to close their ranks to conduct it, the Republicans began using the name "Union". They were very careful to avoid the term "Republican". In some states, Democrats who favored the war joined with the "Union" party. Democratic speakers constantly appealed to the friends of the Union in their addresses. But they were never able to identify themselves with it as convincingly as did the Republicans. Both parties tried to woo the labor vote. The Democrats used the high cost of living as an issue, blaming it on the Lincoln administration. To get the labor vote, the Republicans sought to define the issue of freedom on broader terms than the abolition of slavery. Some Republicans stated that the election was simply a question of Democracy versus Aristocracy.[5]

Though Lincoln refused to take part, the Republicans, along with the Democrats, attempted to bring personalities into the campaign. The Democrats charged Lincoln with wishing to become a dictator. They called him a tyrant and a scoundrel. They chided his appearance, his lack of education, and his proclivity for telling funny stories. They accused him of being an atheist. The New York *World* termed the Lincoln-Johnson ticket as one made up of a "rail-splitting buffon and a boorish tailor, both from the backwoods, both growing up in uncouth ignorance."[6]

The Republicans turned their political guns squarely on McClellan, using his acceptance speech and his military failures as ammunition. The New York *Times* accused McClellan of practicing his favorite strategy, fighting shy. Referring to his acceptance speech, the editorial stated that McClellan did not give the people a clear knowledge of where he stood on any crucial issue, especially peace. McClellan hedged on the point of cessation of hostilities, charged the *Times*. Furthermore, McClellan's speech was designed not to offend any faction within the Democratic party, but not to offend the rebels as well.[7]

Governor Oliver P. Morton of Indiana believed that the question was not one of men, but of policy as represented by the two candidates. Speaking to a New York City Union meeting in late October, the Governor chided McClellan for his Harrison's Landing letter to Lincoln. The letter was presented to Lincoln during his

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[5] James G. Randall and Richard N. Current, *Last Full Measure*, Vol. IV of *Lincoln the President*, 4 vols. (New York, 1955), pp. 242-245; Zornow, pp. 179, 183. See also Frank Freidel, "The Loyal Publican Society: A Pro-Union Propaganda Agency," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXVI (1939), 359-376, for the work of one Northern agency.

[6] New York *World*, June 20, 1864, as cited in Randall and Current, IV 247; Zornow, p. 174; Randall and Current, IV, 245-247.

[7] New York *Times*, September 2, 10, 16, October 3, 4, 1864; Thurlow Weed to Abraham Wakeman, October 13, 1864, as cited in the New York *Times*, October 17, 1864.

visit to the army in July, 1862. In it, McClellan set forth his views on the great issues and the political controversies of the time. It has been asserted that this letter though addressed to Lincoln, was McClellan's bid for the presidency in 1864.[8] According to the Governor, whatever position the general had attained he owed to Lincoln. McClellan's reputation, stated Morton, "does not consist so much of what he has done, as of what he would have done if he had been let alone by the President and the Secretary of State."[9]

Both parties also sought to woo the votes of the military. Since their candidate was a former general, the Democrats hoped to secure McClellan's endorsement by leading army officers. In so doing, they hoped to influence the vote of the soldier as well as the civilian. In New York, the Democrats were very eager for the soldier vote. The state used the proxy system of voting, whereby the soldier voted and returned his ballot to his home precinct. Some zealous Democrats "interrupted" some of the ballot boxes, unsealed the envelopes, put in ballots marked for the Democratic ticket, and sent them on their way. The ringleaders were caught and sentenced to long prison terms.[10]

Nor were the Republicans idle in attempting to secure the soldier vote. It was widely known that General Grant favored Lincoln, and as the campaign progressed, most Republicans believed that the majority of the armed forces favored the President. But the Republicans did not take the soldier vote for granted. The Congressional Campaign Committee sent agents to distribute Union literature to the troops in the field. And Lincoln himself was careful not to offend soldier opinion. When addressing the troops, the President praised their labor and sacrifice in upholding the Union cause. Upon occasion, Lincoln also used his appointive power as Commander-in Chief. In some instances promotions were contingent upon party loyalty.[11]

The President also recognized that the soldier vote would be important in Indiana, a key state. He asked General William T. Sherman to do anything he could to let Indiana's soldiers go home to vote, since that state prohibited voting in the field. Sherman received a similar request from Schuyler Colfax. In his reply to Colfax, the general wrote that he did not have enough men to allow any of them to go

[8]McClellan to Lincoln, July 7, 1862, George B. McClellan, *McClellan's Own Story* (New York, 1887), pp. 487-489; Burton J. Hendrick, *Lincoln's War Cabinet* (Boston, 1946), pp. 303-305.

[9]New York *Times*, October 23, 1864.

[10]Randall and Current, IV, 252-256. See also New York *Times*, October, 1864, for numerous editorials on draft frauds.

[11]Lincoln to Ohio Regiments, August 18, 31, 1864, as quoted in *Appleton's Cyclopaedia* p. 791; Randall and Current, IV, 253-255; H.J. Carman and R.H. Luthin, *Lincoln and the Patronage* (New York, 1943), pp. 286, 295-296; Zornow, pp. 199-200.

on furlough just to vote. But he assured Colfax that the soldiers would vote when given the opportunity.[12]

The Union picture brightened after the fall of Atlanta on September 1, and even Lincoln became more optimistic. He asked General John B. Logan to leave the army and help in the campaign, especially in Illinois. The President also arranged for Carl Schurz to leave his military post to make speeches. Despite Lincoln's activities in this area, he did not attempt to manage his own campaign; that was left to Henry J. Raymond. Lincoln did interfere, however, when he believed the party organization managed the campaign poorly. He believed that Simon Cameron had botched the job in Pennsylvania. The October elections in that state were disappointing, and Lincoln believed that Cameron had estimated the canvass badly. So he called on Alexander McClure and discussed the matter with him, asking McClure to help the State Committee with the campaign.[13]

Lincoln did express himself on at least three occasions during the campaign. In an interview in August, 1864, with Governor Alexander Randall of Wisconsin, the President spoke on the interrelation of the campaign issues. Lincoln asserted that no wing of the Democratic party offered a program that would not result in the permanent dissolution of the Union. The President re-emphasized that the purpose of the war was the restoration of the Union, but emancipation must be a prerequisite. In October, speaking to a group of serenaders, Lincoln stated that he believed the people still wanted to preserve their country and their freedom, but their vote was their own. Speaking in Maryland on October 19, 1864, Lincoln asserted that his administration had been designed to maintain the government, not to overthrow it.[14]

Though actively participating in the campaign very little, Lincoln did aid his own cause and that of his party by reorganizing his cabinet. One of the storm centers of the official family was Montgomery Blair. Attempts to keep him out of the cabinet had failed. As a cabinet member, Blair made enemies by his stand to reinforce Ft. Sumter and by his outspoken condemnation of General Winfield Scott and Secretary Seward. The anti-slavery men of the North broke with Blair after the Frémont feud. This feud, between Frank Blair and Frémont, was primarily concerned with prestige and leadership. General Frémont had been assigned to Missouri, but St. Louis was not big enough for both he and Blair. In addition, the two

[12]Lincoln to W.T. Sherman, September 19, 1864, Roy P. Basler *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 10 vols. (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1933), VIII, 11; Sherman to Schuyler Colfax, August 15, 1864, Rachel S. Thorndike, ed., *The Sherman Letters* (New York, 1898), p. 238.

[13]Ruhl J. Bartlett, *John C. Fremont and the Republican Party* (Columbus, Ohio, 1930), p. 127; Carman and Luthin, p. 286; Randall and Current, IV, 240.

[14]Randall and Current, IV, 245; John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln, A History*, 10 vols. (New York 1886), IX, 359.

disagreed over the prospects of the city being captured by the Confederates. Blair minimized the possibility, while Frémont emphasized protecting the city against a probable attack. Blair also disapproved of the general's suppression of the press, and he viewed Frémont's emancipation proclamation as endangering the Union cause in Missouri.[15] The Republican convention also passed a resolution calling for more harmony in the cabinet. Although Blair and Chase were not mentioned specifically, it was generally known that the convention wished Lincoln to remove the two men. Throughout the summer, pressure for Blair's removal increased, and Lincoln soon realized that it was not good politics to retain in his cabinet a man with whom the majority of the party had become disenchanted.[16]

Therefore, Lincoln asked Blair for his resignation. The President told Blair that he believed the time had come when his resignation would be a relief to the administration. Blair was replaced by ex-Governor William Dennison of Ohio. After Blair's resignation, Radical orators took the stump for Lincoln, thoroughly denouncing McClellan. They made the basic issue of the campaign appear to be the Peace party, disunion, and the restoration of slavery as opposed to the Union party, reunion, and the destruction of slavery.[17]

Though the removal of Blair brought some degree of unity to the Republicans, the presidential candidacy of Frémont, who had been nominated by a group of Radicals, might conceivably prove to be a threat, especially since Republican fortunes appeared to be on the wane. It has been asserted that Frémont learned that some unnamed practical politicians were consulting Lincoln about the possibility of both his and Frémont's withdrawal in favor of a third candidate. In view of this, Zachariah Chandler suggested that Lincoln come to terms with Frémont. This was apparently the source of the so-called "Lincoln-Frémont bargain." In a letter written much later, Chandler asserted that he had the consent of Lincoln and the National Congressional Committee to talk with Frémont.[18]

[15]William E. Smith, *The Francis Preston Blair Family In Politics*, 2 vols. (New York, 1933), II, 67-68, 73.

[16]Riddle, p. 265; Smith, II, 186, 189; Nicolay and Hay, IX, 332-333, 337, 339-340.

[17]Lincoln to Montgomery Blair, September 23, 1864, Basler, VIII, 18; Smith, II, 295; Nicolay and Hay, IX, 342.

[18]Allen Nevins, *Fremont, The West's Greatest Adventurer*, 2 vols. (New York, 1928), II, 663-664; Randall and Current, IV, 227-228. The so-called "deal" between Lincoln and Fremont has long puzzled historians. In 1880, the Detroit *Post and Tribune* published the life of Zachariah Chandler. The author of the "deal" episode was George W. Partridge, Chandler's secretary, who had access to Chandler's papers. See Charles R. Wilson, "The Lincoln-Blair-Fremont Bargain," *American Historical Review*, XLII (October, 1936), 71-78. See also the letters from Chandler to his wife and to Ben Wade reprinted in Winfred A Harbison, "Zachariah Chandler's Part In the Reelection of Lincoln," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXII (1935), 271-276.

Supposedly the interview took place in the office of Frémont's lawyer and political advisor, David Dudley Field. Field had prepared the way for the "deal". He told Frémont that he should do what he could for party unity. Chandler told the general that Lincoln would not withdraw, and if Frémont failed to do so, McClellan would win the election. Chandler then informed the "Pathfinder" that he was empowered to offer the general a return to active service in the military with a high command if he would withdraw, but Frémont declined. However, on September 22, 1864, Frémont did withdraw in favor of Lincoln and the Republicans.[19] The general's withdrawal removed another stumbling block to Republican unity.

During the course of the campaign, Lincoln applied the pressure of patronage, and often he did not consult the party leaders in so doing. Lincoln consistently refused to consider Senator Pomeroy's requests for offices. Pomeroy was the Kansas Senator who had spearheaded Salmon P. Chase's bid for the Republican presidential nomination. The President also removed Horace Binney, the Collector of the Port of New York and a Chase man. Following Binney's removal, Lincoln appointed Simon Drapee to the post. Then he proceeded to bring all the employees of the Customs House into line, but only a few underlings were removed.[20]

Lincoln's use of patronage did not always result in a negative approach. The President helped members of Congress who favored him, for Lincoln expected officeholders to be loyal party members. The President reprimanded federal officeholders for trying to defeat administration members of Congress. Federal employees were also expected to contribute to the campaign fund.[21]

As a means of insurance in the election, Lincoln used the device of bringing new states into the Union. The territories of Colorado, Nebraska, and Nevada had many enthusiastic sponsors, and Louisiana and Arkansas were ready to be readmitted to the Union under the President's plan of reconstruction. James W. Nye, the Territorial Governor of Nevada, was particularly anxious that his territory be admitted prior to the election, as was Secretary Seward. Nevada's entrance into the Union would mean three electoral votes for Lincoln. Therefore, at the request of Governor Nye, Congress set up the date of Nevada's constitutional referendum from October 11 to September 7, 1864. After the state constitution was ratified by the people, Governor Nye wired a copy of the constitution to Lincoln, who wished to read it.

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[19]Nevins, *Fremont*, II, 664-665. James G. Randall states that it appears more apparent that Fremont made a deal with McClellan. On September 20, 1864, McClellan was told that Fremont had authorized agents to make whatever arrangements with the Democrats that they considered best regarding his withdrawal. Randall and Current, IV, 229-230.

[20]Randall and Current, IV, 241, 250; Carman and Luthin, p. 283.

[21]Randall and Current, IV, 252; Carman and Luthin, pp. 282, 286.

Positive action by Congress followed, and eight days prior to the election Lincoln read a proclamation admitting Nevada into the Union.[22]

Thus Lincoln did work in his own behalf during the campaign, though it may be considered as indirect participation, and he did have the backing of the party organization. But the key to the campaign *per se* lay in the issues to be resolved. The most discussed issues were treason, the Lincoln administration itself, union or disunion, freedom or slavery, and war or peace.

The issue of treason was initiated by the Republicans and the way was paved for it by the Chicago convention. Actually, few Democrats were traitors, but their disloyalty to the Lincoln administration, their complaints on the conduct of the war, and their many secret societies left the party open to charges of treason. In July, 1864, the issue was presented to the American public by General Rosecran's report on secret societies in Missouri. Rosecran's report alleged that the state's secret societies were trying to overthrow the government.[23]

However, the Republicans found their real ammunition in the Democratic platform. Even the party's candidate could not stand firmly on the platform, and this put the Democrats on the defensive. The Republicans attacked the platform along four basic avenues. Generally the Republicans characterized the Democratic convention speeches and deliberations as treasonable. Secondly, they charged that the Democrats showed sympathy toward the Confederacy because the platform failed to censure it while it did not hesitate to condemn the administration. The third avenue of attack claimed that the platform was written at the instigation of Southern agents. Lastly the Republicans charged that the Democratic Convention was a phase of a well-laid plan by the secret societies to rebel against the government. The New York *Tribune* stated that "the Democrats were ready to barter the integrity of the Union for the sake of political power."[24]

The Republicans directed some of their heaviest fire at McClellan and Pendleton. It was rumored that McClellan had visited Lee before the Battle of Antietam and offered his services to the Confederacy. Benjamin Wade condemned McClellan, calling for the people to do their duty to down the "infernal traitors" who supported him. Speaking after the fall of Atlanta, Secretary of State Seward accused the Democrats of plotting to overthrow the Union by nominating McClellan. Even some Democrats joined the opposition in condemning their own party, and they were hard pressed to formulate a reply to the Republican charge of treason. Their chief defense was that the Democratic party was not a disunion party. Perhaps

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[22]Basler, VIII, 83-84; Randall and Current, IV, 235-237.;

[23]Horace Greeley, *The American Conflict*, 2 vols. (Hartford, 1866), II, 556; Allen Nevins and M.H. Thomas, eds. *The Diary of George Templeton Strong*, 4 vols. (New York, 1952), III, 482; Zornow, pp. 149-150.

[24]New York *Tribune*, September 8, 1864, as cited in Zornow, p. 153.

Thurlow Weed was a competent authority on judging the campaign when he wrote that "the disloyalty of the Democratic party . . . worked its own overthrow. Mr. L[incoln] is to be re-elected (if at all) on the blunders and folly of his enemies."[25]

Indeed, the Democrats were not only hard pressed to answer the Republican charges but also to find an issue to inject into the campaign. In an attempt to find an issue, the Democrats chose the conduct of the Lincoln administration in general. Their cause was aided for a time by the adverse war news from Virginia. The Democrats charged that administration policies were designed to encourage Southern resistance. The country was on the brink of ruin and unless a change of administrations occurred, the nation would face national bankruptcy and military despotism. To prolong the war, stated the Democrats, would decrease the national progress, increase the cost of goods, and increase the national debt.[26]

Other Democrats also condemned Lincoln's policies. Writing to the *National Intelligencer*, Reverdy Johnson charged that Lincoln's administration proved that the President was unequal to his duties. Johnson pointed out that with all at his command, Lincoln had failed to restore the Union. Indeed, if anything, the Union was more broken in 1864 than when he assumed the Presidency. Johnson called for a change, stating that "none, if loyal [could] be worse."[27]

The Democrats also condemned the administration for its suppression of civil liberties. They hoped this question would place the Republicans in an embarassing position and woo those in the Unionist ranks who opposed suppression. The Democrats charged that Lincoln's continued violation of civil liberties was undermining the Constitution. If allowed to go unchecked, they claimed, the pattern of American freedom would be permanently warped. Democrats concentrated most of their efforts on Lincoln's suspension of *habeas corpus*, stating that no one had means of protection against arbitrary arrest.[28] Democratic opposition hoped to make its strongest appeal on this point, but they failed apparently because they misjudged the public reaction. The Republicans justified Lincoln's violation of civil liberties on the grounds of military necessity.[29] This defense may have been flimsy, but with succeeding military victories, it proved to be sufficient.

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[25]Weed to John Bigelow, October 19, 1864, in John Bigelow, *Retrospections of An Active Life*, 2 vols. (New York, 1909), II, 221-222; Albany *Journal*, September 5, 1864, as cited in New York *Times*, September 7, 1864; C. C. Hazewell, "The Twentieth Presidential Election," *Atlantic Monthly*, XIV (1964), 639; Zornow, pp. 153, 159, 162; H.L. Trefousse, *Benjamin F. Wade, Radical Republican From Ohio* (New York, 1963), pp. 231-232.

[26]Millard Fillmore to John B Robinson, as cited in *National Intelligencer*, October 4, 1864; Speech of Sanford E. Church, New York *Times*, October 16, 1864; George S. Hillard to the Boston *Post*, as cited in the *National Intelligencer*, September 2, 1864; Zornow, pp. 169-170.

[27]Reverdy Johnson to the *National Intelligencer*, September 24, 1864.

[28]Zornow, pp. 171-172.

[29]Speech by T. G. Alvord to Union Meeting, as cited in the New York *Times*, October 15, 1864; *ibid*. p. 173.

The third major issue in the campaign was the question of union or disunion. The Democrats charged that the war as waged by Lincoln was not a war for the preservation of the Union. Speaking to a Columbia County Democratic Convention on September 17, 1864, R. H. Gillet told his audience that the Union could not be restored under the present administration. However, he stated that the Democrats could persuade the South that her interests lay with the Union. Robert C. Winthrop argued that the issue was not one of personalities, but union or disunion. In his opinion, the best interests of the country demanded a change.[30]

Answering Democratic charges that Lincoln's policies were promoting disunion, the New York *Times* editorialized that the Democrats were hiding behind the term "union," accusing them of desiring to unite with the South. The editorial termed the party's alleged or self-styled fidelity to the Union "sheer impertinence." The words of Carl Schurz were more vitriolic. Speaking in Brooklyn in early October, Schurz stated that by some perversion of human logic, the party of the slave power called itself the National party. He accused the Democrats not of being pro-slavery, but of not stating that they were against it. Apparently Salmon P. Chase agreed with Schurz. As Chase saw it, the war was still one to preserve the Union.[31]

Perhaps the most clear-cut of the issues was whether the war should be continued. The Peace Democrats' position on the issue of war or peace was probably best expressed by Horatio Seymour in the early days of the campaign. Seymour was running for the governorship of New York in 1864. Speaking in Milwaukee on September 1, 1864, he declared that the nation could do no worse than to re-elect Lincoln, because it would offer no hope for the future. According to the Governor, the unequal representation in the Senate would result eventually in a minority imposing its will on the majority. He urged the North to negotiate a peace before taxation and tyranny ruined both sections.[32]

Speaking to an audience in Philadelphia in early October, Seymour declared that this was no time to ask what brought the war about; the question was what the country could do to "preserve its existence and perpetuate its liberties."[33] According to Seymour, returning the Republicans to power would result in two bitter lessons: first, it would be dangerous to give a government more power than it could exercise wisely, and second, that government could "not trample upon the rights of the people of another state without trampling on its own as well."[34]

Governor Seymour was not alone in his desire for peace. An editorial in the *Intelligencer* expressed a similar desire, but also pointed out that a premature peace

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[30]Speech by Robert C. Winthrop, as cited in the *National Intelligencer*, September 21, 1864.

[31]New York *Times*, September 21, October 11, 20, 1864.

[32]Stewart Mitchell, *Horatio Seymour* (Cambridge, 1938), p. 372.

[33]Horatio Seymour, *Public Record*, p. 253, as cited in *ibid.*, p. 375.

[34]*Ibid.*, p. 258, as cited in Mitchell, p. 375.

might result in disunion. A later editorial opposed subjugating the South. The South could be reduced to submission, but not to obedience. It pointed out that a republican government was the least fitted for conquest and subjugation. Continuing, the editorial stated that if the administration's policy of conquest was pursued with success, the government would be lost. If the policy were unsuccessful, the government would be lost. The basis for union must be sought in wise "measures of political conciliation and constitutional justice," stated the *Intelligencer.* [35]

Republicans and War Democrats took up the cry that the war should be prosecuted with vigor until its conclusion. General John A. Dix charged that the Democratic Convention, in calling for peace, misrepresented the feelings and opinions of the majority of the party. Some Republicans charged that the Democrats, in calling for a cessation of hostilities, wished to yield to the rebels, for the rebels had not asked for peace. Governor Morton charged that those who supported McClellan had never favored war in the first place. Vice-President Hamlin stated that he favored peace, but it must be a lasting peace that would secure the future liberty of the nation. [36] Speaking in celebration of Farragut's and Sherman's victories, Senator Charles Sumner called for the prosecution of the war to the fullest extent. The Senator stated ". . . if you take care of liberty, the Union will take care of itself — or better still, do not forget that if you save liberty, you save everything." [37]

On the issue of emancipation, there was little doubt where each party stood. In April, 1864, the Thirteenth Amendment had been defeated in the House of Representatives by sixty-five Democratic votes, making emancipation an issue in the campaign, and it was introduced at all levels. All factions of the Union Party agreed that slavery had no place in the reconstructed Union. If peace were to be permanent, slavery must be abolished. The party insisted that emancipation be a part of reconstruction. Despite this fact, the Unionists carefully avoided any mention of the Negro's position in society. [38]

The Democrats argued that Lincoln had embraced emancipation as an aim of the war. Refuting this argument, Chase told an Odd Fellows Convention in late October that the President had not made emancipation an aim of the war. Rather Lincoln realized that he could not put down a rebellion with one hand and hold up slavery with the other. Chase asserted that emancipation struck "the main prop" from under the rebellion. He saw it as a question of what should be saved, the Union or

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[35] *National Intelligencer*, September 24, 27, 1864.

[36] New York *Times*, September 17, October 10, 25, 1864; Thurlow Weed to the New York *Times*, October 17, 1864.

[37] Speech by Charles Sumner, *National Intelligencer*, September 13, 1864.

[38] Zornow, pp. 167-168.

slavery. Carl Schurz saw emancipation as the destruction of a major contribution to the entire war effort of the Confederacy.[39]

On the other hand, the Democrats accused the Unionists of attempting to restore the Union on the basis of emancipation, not the Constitution. According to the argument, the Republicans were trying to promote racial equality for the Negro by their policy of emancipation. The Democrats closely associated emancipation with reconstruction by claiming that the former should not be made a basis for peace or readmission to the Union. By so doing they hoped to bring the issue of reconstruction into the campaign because they realized it was the Achilles' heel of the Union party.[40]

The problem of reconstrucion was not a new issue. Lincoln's earliest attempts at reconstruction were the establishment of military governments, one of the first being in Tennessee. The President realized the necessity of creating state political parties which would be sure to place political offices in the hands of pro-administration men. Lincoln announced his basic plan of reconstruction on two occasions, his Amnesty Proclamation of November 8, 1863, and his Annual Message to Congress on December 8, 1863. The plan was relatively simple. A full pardon would be granted to those who took part in the rebellion, with certain exceptions on the condition that they take an oath to support and defend the Constitution and to abide by the acts of Congress. Those excepted were persons who had held places of trust and honor in the military or civil service of the Confederacy and those who were guilty of mistreating colored troops. Whenever ten per cent of the voting population of 1860 had fulfilled these requirements, a state government could be reestablished.[41]

The President's plan rested on the assumption that the recognition of a state government, a purely political function, was the exclusive function of the Executive. The constitutionality of Lincoln's plan was questioned, however. The determination of the time when a territory met the constitutional requirements of having a republican government traditionally rested with Congress, not the Executive. Lincoln crossed swords with the Radicals on these points.[42]

Realizing by the spring of 1864 that there was little chance of preventing Lincoln's renomination, the Radicals determined to prevent the President from controlling the process of reconstruction. Distrusting Lincoln's lenient plan, they

[39]William Schley to the People of Maryland, *National Intelligencer*, November 3, 1864; New York *Times*, October 11, 20, 1864.

[40]Zornow, pp. 165-166.

[41]Lincoln's Amnesty Proclamation, Annual Message to Congress, Robert Todd Lincoln Papers, on microfilm, North Texas State University Library, Denton, Texas. Hereafter cited as the RTL Papers. William B. Hesseltine, *Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 1960), pp. 64, 70-71.

[42]Hesseltine, *Reconstruction*, pp. 72, 78-79, 100.

formulated one of their own, the Wade-Davis Bill. The bill was designed to stop the work of reconstruction already begun in Tennessee and Louisiana to prevent the extension of Lincoln's plan into any more of the Southern states. The plan presented in the Wade-Davis Bill did not differ greatly from Lincoln's. It had seven steps to reconstruction rather than two steps as did Lincoln's plan. The bill was not strong nor was it well thought out. It appeared to be more a means of striking at the power of the President than a process of reconstructing the Union. The primary feature of the bill was that at each of its seven steps, Congress, not the executive, had control.[43]

The bill was extensively debated in the House, but the Senate showed little interest in it. The principle point of argument for the bill was that Congress, not the President, should control reconstruction. The bill passed both houses and went to Lincoln for signature on July 4, 1864, the last day of the session. The scant majorities in the vote, the absence of debate, and the number of absentees bore testimony to the general apathy of the lawmakers to the bill.[44]

Lincoln did not sign the bill, but laid it aside, stating that it was too important a measure to be signed in haste. In addition, Lincoln had constitutional reservations about whether Congress could prohibit slavery in the reconstructed states. On July 8, 1864, Lincoln quietly issued a proclamation on the bill. The President stated that he was not prepared to set aside the new governments in Arkansas and Louisiana. Lincoln continued that any Southern state that wished to do so could use the plan. The decision was left to the South.[45]

The fact that Lincoln refused to sign the Wade-Davis Bill further pointed to the difference within the Republican ranks. Congress, controlled by the Radical element, made allegiance to the Union a past question, whereas Lincoln did not. Supporters of the Wade-Davis Bill maintained that its provisions were more democratic, but the idea was deceptive. Under the provisions of the bill the Southern governments would be in the hands of a minority because too many people had served the Confederacy and could not take the oath of allegiance. Furthermore, the bill implied that the states could secede from the Union, and Lincoln steadfastly maintained that secession was illegal. He believed that the Union could not survive such an admission. Moreover, the Wade-Davis Bill would tend to retard restoration of the Union, and Lincoln desired a rapid and peaceful restoration. Thus Congress and Lincoln reached a stalemate over what policy to pursue regarding the Southern states. Such a stalemate would affect the presidential election because, at adjournment, the relations between Congress and President were at their lowest ebb.[46]

[43]*Ibid.*, pp. 11-114; Nicolay and Hay, IX, 115-116.

[44]Hesseltine, *Reconstruction*, pp. 114-118; Randall and Current, IV, 188-190.

[45]Basler, VII, 433-434; Randall and Current, IV, 191; Nicolay and Hay, IX, 120, 123.

[46]Randall and Current, IV, 193-197.

The Congressional reply to Lincoln was the Wade-Davis "Manifesto," published in the New York *Tribune* on August 5, 1864. It denounced the President for pursuing his policy of reconstruction without the aid of Congress, and it condemned his state governments in Arkansas and Louisiana. The "Manifesto" insinuated that Lincoln's desire to hasten reconstruction was a device to secure more electoral votes. The pocket veto was termed a blow to the friends of the administration, the rights of humanity, and the basic tenets of republican government. The "Manifesto" brought reconstruction into the presidential campaign, but only between Lincoln and the Radical element.[47]

The "Manifesto" was designed to so sway public opinion against Lincoln that he would be forced to withdraw. The military prospects were not bright, the treasury was empty, and the nation was war weary. But it did not bring the desired results. The "Manifesto" failed to change the mass view of Lincoln. Rather it tended to lift the spirits of the pro-Lincoln faction. Though reconstruction was an issue in the campaign, the voter was never presented with a clear conception of the various modes of reconstruction, and the campaign literature on the issue did little to enlighten him. Popular opinion was confused at best on this one issue.[48]

To complete the picture of the election of 1864, the role of Horace Greeley must be explored. Lincoln sought the support of Greeley, but he was not always successful in his efforts. Greeley never doubted Lincoln's integrity; he simply did not believe that Lincoln was big enough for the Presidency. He had no real concept of Lincoln's stature and no vision of the place history would accord the man from Illinois.[49]

Greeley strongly favored emancipation, and he vehemently expressed his attitude to Lincoln. In an open letter to the President on August 19, 1862, the editor severely criticized Lincoln's policy on slavery. Waxing hot and cold toward Lincoln's administration, by the spring of 1863 Greeley began looking for a replacement for Lincoln. He was disappointed when Chase withdrew, but he favored Frémont's withdrawal.[50]

Greeley hoped the presidential nomination could be postponed as late as the day before the Baltimore Convention convened, but he stated that the *Tribune* would stand behind the ticket. Despite this statement, throughout the summer Greeley nursed the hope that Lincoln might be supplanted. By mid-August the editor suggested that there be two sets of candidates in the hope of finding one who could

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[47]*Ibid.*, p. 207; Nicolay and Hay, IX, 125-126; Hesseltine,*Reconstruction*, p. 121.

[48]Carman and Luthin, pp. 271-272; Zornow, p. 167.

[49]Randall and Current, IV, 157; Horner, pp. 211, 331.

[50]New York *Tribune*, August 19, 1862, as cited in Horner, pp. 263-265.

outdistance Lincoln. Then Mobile and Atlanta fell and with them the hope of any second Union convention.[51]

The Niagara Falls peace mission was one facet of the election in which Greeley was involved. On July 5, 1864, Greeley received a letter from William C. Jewett, a friend in Niagara Falls. Jewett's letter revealed that there were two peace emissaries from the Confederacy in the city to discuss a possible settlement of hostilities. Greeley forwarded the letter to Lincoln, whereupon the President appointed the editor as an informal ambassador to meet with the Confederates. Greeley protested violently, but Lincoln insisted that he attend. The President also sent his secretary, John Hay, along. Lincoln gave Greeley a "To Whom It May Concern" letter, in which he stated that anyone in authority from the rebellious states and interested in peace would be received and considered by the Executive of the United States.[52]

Hay, arriving in Niagara Falls after Greeley, learned that the editor had bungled the entire affair. Greeley had failed to show the emissaries Lincoln's letter. Moreover, he had not learned that the Confederates had no authority to conclude any agreements. The entire mission had proved to be a failure. But it did prove Lincoln's point that peace negotiations were futile. Commenting on the failure of the peace mission, Secretary of the Navy, Gideon Welles, was convinced that the President and the administration had been misrepresented and misunderstood on the subject of peace, and he believed that much of the responsibility for that misrepresentation should be placed with Greeley.[53]

With the peace mission a failure and the nomination of Lincoln a fact, Horace Greeley finally openly agreed to support Lincoln. He wrote: "The work is in his hands; if it is passed out of them, it will be as there are no better, but far worse, to receive it, to our utter ruin. We *must* re-elect him, and God helping us, we will."[54]

Greeley kept his word. The *Tribune* supported the President in his bid for re-election. Perhaps Greeley was not totally committed to Lincoln, but he was committed to a belief in free men and free institutions. Greeley's erratic role in the election may possibly be explained by the fact that he lacked the objective point of view to see Lincoln's renomination in the light of his accomplishments and his ability to carry on until the conflict ended.[55]

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[51]Horner, pp. 350, 352.

[52]W.C. Jewett to Horace Greeley, July 5, 1864; Greeley to Lincoln, July 7, 1864; Lincoln "To Whom it May Concern," July 18, 1864, RTL Papers. See also *Appleton's Cyclopaedia*, pp. 780-782, for correspondence among participants in the Niagara meeting. James H. Trietch, *The Printer and the Prince* (New York, 1955), pp. 262-263; Randall and Current, IV, 159-162.

[53]Gideon Welles, *The Diary of Gideon Welles*, 3 vols. (New York, 1911), II, 84; Trietch, pp. 263, 265.

[54]New York *Tribune*, September 6, 1864, as cited in Horner, p. 353.

[55]Horner, pp. 345, 361.

Lincoln, McClellan, and the issues, clouded though they might be, had been presented to the American people. Reconstruction could conceivably cause a split among the Republicans, and charges of treason would hurt the Democrats. A war-weary nation would go to the polls in early November to elect a president. Their choice would dictate the course of the war, emancipation, and reconstruction.

THE PAPAL CURIA AND THE INVESTITURE CONTROVERSY

James R. King*

In the second half of the eleventh century occurred one of the greatest confrontations in western history. It is known as the Lay Investiture Controversy and it involved forces so powerful that the whole of western society was changed. The force of the confrontation was due, in part, to the fact that the issues involved were at one and the same time deeply moral and deeply political. They involved, therefore, matters which were of the highest spiritual and material consequences.

Lay Investiture was the practice of the appointment and installation of men into ecclesiastical positions by secular officials.[1] Very frequently the secular officials were men of the highest levels of society; emperors, kings, and princes. Most often the ecclesiastical position involved secular power and responsibility as well as spiritual concerns. As it was practiced in western Christendom by the eleventh century, lay investiture had come, in many, many instances to involve buying and selling these ecclesiastical positions. This was clearly understood to be a sin. The buying or selling of religious offices was known as the sin of simony.[2] It was a sin which the leaders of the papacy were more and more determined to eradicate. In a series of decisions after 1049, the popes of the eleventh century moved to combat simony. By 1075 the leaders of the papacy had concluded that this could not be done effectively until the practice of lay investiture was ended.

The campaign to eliminate lay investiture brought about an inevitable confrontation with the emperors who were the kings of Germany. The German monarchs had come to rely so heavily on the higher clergy as royal agents that the kings felt that they had to maintain their power to choose and invest all holders of major benefices with their offices. There was also the force of tradition. The kings had exercised that power from time out of mind and no medieval monarch would willingly see himself deprived of powers held by his predecessors.

The controversy began in the year 1044 when as a result of much local wrangling

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*Dr. King is Associate Professor of History at Midwestern State University.

[1]For a good short survey of the period and the controversy, See Geoffrey Barraclough, *The Medieval Papacy* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1968), p. 63 ff. The classic study is Augustin Fliche, *La Réforme grégorienne et la Rêconquete chretien (1057-1125),* vol 8, *Histoire De L'Église,* ed Fliche and Victor Martin (Paris: Bloud and Gay, 1946).

[2]Simony takes its name from Simon Magus who is recorded in the Acts of The Apostles as the man who approached Peter and offered to buy the gifts of the Holy Ghost. *Acts*, viii, 9.

and manipulation, the leader of the family of the counts of Tusculum, Pope Benedict IX, found his position seriously threatened. A rival faction of Roman aristocrats, the Crescentii, had managed to get one of their members recognized as pope. For a time the two men headed separate factions with each insisting that he was the pope, the one as Benedict IX and the other as Sylvester III. Sometime within the next year, the continuing dispute led John Gratian, a man deeply interested in reform, to offer Benedict a substantial pension if he would abdicate in favor of Gratian. The offer was accepted and Gratian became pope as Gregory VI by 1046. There is no clear agreement about what followed, but there is reason to believe that Benedict had second thoughts about the arrangement so that all three men were claiming to be bishop of Rome and Pope during much of that year.[3]

All of this, of course, did not occur in a vacuum. The news of the happenings in Rome reached the ears of the Emperor Henry III, a pious man who was much concerned for the well-being of the church. As king of Germany and emperor, Henry had the power to do something about the disturbed affairs at Rome. He led a military force into Italy and summoned a synod of the Roman clergy to meet with him at Sutri outside of Rome. There he caused all three men to be deposed.[4] Henry was determined to remove the papacy from the factionalism of the Roman party politics, to end the habit by the Roman aristocracy of treating the office of the bishop of Rome simply as a political prize. Their manipulation of the papacy in their own interests had dominated the office for most of a hundred and fifty years and had nearly destroyed its prestige.

Henry III caused the election of a German as pope as Clement II only to see him die within a year. Another of the king's choices followed him as Damasus II in 1048 and again failed to live out the year. He finally caused his own relative, Bruno, Bishop of Toul, to be elected. Bruno became Pope Leo IX (1049-1054), and finally Henry's desire to see the papacy reformed became a reality. Over the course of the next twenty years the program of reform came to dominate the papacy and through it the whole of the western church. Leo IX brought with him from Germany men as reform-minded as himself, and attracted even more during the years of his pontificate.[5] These men came to be the leading figures in the Papal Curia and a number of them succeeded him as pope. One, for example, Frederick of Lorraine became Pope Stephen IX, and another, Hildebrand, became pope in 1073 as Gregory VII and came to epitomize the whole reform program. Others included Humbert of Moyenmoutier, Desiderius, the influential abbot of the great Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino, and the monk and former hermit, Peter Damian.

There was much need in the eleventh century for a strong and vital reform movement. The western church had survived the collapse of the ancient empire and had

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[3]Barraclough, *Medieval Papacy*, p. 71

[4]*Ibid.*, pp. 71-2.

[5]*Ibid.*, pp. 72-73.

managed to convert the Germanic and Slavic barbarians who overran the Christianized Roman world of the fourth and fifth centuries and afterwards. Its survival, however, was a very near thing. The centuries of uncertainty, of near barbarism, of much general and clerical illiteracy had brought about conditions of serious abuse among the clergy. For example, the western church had traditionally forbidden clerical marriage, but in the tenth and eleventh centuries it was far more common for a priest to be married than unmarried. As a failing of the clergy, marriage was certainly a relatively minor fault (its one real disadvantage for the community was the normal tendency of the men of the time to seek to make their church the hereditary possession of their family). The truly serious problem of the age was the nearly complete interpenetration of the ranks of the greater clergy by the aristocracy which thus imposed upon the archbishops, bishops, and abbots of the time the ambitions, attitudes, and customs of a violent and grasping military caste. More and more, the church was merely another arena for aristocratic rivalry. It was just such a development which led to the succession of the count of Tusculum as Pope Benedict VIII in 1012 to be followed by his brother as John XIX, in 1032. These events were not at all unusual for the early eleventh century.[6]

In his great study of medieval society, R.W. Southern tells the tale of the counts of Barcelona and their manipulation of the church, and especially of one of their descendants, Wifred, count of Cerdaña who died in 1050.[7] Wifred had five sons. He passed the county of Cerdaña to his eldest son and obtained for the others the bishoprics of Urgel, Gerona, and Elna and the archbishopric of Narbonne. We know how he obtained the archbishopric through the direct testimony of Berengar, viscount of Narbonne. Berengar told a church council that at one time his uncle had been archbishop of Narbonne. He went on to say that:

> . . . . when he died, Wifred of Cerdaña came to my parents
> and offered to buy the archbishopric. They held back, but
> my wife was Wifred's niece, and I pressed them to accept
> the offer. So they agreed, and Wifred gave the archbishopric
> to his son who was then a boy of ten.[8]

The viscount went on to complain of the boy's arrogant behavior as archbishop after he was grown. Apparently he thought nothing of the practice of bartering church offices which had led to later unpleasant behavior.

The penetration of the greater clergy by the aristocracy with its warrior *mores* can nowhere be better illustrated than by the *Song of Roland* which in its written

[6]*Ibid.,* pp. 63-4.

[7]R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1953), p. 118 ff.

[8]*Ibid.,* p. 122.

form was contemporary with this period. In it we find Turpin, the archbishop of Rheims, described far more as a warrior than as a priest.[9] If there is any awareness of the traditional Christian attitude about the sinfulness of the priest spilling blood, it is not apparent. Instead Roland comments to his companion Oliver that:

> Our Lord Archbishop quits him like any peer;
> Earth cannot match him beneath the heavens' sphere,
> Well does he know how to handle lance and spear.[10]

Well indeed does Turpin know how to handle lance and spear. Previously we are told in great detail about the magnificence of his war horse. One of his enemies is described as having been spit through from flank to flank by his spear, and another as struck dead by Turpin's Toledo shield.[11]

The behavior attributed to Archbishop Turpin in the *Song of Roland* was typical of the great men of the age for whom fighting was the way of life. Wifred, count of Cerdaña, equally was following the customs of his class as he dutifully provided for the future well-being of his sons by obtaining for them a life income and great status as lords of the church. In the tenth century, it was not unknown for such great clerical lords to act even more in the habit of their brothers, uncles, and cousins by marrying and seeking to pass on their clerical holding to their own children. Indeed the desire to preserve clerical holdings for the benefit of particular families did not die with the Middle Ages. The career of the great Cardinal Richelieu of France began early in the seventeenth century when he resigned himself to give up the military career he desired in order to preserve his family's claim to the bishopric of Lucon which was in jeopardy because of the death of his elder brother.

By the time of Leo IX's pontificate, the need for reform was overwhelming. As it happened, the kings of Germany in the eleventh century, for the most part, had scrupulously acted to prevent such abuses within their realm. As bishop of Toul, Leo had been a part of an island of reform in a sea of abuses. The need to act was clear and Leo was a man perfectly willing to do so. Even before he crossed the Alps he made his position clear. In his judgment the abuse most symptomatic of the problem was the buying and selling of church offices. On his journey south, Leo paused at Rheims and forced a confrontation over the matter with much of the higher clergy of France. He summoned a provincial council and before the assembled bishops and other clergy, he had the bones of St. Remigius brought out and placed on the High Altar of the cathedral. He then had his chancellor announce that all must come forth and swear that they had not bought their office or knowlingly

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[9]*The Song of Roland*, trans. with an introduction by Dorothy L. Sayers (London: Penguin Books, 1957), pp. 18-9.

[10]*Ibid.*, p. 116.

[11]*Ibid.*, p. 113.

allowed it to be purchased for them. Scarcely a soul stirred, not even the archbishop, since the practice of simony was especially common in France. Before the council concluded three days later, the archbishop was censured, one bishop who defended himself was ordered removed from office after his defense counsel was struck dumb while pleading his case, and finally rigorous reforms were decreed.[12] Once begun, Leo IX continued to pursue reform until he died.

The influence of Humbert of Moyenmoutier, cardinal bishop of Silva-Candida, led the reformers to conclude that the chief cause of simony was the influence of laymen in the selection of men for church office.[13] By 1059, the position was formally adopted by the leaders of the Roman church in article six of a group of canons issued by Pope Nicholas II. It states quite simply that "no cleric or priest shall receive a church from laymen in any fashion, whether freely or at a price." Incidentally, article one of these same canons asserts the superior authority of the cardinal bishops and other cardinals in the election of popes.[14]

The result of the association of the reform program with the condemnation of lay investiture was to focus the struggle on the one realm in Latin Christendom where abuse was least prevalent, that is, on Germany. More so than in any other kingdom, the clergy in Germany had been entrusted with the offices of secular government. The kings had found them to be more able and more trustworthy than the lay lords and so had made the bishops and abbots their chief agents.[15] To maintain himself, however, it was necessary that he retain the power to select and invest with the powers of office all the higher clergy of his realm. It was the basic security of the German monarchy which was suddenly threatened by the decree against lay investiture. No German king could accept such a limitation of his power. It was the misfortune of the German monarchy that it was not an adult king whose power was challenged in 1059. The king of Germany at the time was a young boy, Henry IV, whose mother was serving ineffectually as regent.

The result was a short term advantage for the reformers. Henry IV was unable to resist their claims for a number of years. In all times and ages minor heirs find the defense of their rights difficult, and there was no time and no place where this was more true than in eleventh-century Europe. He grew up to be acutely sensitive about his rights as frequently happens in such cases. It was his misfortune that his exercise of his rights with regard to investiture of the clergy was interpreted by the reformers as an evil and a sin. While an heir deprived of a right is highly sensitive

[12]Southern, *Making of the Middle Ages*, pp. 125-7.

[13]The influence of Humbert of Moyentier is discussed by Gerd Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, trans. with an introduction by R. F. Bennett (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1959), pp. 108-111. See also, Walter Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages* (London: Methuen and Co., 1955), pp. 265-71.

[14]Tellenbach, *ibid.*, pp. 111-2.

[15]*Ibid.*, pp. 69-70. See also, Ullmann, *Papal Government*, pp. 249-50.

and often stubborn in his effort to regain them, no one can match the driven sense of righteousness of a truly convinced reformer. After 1073, Henry was opposed by just such a man.

In that year Hildebrand was chosen pope as Gregory VII by acclamation of the Roman people. For several years little happened. Henry IV was busy in Germany dealing with the rebellion of his subjects in Saxony and Gregory was engaged in dealing with the pressing business of a new pontificate. All that changed in 1075. In that year at his Lenten synod, the pope repeated the previous condemnation of lay investiture. He also revealed a markedly more extreme view of the powers of the papacy than had ever been previously expressed. They are incorporated in a series of statements known as the *Dictatus Papae*. There were twenty-six statements in all, and the following will give some insight about his position as he saw it:

> That the Roman pontiff alone is rightly to be called universal.
> That he alone can depose or reinstate bishops.
> That he alone may use the imperial insignia.
> That the pope is the only one whose feet are to be kissed by all princes.
> That his name alone is to be recited in churches.
> That his title is unique in the world.
> (*and finally, the bombshell*)
> That he may depose Emperors.[16]

This latter claim especially went far beyond the view of papal powers as accepted in Latin Christendom. It was understood that papal coronation was required before a man could be called emperor, but the pope did not even play a role in the selection of the emperor. That was the right of the magnates of Germany. The elected king of Germany was known as the Emperor-Elect or as King of the Romans until crowned as emperor by the pope.[17]

Within a year of the Lenten synod the two men were in open conflict. When Henry became involved in the choice of the Archbishop of Milan, his actions were condemned by Gregory as a violation of the injunction against lay investiture.[18]

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[16]Gregory VII, *Register*, II, 55a, in *Epistolae Selectae*, ed. Erich Caspar, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (hereafter MGH), p. 203. For an English text of the *Dictatus Papae*, see Brian Tierney, ed., *The Crisis of Church and State (1050-1300): With Selected Documents* (Edgewood Cliffs, N.J.: Spectrum Books, 1964), pp. 49-50.

[17]Ullmann, *Papal Government*, pp. 232-3.

[18]*The Correspondence of Pope Gregory VII: Selected Letters from the Registrum*, trans. with an introduction by Ephraim Emerton (New York: Columbia University Records of Civilization Number XIV, ed. W.T.H. Jackson; reprinted Octagon Books, Inc., 1966), p. 87.

Henry responded to Gregory in a very uncompromising fashion. He summoned a synod of the German clergy and procured their support. He then addressed himself to the pope as follows: "Henry, King not by usurpation, but by the pious ordination of God, to Hildebrand, now not Pope, but false monk."[19] It was a declaration of war, a war which was to last for the rest of both men's lives and beyond. Gregory VII responded by excommunicating the king and declaring him deposed as emperor.[20] The German magnates were unhappy with the papal assertion of the right to depose their ruler, but only because they saw it as an infringment of their own rights. They were more than happy with the opportunity to cause trouble for the king. On the excuse that they could not have an excommunicate as king because to associate with him would be to jeopardize their salvation, they ordered him to free himself of the excommunication within a year and a day. If he failed they promised to depose him themselves. They then hypocritically imprisoned him at Tribur so that he could not gain papal forgiveness.

Henry IV upset their plans by escaping and crossing the Alps in December 1077. At Christmas time he confronted Gregory at Canossa in Tuscany where the pope had gone to celebrate the holidays. For three days he stood barefoot and supposedly penitent while Gregory struggled with his conscience. As a priest it was his great function to absolve sinners. On the other hand, he knew that his policy in Germany would quite likely fail if he lifted the excommunication. It is to his credit that his conscience won. The king was forgiven in a famous scene with the barefoot and penitent monarch kissing the feet of the Pope.[21] Henry had a great victory. He was freed of the threat of deposition and he returned to Germany to deal with his enemies. Within three years he was secure. He then deliberately provoked a second excommunication by moving south against Gregory VII. He summoned a synod of German and Lombard bishops to Brixen (Bressonone) which declared Gregory to be deposed and then elected Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, as Pope Clement III.[22]

After Brixen the reform party began to collapse. By 1084, Henry IV and the anti-pope were threatening to drive Gregory VII out of Rome itself. The pope saved himself for a time by seeking the help of the Normans of southern Italy, but when they sacked the city they had come to defend, Gregory was forced by the enraged people of Rome to accompany them when they left. Almost the entire Papal Curia abandoned him in favor of Clement.[23] The reform program seemed doomed. The

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[19]Tierney, *Crisis*, p. 59.   [20]Emerton, *Correspondence*, pp. 90-1.

[21]*Ibid.*, pp. 111-2.

[22]*Ibid.*, pp. 149-52.

[23]The names of those officials are given by Cardinal Beno, one of those who left and the author of the *Gesta Romanae Ecclesiae contra Hildebrandum*, MGH (Libelli de lite, v. II), p. 369.

Curia had provided the nucleus of the reform party from 1049 to 1073 through the pontificates of five different popes. Suddenly its members seemed to be abandoning the movement for its enemies. Gregory VII died desolate soon afterwards in exile at Salerno among his Norman allies.

Between 1085 and 1088, the reform movement barely survived. Only the temporizing election of Desiderius, the very aged and respected abbot of Monte Cassino, as Victor III allowed it enough time to find a true successor to the earlier reformers. He was Otto, the cardinal bishop of Ostia who was elected as Urban II. Otto had previously served as Grand-Prior of the great monastic congregation of Cluny and was in Germany as papal legate at the time of Gregory's death. He combined the solid determination of the reformer with diplomatic and administrative skills. By 1095, he had regained control of Rome and raised the papacy to a level of prestige well beyond anything it had ever before enjoyed. The crucial achievement of his pontificate was his proclamation of a crusade to recover the Holy Land at Clermont in France in 1095.

The popular reception of the idea of the crusade capped the diplomatic success already achieved by Urban II and condemned the monarchs of Europe to second place in the movement which dominated the attention of the Latin West for the next one hundred and fifty years. In particular, it doomed Henry IV to failure. He died excommunicate in 1106 with the German monarchy totally on the defensive. His son and heir, Henry V, carried on the struggle until 1122 when he finally made peace with the papacy on the model of settlements already reached with the kings of England and France.[24] The principle that lay election of clergy was wrong was fully established although the settlement did carefully protect royal interests in the filling of great church offices in their realm.

The Investiture Controversy is one of those struggles which change the shape of events because of the momentous nature of the issues involved. It changed the development of the German monarchy and papacy for all time both in theory and in practice. The medieval kings of Germany were never able to recover the dominant position which they were coming to hold by the mid-eleventh century. Until the Investiture Controversy, the German kings had viewed themselves as a kind of priest-king, responsible to God for the spiritual and physical well-being of the world. In that light, Henry III intervened to end the scandal in Rome in 1046. By the end of Henry IV's reign, the theocratic view of kingship represented by his father's actions at Sutri was abandoned, never again to be asserted by western monarchs.

For the papacy, the Investiture Controversy ushered in the era when the bishops of Rome interpreted their authority as superior to that of all lay rulers. Gregory VII clearly held that all clergy were superior to laymen whatever their rank, and, as Roman pontiff he was the superior of all clergy. He was the vicar of Christ in the

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[24] The settlement is known as the Concordat of Worms. The text of the settlement is included by Tierney, *Crisis*, pp. 91-2.

world. In 1081, in a letter to Bishop Hermann of Metz, Gregory laid out his arguments for clerical supremacy. He noted that every Christian king upon the approach of death seeks the aid of a priest as a "miserable suppliant" in order to escape the prison of hell and pass from darkness into light, so that he might appear before the judgment seat of God freed from sin. Further, he asks what king might snatch a soul from the devil through Baptism, or forgive sins, or by his words to create the body and blood of Christ as can a priest.[25]

While the Investiture Controversy was the cause of truly momentous change in the highest levels of Latin Christendom, it was also the focal point in the development of the Papal Curia, the administrative body of the papacy. In 1084, as noted earlier, most of the leading figures in the day to day administration of papal affairs abandoned Gregory VII. For all practical purposes the traditional administrative structure of the papacy ceased to exist. After the interregnal period of 1085-88, it was rebuilt by Urban II into the form which served the papacy throughout the remainder of the Middle Ages. The collapse of the administrative structure of the papacy was a direct outgrowth of the reform efforts of the popes after 1049.

The term "curia" has a common usage in the Middle Ages as the court of rulers of all kinds. Every king thus had his *curia regis* which served as the administrative body of the royal government. Within it one could find the ruler's most trusted advisors, his secretariat, his financial and his judicial administration. All these were paralleled in the Papal Curia.[26]

At the highest level in the Papal Curia were the cardinals. By the end of the eleventh century they were a corporate body which had a constitutional character as a permanent senate around the pope. Their rights as a corporation were later defined by a decree of the Third Lateran Council of 1179.[27] Their most important function was as papal electors which was specified in a series of formal decrees between 769 and 1179. In 769, Pope Stephen III issued a synodal decree which stated that the right of canonical and just election was reserved to the Roman clergy which at that time was understood to be the cardinal priests and deacons. Between 769 and the election decree of Nicholas II in 1059 the definition of the Roman clergy was expanded to include the bishops of the neighboring dioceses around Rome as cardinal bishops together with the cardinal priests and cardinal deacons. Their exclusive right to elect the pope grew out of their ecclesiastical functions. They alone had the right of performing the hebdominal services of the Lateran Basilica. So, in a sense, the cardinals took the place of the cathedral chapter for Rome.[28] In addition to their service as papal electors and advisers the cardinals also served as the heads of the various administrative offices of the curia.

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[25]Emerton, *Correspondence*, pp. 166-75.　　[26]Ullmann, *Papal Government*, p. 319.

[27]Marshall Baldwin, *The Medieval Papacy in Action* (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1940) p. 49.

[28]Ullmann, *Papal Government*, pp. 322-3.

The cardinals of the eleventh century were the products of developments which began in the fifth century. The term "cardinal" was originally applied to the priests attached to the principal churches of Christendom. It was used at Constantinople, Milan, Ravenna, Naples, Sens, Trier, Magdeburg, and Cologne. In particular it applied to the priests attached to the twenty-eight churches of the bishop of Rome.[29] The oldest of these cardinal priests was known as the archpriest. He was also referred to as the prior of the cardinal priests, or *prior cardinalium presbyterorum.* Until the beginning of the twelfth century, he was the pope's chief assistant in all ecclesiastical functions. The cardinal priests from the fifth century had the function of conducting divine service at the four patriarchal churches of Rome, each of which had assigned to it seven cardinals. Later, they were also assigned the responsibility for the ecclesiastical discipline of Rome. In addition they served as the ecclesiastical judges of Rome. By the second half of the eleventh century, these functions had been taken over by the prior of the cardinal deacons, the archdeacon.[30]

The cardinal deacons were originally known simply as the *diaconi ecclesiae Romanae.* They had the responsibility for the care of the poor of Rome and the collection of the Acts of the Martyrs. Their number was based on the ecclesiastical divisions of the city and it was fixed at eighteen during the pontificate of Adrian I (772-795). Six of the deacons were assigned to read the Gospel during Mass at the Lateran and were thus known as palatine deacons. The other twelve were assigned the reading of the Gospel at the twelve "station churches" of Rome and were called regionary deacons. In addition, each of the cardinal deacons was a canon of the Lateran basilica and each had a church in Rome assigned to him.[31]

The last group to join the ranks of the cardinals were the cardinal bishops, the bishops of the dioceses which were adjacent to Rome. Because of their proximity they were also called suburbicarian bishops. Their proximity brought them more and more into participation in the Roman synod and thus to be called *episcopi cardinales.* The dioceses whose bishops ranked as cardinals were originally not too carefully defined. At different times their numbers included Vellitri, Galve, Tivoli, Anagni, Nepi and Segni besides those which later came to be fixed as the dioceses of the cardinal bishops. These were Ostia, Porto, Albano, Sabina, Tusculum (modern Frascati), Praeneste (modern Palestrina), and Silva-Candida. By this grouping there were seven cardinal bishops although the number was reduced to six early in the twelfth century.[32] During the second half of the eleventh century they were

[29]Stephan Kuttner, "Cardinalis: The History of a Canonical Concept," in *Traditio*, v. III (1945), p. 149.

[30]Baldwin, *Medieval Papacy*, p. 48.

[31]J. B. Sägmuller, "The College of Cardinals," in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, v. 3, p. 338.

[32]*Ibid.*, p. 335.

growing rapidly in influence. When the College of Cardinals was formally established as a corporate body in 1179, the bishop of Ostia became its dean taking over functions which had previously been shared by the archpriest and the archdeacon.[33]

These three groups, the cardinal bishops, cardinal priests and cardinal deacons made up the College of Cardinals. By the beginning of the reforming period, they had come to be referred to as the senate of the pope and, no doubt, this was their most important function. They were intimately connected with the pope and with the papal government since it was around and through them that the papal curia was organized. This is not to say that all the members of the curia were cardinals. Nevertheless, by the second half of the eleventh century they filled all the important offices of the curia.

The Papal Curia was a highly complex institution because of the nature of the papacy. To understand the operations of the curia it is necessary to understand the office which it served, that is, the office of the pope. The pope, of course, was many things. In the first place, he was the bishop of Rome. His court therefore had to help him administer the ecclesiastical affairs of his diocese. He was also the civil ruler of Rome and of the surrounding Papal States. His court had, in addition, to assist him in the civil administration of those territories. And finally, the pope was the religious leader of Latin Christendom and as such he had to maintain contact with the hierarchy of the church all over western Europe. And because the church did not exist in a vacuum, he had to keep in contact with the various temporal leaders of Christendom. In numbers, the greatest part of the papal administration was concerned with the ecclesiastical government of the Roman bishopric and with the temporal government of the Papal States. However, some members of the curia resided away from Rome and were solely concerned with the government of the church as a whole. These men were frequently bishops or abbots who were directly commissioned by the pope for this duty.

By the time of the Investiture Controversy, a number of divisions had developed within the curia. The most active and formally developed department of the curia was the chancery. It served as the secretariat of the pope and was therefore directly involved with the exercise of papal authority in both the spiritual and secular areas. The very nature of the papal government had caused the early development of the chancery. A secretariat was just as important to the pope as bishop of Rome as it was to the pope as the spiritual ruler of Christendom. The difference was simply that of size. The latter simply called for a larger number of clerks.

The origins of the chancery are to be found in the *notarii* of the ecclesiastical regions of Rome. These were the regions assigned to deacons of the Roman church who later became known as the cardinal deacons. There were seven of these ecclesiastical regions. These seven *notarii*, or notaries, already formed a *schola*, or gild, by the time of Constantine, just as did the notaries of the imperial court. Their chief

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[33]Baldwin, *Medieval Papacy*, p. 48.

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officer was known as the *primicerius notariorum*, followed by the *secundicerius*. These papal notaries took minutes, prepared the acts of the synods, and kept the Lateran archives. The *primicerius notariorum* was one of the most powerful members of the hierarchy since he joined with the archpriest and the archdeacon as one of the keepers of the spiritualities during a vacancy.[34] By the ninth century, the head of the chancery came to be the Librarian. He was the pope's secretary and was usually one of the suburban bishops and was therefore a cardinal.[35]

The practices of the popes who were appointed by Henry III after the synod of Sutri had a strong influence on the chancery. Since they were not Roman they did not feel the personal ties to the city which had been the case when the pope was a native of the city. They traveled away from Rome a great deal. They therefore needed a sort of traveling secretariat. For this purpose they used a small personal staff of clerks which was separate from the staff at Rome. The chancery came to be divided into two offices. The first of these was the *Scrinium* which was the traditional body of regionary notaries and which was permanently attached to the city of Rome. The other was the *Sacrum Palatium* which consisted of the clerks who were attached to the person of the pope. When the pope was in Rome the members of the *Sacrum Palatium* were attached to the chancery and were referred to as *Scriptores*.[36]

The office of chancellor appears for the first time in the pontificate of John XVIII, pope from 1004 to 1009. After 1009, this office and that of librarian, the old head of the papal chancery, were commonly united.[37] The two offices were still united at the time of Leo IX. Some estimation of the importance of the office of *Bibliothecarius et cancellarius* can be drawn from the knowledge that it was held in succession by Cardinal Frederick of Lorraine, later Pope Stephen IX, and by Humbert of Moyenmoutier, cardinal bishop of Silva-Candida, the great theorist of the reform movement. The office of chancellor appears in its final form during the pontificate of Urban II. Under the leadership of John of Gaeta, the office of Librarian was separated from it and the office was completely reorganized.[38]

It is much more difficult to deal with the judicial and financial offices of the papacy. In both cases the system which had prevailed was under such great pressure for change that the authorities are unable to speak with any certainty about either. Both enjoyed their great development in the twelfth century. The papal *camera*, for example, first appears in 1099 with mention of Peter, a former monk of Cluny, who is called *camerarius domini papae.*[39]

[34]Reginald L. Poole, *Lectures on the History of the Papal Chancery Down to the Time of Innocent III* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1915), pp. 9-13.

[35]*Ibid.*, p. 56.   [36]*Ibid.,* pp. 64-5.

[37]Ullmann, *Papal Government*, p. 327.   [38]Poole, *Lectures*, p. 75.

[39]Demetrius B. Zema, S.J., "The Economic Reorganization of the Roman See During the Gregorian Reform," in *Studi Gregoriani* (1947), p. 141.

Traditionally the financial matters of the papacy were divided among three different officials; the *arcarius*, the *saccelarius*, and the *vestararius*. Their names were adopted from those of imperial officials. The *arcarius* was the keeper of the treasure chest originally, but gradually came to be in charge of papal revenues. The *saccelarius* was the papal paymaster and was responsible for the handling of expenses. The *vestararius* took over as keeper of the treasure from the *arcarius* as part of the frequent medieval association of the wardrobe and the financial administration. By the tenth century the financial office of the papacy was known as the *palatium*. Its chief administrative officers were the *arcarius* and the *saccelarius* who ranked, at that time, among the highest papal officials. The eleventh century was a time of uncertainty in papal financial affairs. The last known mention of the *vestararius* appeared in 1033. By the mid-century, the work of managing papal finances seems to have been taken over by the archdeacon, an office which significantly was held by Hildebrand in the 1060's.[40]

The papal *camera* appeared as the successor of the previous financial administration late in the pontificate of Urban II. The adoption of the term *"camera"* as the name of the office was no doubt influenced by other institutions which were coming into use in Europe during the same period. There was an imperial camera in the early eleventh century and the term was also used in Sicily at about the time it first appeared in papal usage.[41] More significantly the term was commonly used by the Cluniac congregation. As mentioned before, Peter, the first known papal *camerarius*, had been a junior chamberain at Cluny.[42]

The emergence of the camera does help to pinpoint one characteristic of the curia in the period of the reforming papacy. That is, it was a period of transition with new institutions emerging and with old institutions disappearing or being substantially modified. During the pontificate of Gregory VII an important shift in the attention of the papacy occurred. Gregory's chief concerns were with the spiritual leadership of the western church and not with the affairs of the diocese of Rome or with those of the Papal States. On the other hand, unlike his immediate predecessors he was a Roman and was not inclined to travel away from the city. As a result the most influential individuals during his pontificate were those members of his court who he could trust with diplomatic missions as papal legates.

Papal legates were officials appointed by the pope to act as their representatives. There were several different types of legates and their powers varied. It became

[40]William E. Lunt, *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), pp. 4-6.

[41]For the influence of the imperial camera, see Karl Jordan, "Zur Päpstlichen Finanzgeschichte Im 11 Und 12 Jahrhundret," in *Quellen Und Forshungen Aus Italienischen Archiven Und Bibliotheken*, v. 25-26 (1933-34), p. 92. For Sicily, see Evelyn Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius of Sicily, His Life and Work* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 34.

[42]Jordan, *ibid.*, pp. 97-104.

common for the popes after Leo IX to send legates all over Europe who were given full powers to act for the pope. In the *Dictatus Papae*, Gregory VII claimed the power of deposing bishops for his legates and held that they could do so without the cooperation of a synod and even without hearing the accused.[43] Legates chosen by the pope were known as *legati missi* or *nuncii*. The most powerful of the legates were the *legati a latere* who were, as implied by the title, men sent directly from the side of the pope. These were practically always cardinals and were usually intimates of the pope.[44]

Gregory VII relied most heavily on the cardinal bishops as legates. Of these, the most important were Gerald, cardinal bishop of Ostia, who served frequently in Gaul and Otto his successor who was in Germany at the time of Gregory's death. They were joined with Hubert of Praeneste and Peter of Albano who was also in Germany late in the pontificate.[45] Gregory seems to have made a practice of favoring the cardinal bishops at the expense of the rest of the cardinals. It is noteworthy that only one of them joined the group of officials which deserted him in 1084. Of the other cardinal bishops during his pontificate we can identify John of Porto, John of Tusculum, and Bruno of Segni.[46]

Hubert of Praeneste and Gerald of Ostia together with a man who was not a member of the curia, were the most active of Gregory's legates. This was Bernard, abbot of the monastery of St. Victor at Marseilles.[47] These men acted as temporary legates such as the *legati a latere* which have already been described. In addition there were also a number of others mentioned in his letters who served as legates. One of these was the cardinal deacon Bernard who Gregory sent on several important missions. In 1073 and the early months of 1074, Bernard was in Bohemia in the company of Gregory, another cardinal deacon. They were on a mission from the pope to Wratislas, the Duke of Bohemia and to bishops and clergy of the area.[48] The cardinal deacon Bernard was also one of the legates sent to Germany in 1077 in the cause of the papacy at the time of Canossa. He was accompanied by Bernard, the abbot of St. Victor.[49] Another of the important legates to serve Gregory VII

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[43] In the fourth article of the *Dictatus Papae. Epistolae Selectae*, ii, p. 203.

[44] Baldwin, *Medieval Papacy*, p. 43.

[45] Bernold of Constance, *Chronicon*, MGH, *Scriptores*, v. V, p. 141. Gerald and Hubert are mentioned repeatedly in Gregory's letters and were with him at Canossa. *Register*, IV, 12a, p. 315.

[46] They appear as witnesses to a papal document of 1081. Gregory VII, *Concilium Romanum VIII, Opera Pars*, in *Patrologia Cursus Completus*, Series Latina, ed. J.P. Migne, p. 882. (hereafter P.L.).

[47] Augustin Fliche, *La Réforme Grégorienne* (Paris: Eduard Champion, 1892), pp. 212-3.

[48] Gregory VII, *Register*, I, 17, p. 27 and I, 44 and 45, pp. 67 & 69.

[49] Gregory VII, *Register*, IV, 12a, p. 315. Bernard was also at Canossa with the pope. For Bernard of St. Victor, see *Register*, IV, 23 and 24, pp. 334 & 337.

was Richard, the successor of Bernard as the abbot of St. Victor, who served as the legate to Spain.[50]

In general, it seems that Gregory VII did not differ from his predecessor in any essential way in his use of temporary legates. With two obvious exceptions the temporary legates were members of the curia. These were the two abbots of the monastery of St. Victor. Both were very active as representatives of the pope and Richard actually was also a cardinal priest. Bernard was also virtually a member of the curia since he resigned as abbot of St. Victor to come to Rome as the abbot of the monastery of St. Paul. This was the same monastery which Gregory had served as *oecomonus*, or financial officer, while he was still a subdeacon during the time of Leo IX.[51]

There was, however, a significant departure in the pontificate of Gregory VII from the practices of earlier popes. This was the institution of permanent legates which seems to have been a new development as an adjunct of church government. Hugh of Die was the first to be active as a permanent legate, but there were a number of others. Among them was Amatus, bishop of Oléron who was made legate for Aquitaine in 1074 and Altmann, bishop of Passau, who was made legate for Germany in 1081. There were also Landulf of Pisa and Anselm of Lucca.[52] Late in his pontificate, in 1085, at the instigation of Otto of Ostia, Gregory appointed Gebehard, bishop of Constance, as legate for Germany.[53]

There is little doubt that Hugh of Die was the most important of these men. After serving as bishop of Die for a number of years, he was translated to the archbishopric of Lyons. He was such a prominent figure and was so much the model of the permanent legate that it is worthwhile briefly to discuss his career.[54] He was appointed as bishop of Die as a result of the activity of the legates of Gregory's predecessor, Alexander II. Gerald of Ostia and the sub-deacon Rainbald were in France on a mission and while there they met Hugh during a stop-over at Die. They were so impressed that they took him with them when they returned to Rome upon hearing of the accession of Gregory as pope. Gregory VII was also impressed. He made Hugh bishop of Die and in 1074 appointed him legate in France.[55]

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[50]Gregory VII, *Register*, V, p. 384. Richard is not mentioned before this letter to Abbot Hugh in May, 1078.

[51]Lunt, *Papal Revenues*, p. 8; and Zema, *Econ. Reorganization*, p. 141.

[52]Fliche, *Réforme Grégorienne*, p. 216-7.

[53]Bernold of Constance, *Chronicon*, MGH, SS, V.

[54]Hugh is mentioned over fifty times in the letters of Gregory VII.

[55]Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicle*, MGH, Scriptores VIII, p. 410.

During Gregory's pontificate Hugh became more and more energetic in the affairs of the papacy. For the most part his relations with the pope were very cordial. Their only real difficulty occurred in 1078 and concerned one of the worst trouble-makers of the period. That was Manasses, archbishop of Rheims, who became embroiled in a controversy with Hugh and then appealed to the pope. Gregory intervened and chastised Hugh for his handling of the affair in March of that year.[56] It was not until August that Gregory was persuaded to accept the judgment of his legate.[57] After that incident, Hugh continued in favor with the pope until Gregory's death. His position was further enhanced by his later translation to Lyons since Gregory had made his predecessor, Gebuin, the primate of the four provinces of Lyons, Sens, Rouen, and Tours.[58]

From the time of election until 1084, the story of Gregory's administration was largely the story of the legates. This was even more so the case after 1080 because Gregory had been forced more and more on the defensive against the efforts of Henry IV and the anti-pope Clement III. In 1084, while the forces of Henry and Clement were besieging Rome a large part of the curia left Gregory and joined the anti-pope. In an attack on Gregory, one of them, Cardinal Beno, lists the members of the curia who left at that time. Among them are the cardinals who held three of the traditionally most important offices of the papal government. These were the cardinal archpriest Leo, the chancellor Peter and the archdeacon Theodinus. In addition to these three, Beno mentions John, the *primicerius* of the schola of Cantors with all the members of the schola, Peter, the *oblationarius* who left with all but one of his clerks, the prior of the regionary schola and all his sub-deacons, the archacolyte and *subpulmentarius* with his clerks, Centius the *primicerius* of the judges and some of the judges, and fianally the prior and many of the scribes. Besides these officials, Beno mentions himself and five other individuals by name. These are the cardinals Ugobald and John who he says were consecrated before the time of Gregory as he himself had been. The other three: Hatto, Innocent, and Leo were ordained by Gregory VII.[59]

There is no doubt that this list represents a substantial percentage of the curial members. It is also the only source of information about the importance of these men. The only one of the really important officials of the curia to this time who is not mentioned by Beno is the *primicerius* of the schola of notaries. It may be, however, that the title *prior scrinariorum* which does appear could refer to the same official. The similarity in the titles is striking. If so, all of the important curial officials left Gregory at this time. It must have been a severe blow to the adminis-

[56]Gregory VII, *Register*, V, 17, p. 378 ff.

[57]Gregory VII, *Register*, *VI, 2, p. 391.*

[58]Gregory VII, *Register*, VI, 34, p. 448.

[59]Cardinal Beno, *Gesta*, p. 369.

trative efficiency of the papacy. It follows that the general impact of that desertion would weaken the papal party even if those men had never been strong supporters of the cause of reform.

The pontificate of Gregory VII ended on a very low note. It would seem that the cause of the reforming papacy was lost beyond hope of recovery. The pope was barred from Rome by the forces of the anti-pope and by the enmity of the people of the city because of his involvement with the Normans. Much of the papal government had deserted him for his enemies, and worst of all there soon was no pope to lead the church. Gregory VII was gone and cardinals who had remained with him were so divided that they found it impossible to agree quickly on a successor.

The reform papacy did of course survive the crisis of 1084–85. There are a number of reasons for that survival. Gregory had focused the great part of his attention on his effort to establish the ideal of papal supremacy. This, more than any other aspect of his pontificate, governed his actions and in turn affected the curia during the time. The effort to establish the papal monarchy meant inevitably that the men who were important and influential in his counsel and in the curia served as papal legates rather than in the mechanics of the papal administration. Significantly the men who had served as legates under Gregory remained loyal to him in 1084 and remained with the curia after his death. On the other hand, it was the men concerned with the day to day operations of the papal administration who left him.

The best evidence to support these conclusions are the events of the three years after Gregory's death. The reform papacy managed to survive because of a combination of circumstances involving the cardinal bishops on the one hand and men who left the curia on the other hand. Those who went to the anti-pope could have been in a position to influence the papal election away from the control of the reformers if they had stayed. Their absence allowed the reformers to place one of their members at the head of the church. The reform really centered around the relatively small number of cardinal bishops. They were the dominant figures in the curia because Gregory relied upon them far more than the other cardinals and they remained close to Victor III throughout his short pontificate. The bishops of Ostia, Porto, Tusculum, Albano, and Segni all appear in his company.[60] There was also a great deal of stability in the membership of the cardinal bishops during the crisis. The list of cardinal bishops which can be identified from the records remained much the same from 1081 until 1092 after the real crisis was over. John of Porto, John of Tusculum, Bruno of Segni and , of course, Urban himself are all carry-overs from the pontificate of Gregory VII. Peter of Albano was still alive in the period between the death of Gregory and election of Urban. He died in 1089.

[60]Theodore Ruinarto, *Beato Urbana II Papae Vita*, (P.L. 151), p. 29.

The cardinal bishops appointed in Urban II's time were Ubaldo of Sabina, Odo of Albano, and Bernard of Praeneste.[61]

Gregory VII with the aid of the cardinal bishops moved the focus of papal affairs away from central Italy in the interest of reform and of an expanded vision of papal power. In doing so he lost the confidence of those representatives of the Roman church whose focus was basically local. It is clear that the papal administration and its clerks were out of step with the direction of papal affairs by 1084. Their defection to Clement III was an act of protest that went far beyond any rejection of the personality of Gregory VII. It was the act of men who clearly felt that their basic position in the world was threatened.[62] Their defection completed the process of change which had begun with the accession of Leo IX in 1049. It was the role of Urban II to institutionalize the change with his nearly complete re-structering of the papal curia.

[61]Urban II, *Epistolae et Privilegia*, CXVI (P.L. 151), p. 348. Bernold of Constance mentions that John of Porto was condemned as a deserter from the Curia in 1085 at the same time as Chancellor Peter. It is the only known case of desertion from the reformers by a cardinal bishop. However John returned to the Curia under Urban II. *Chronicon*, p. 443.

[62]In his attack on Gregory VII written after the desertion of the curial officials, Beno actually charged that Gregory VII was attempting to raise the bishops above the other cardinals. *Gesta*, pp. 369-70.

NIETZSCHE's NEW BEGINNING

John Vielkind*

Aion is a child playing at draughts;
   kingship is the child's.

— Heraclitus, *Fragment 52*

But say, my brothers, what can the child
do that even the lion could not do? Why
must the preying lion still become a
child? The child is innocence and
forgetting, a new beginning . . . .

— Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*

Martin Heidegger begins that part of his lecture course, *Was heisst Denken?* which covers Nietzsche, with this observation:

> Learning, then cannot be brought about by scolding. Even
> so, a man who teaches must at times grow noisy. In fact, he
> may have to scream and scream, although the aim is to
> make his students learn so quiet a thing as thinking. Nie-
> tzsche, most quiet and shiest of men, knew of this neces-
> sity. He endured the agony of having to scream . . . . For
> him, there was no other way to do it than by writing. That
> written scream of Nietzsche's thought is the book which he
> entitled *Thus Spoke Zarathustra.* [1]

Thus Spoke Zarathustra, which Nietzsche himself names the portico to his philo-
sophy is characterized by Heidegger as a scream.[2] Indeed unquestioning common
sense is content to see Nietzsche as little more than a screaming philosopher—better

*Dr. Vielkind is Assistant Professor of Philosophy at Midwestern State University.

[1]Martin Heidegger, *What is Called Thinking*. Translated by Fred D. Wieck and J. Glenn Gray.
(New York: Harper & Row, 1968), pp. 48-49. All quotes from Nietzsche's work are from the
Kaufmann translations: *Basic Writings of Nietzsche* (New York: Modern Library, 1968);
The Portable Nietzsche (New York: The Viking Press, 1968).

[2]*Selected Letters of Friedrich Nietzsche*, edited and translated by Christopher Middleton.
(Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 223.

yet, a raving madman. And do not the titles of some his books all the more confirm this opinion? There is, for example, *Beyond Good and Evil*, or *Twilight of the Idols* with the curious subtitle "How one Philosophizes With a Hammer," or *The Antichrist*. Furthermore, there is the not-too-insignificant matter of the death of God proclaimed by a madman in *The Gay Science. On the Genealogy of Morals* has the provocative subtitle "Eine Streitschrift"—"A Polemic", an attack. Finally there is the subtitle of *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* itself—"A Book for All and None". And what are we to make of the name of Zarathustra in Nietzsche's central work? In a later writing Nietzsche tells us: "The self-overcoming of morality, out of truthfulness; the self-overcoming of the moralist, into his opposite—into-me—that is what the name of Zarathustra means in my mouth" (EH, 784). All these remarks notwithstanding, we maintain that a genuine encounter with Nietzsche's thought, and in particular with the written scream *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, can never take its bearings from the domain of unquestioning common sense. In fact, it is precisely the unquestioning character of common sense which Nietzsche's thought would first put at a distance. Again we note that the scream which *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* voices is a written scream and it is one which resounds in function of the task of learning so quiet a thing as thinking. It is not a scream of madness, unless of course we have in mind that form of divine madness called philosophy, of which Socrates speaks in the *Phaedrus.*

I take this characterization of Nietzsche's *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* as a *written scream*, as a first clue not only for reading Nietzsche with the appropriate care, but also for interpreting Nietzsche's work as a new beginning. Screaming often serves to gather attention to someone or something. If the written scream, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, is the portico to Nietzsche's philosophy, then to what is our attention so gathered? Heidegger maintains that Nietzsche's scream resounds in function of the task of learning to think. The thinking embodied in Nietzsche's work, however, is no ordinary philosophical thinking. The thinking at issue in *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* is something other than what has characterized Western philosophy so far. Thus it is a new beginning; but at the same time its otherness is not such as to preclude any relationship whatsoever with the tradition of Western thought. That is to say, Nietzsche's work as at one a fulfillment of the old, a bringing to completion of the tradition, as well as a movement beyond that tradition—a new beginning.

In his audacious autobiography, *Ecce Homo: How One Becomes What One Is,* Nietzsche himself furnishes a clue toward understanding *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* as a new beginning. "Perhaps the whole of Zarathustra may be reckoned as music; certainly a rebirth of the art of hearing was among its preconditions" (EH, 751). In this text, Nietzsche underlines two words—music and hearing. We are already attuned to the significance of *hearing* in the light of Heidegger's remark concerning *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* as a written scream. A rebirth of the art of hearing, a finely tuned sense of hearing would indeed be a precondition for the appropriate comportment of the reader/auditor toward the written scream of Nietzsche. We need to hear the scream in such a way as to make sense of it. The scream manifests some-

thing profound. It manifests the collapse of the metaphysical horizon in terms of which man has understood himself and his world. It manifests the nihilism which results when the highest values devaluate themselves. What *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* makes manifest is the radical questionableness of the entire philosophic tradition of the West. On the one hand, then, Nietzsche's work exhibits a negative moment, a no-saying to that tradition. On the other hand, however, Nietzsche's revaluation of all values exhibits a positive moment, a yes-saying; and it is in association with this that *Zarathustra* may best be reckoned as *music*.

In *The Birth of Tragedy*, at the end of his account of the death of Greek tragedy, Nietzsche speaks of the need for a renewal of tragic insight and he links this to the image of a music practicing Socrates. In the "Attempt at a Self-Criticism" appended to *The Birth of Tragedy* some fourteen years after its initial publication Nietzsche suggests:

> What found expression here was . . . a strange voice, the disciple of a still "unknown God," one who concealed himself for the time being under the scholar's hood, under the gravity and dialectical ill humor of the German, even under the bad manners of the Wagnerian (BT, 19-20).

Nietzsche then adds: "It should have *sung*, this 'new soul'—and not spoken! What I had to say then—too bad that I did not dare say it as a poet: perhaps I had the ability" (BT, 20). In other words, Nietzsche laments that what he gave birth to in *The Birth of Tragedy* was not sounded in its proper medium, namely, music; rather, it was spoken, and in Kantian terms no less! Since *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* is to be reckoned as music, perhaps it can be linked to this image of the music-practicing Socrates from *Birth of Tragedy*. *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* would then be the philosophic music of a music practicing Socrates. *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* would then be the appropriation of that "new voice" spoken of in *The Birth of Tragedy*. Insofar as the yes-saying part of Nietzsche's philosophic task is considered, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* embodies a thinking which takes place as singing and dancing. It embodies an affirmation of life, as does all tragedy. *Vis-a vis* Nietzsche's first book, *The Birth of Tragedy* the written scream *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* is a new beginning. It is the mature version of the music which Nietzsche had initiated as a young man. And, as such, it is the rebirth of that tragic insight which Nietzsche had called for in his first work.

Yet another element in this new beginning is that of laughter. In an early section of TSZ, I, entitled "On Reading and Writing," Zarathustra proclaims:

> You look up when you feel the need for elevation. And I look down because I am elevated. Who among you can laugh and be elevated at the same time? Whoever climbs the

highest mountains laughs at all tragic plays and tragic ser-
iousness (Z, 152-153).

Zarathustra, in other words, suggests something like a priority of laughter and
therefore comedy over tragedy. And if what is said in a work is set free so as to
recoil back on the very work in which it is said, then, the relationship of comedy
and tragedy here spoken in the section "On Reading and Writing" ought to have a
bearing on the very reading of the written scream *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*. We have
already suggested that TSZ is a rebirth of that tragic insight which Nietzsche had
called for in his first book, *The Birth of Tragedy*. The issue of laughter now refers
us to the comic character of TSZ. Giles Deleuze declares that "those who read
Nietzsche without laughing often, richly, even hilariously—have, in a sense, not
read Nietzsche at all."[3] And in a letter to his friend Franz Overbeck, Nietzsche
himself says:

> In the past fifteen years I have set an entire literature on
> its feet and finally "rounded it off" with prefaces and addi-
> tions—so completely that I can see it as something quite de-
> tached from me, and can laugh about it, as I laugh funda-
> mentally at all book writing.[4]

What is it that laughter and comedy embody? James Hoggard has characterized
the comic as a force of synthesis. What it does he says:

> is to synthesize, like Nature in its kinesis, the varieties of
> ourselves into a tripdancing whole. Its shape-shifting im-
> pact, its breakage of order, is illusory in regard to its effects
> of dissemblement. The shapes it creates may not be simple,
> but they will be recognizable; and our laughter, if only for a
> moment, will certify them as appropriate: a playing with
> reality which depicts the past, present and future of our-
> selves.[5]

Laughter and comedy, in other words, embody an affirmation of human existence
in all its complexity. Again in TSZ, IV, in the section "On The Higher Men", which

[3]*The New Nietzsche: Contemporary Styles of Interpretation*, edited and introduced by David
B. Allison, (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1977), p. 147.

[4]*Selected Letters of Friedrich Nietzsche*, p. 262.

[5]J. Hoggard, "A Meditation on Comedy," see above, p. 13.

[6]Harold Alderman, *Nietzsche's Gift*, (Athens, Ohio Univ. Press, 1977), p. 124.

according to Harold Alderman "is one of the best summaries of Nietzsche's thought,"[6] Zarathustra exhorts:

> Lift up your hearts you good dancers, high, higher! And do not forget good laughter. This crown of him who laughs, this rose-wreath crown: to you my brothers I throw this crown. Laughter I have pronounced holy; you higher men learn to laugh! (Z, 407-408)

If the higher men would become Overmen, they must learn to laugh. Indeed, Alderman interprets the whole of TSZ, IV, as a comedy of affirmation, as an exercise in laughter. In what way does he understand affirmation as comedy? What he has to say in this regard is most instructive.

> All affirmations are comic because although they are the source of guarantees and certainties, they yield only the guarantees and certainties we bring to them; and we can never bring to them what we seek—absolute certainty. Laughter frees us from the need for certainty so that we may with grace achieve a human affirmation.[7]

And yet the need for certainty, indeed, the demand for certainty, for absolute certainty, is exactly what has characterized much of modern metaphysics. In order to sing and dance to the music of TSZ, in order to make oneself attuned to the speeches of Zarathustra, something new is required of the philosopher, namely, laughter. It is a laughter that would overcome the nihilism of modern metaphysics and its spirit of gravity and thus would be a new beginning:

> And when I saw my devil I found him serious, thorough, profound, and solemn: it was the spirit of gravity—through him all things fall. Not by wrath does one kill but by laughter. Come, let us kill the spirit of gravity! (Z, 153)

Thus counsels Zarathustra early in part I, again in the section "On Reading and Writing."

What is it that would serve to bind all these elements into a suitable unity? What image best calls to mind screaming, music, singing and dancing, and especially laughter? What image does Nietzsche appeal to again and again in the course of his TSZ? The answer is of course the image of the child. The first of Zarathustra's speeches, after the Prologue, tells of the three metamorphoses of the spirit: "how

[7]*Ibid*, p. 135

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the spirit becomes a camel; and the camel, a lion; and the lion, finally, a child"
(Z, 137). This threefold cycle is the key to the dance of Nietzsche's pen as it brings
forth the work TSZ.

However, in the course of the work, this cycle does not unfold in any usual
linear fashion. Rather, there emerges a constant dialectic back and forth between
these stages. For example, already at the beginning of the Prologue, prior to his
speech to the men of the marketplace about the Overman, Zarathustra is imaged as
a child. As he descends alone from his mountain cave he meets the old saint in the
forest who observes:

> "No stranger to me is this wanderer; many years ago he
> passed this way. Zarathustra he was called, but he has
> changed. At that time you carried your ashes to the moun-
> tains: would you now carry your fire into the valleys: ...
> "Yes, I recognized Zarathustra. His eyes are pure, and
> around his mouth there hides no disgust. Does he not walk
> like a dancer? "Zarathustra has changed, Zarathustra has
> become a child (Z, 122-123)

Zarathustra, we are told, has already become a child. That is to say, Zarathustra is
already one who embodies that exuberant affirmation of life which signifies Nie-
tzsche's new beginning imaged in the overcoming of the spirit of gravity.

However this may be, in yet another sense, Zarathustra's task still lies ahead of
him. Zarathustra must still *become* the child. This is evident if we consider the be-
ginning section of the second part of TSZ which is entitled, "The Child With the
Mirror". Here Zarathustra, having returned again to the mountains and the solitude
of his cave awakes "even before the dawn" and asks his heart:

> Why was I so startled in my dream that I awoke? Did not a
> child step up to me, carrying a mirror?
> "O Zarathustra," the child said to me, "look at yourself in
> the mirror." But when I looked into the mirror I cried out,
> and my heart was shaken for it was not myself I saw, but a
> devil's grimace and scornful laughter. (Z, 195)

In a dream a child appears to Zarathustra and gives him a mirror in terms of which
he can see himself but that is just what he does not see. Instead, he sees a devil's
grimace and scornful laughter. But immediately Zarathustra responds: "Verily,
all-too-well do I understand the sign and admonition of the dream: my *teaching* is
in danger; weeds pose as wheat" (Z, 195).

What is this teaching to which Zarathustra refers? It is the teaching of the eternal
recurrence. This is Zarathustra's destiny as his animals tell him later on in part III.
In other words, Zarathustra must still become who he is; he must become the child.

That is to say, in becoming the child Zarathustra will fulfill his destiny by being the first to proclaim the doctrine of the eternal recurrence. The child, then, images this transformation of man's relationship to time—for that is what the eternal recurrence entails. It is the affirmation of human existence in all its finitude. This destiny causes Zarathustra the greatest pain, this destiny entails the greatest suffering. In order to become the child, the creator, the Overman, the life affirmer, suffering is needed. Early in TSZ, II, Zarathustra says:

> Creation—that is the great redemption from suffering, and life's growing light. But that the creator may be, suffering is needed and much change. Indeed, there must be much bitter dying in your life, you creators . . . . To be the child who is newly born, the creator must also want to be the mother who gives birth and the pangs of the birth-giver (Z, 199)

Zarathustra must enter the play of the metamorphoses which both the child and creation demand. The first stage in this play is that of the camel. The camel images the tradition as a burden which must be assumed by one who would make a new beginning. Alderman notes that "creative action always takes place in a context and the first requirement of the creative actor is freely to assume that context as his own natural, necessary burden."[8] In other words, what is imaged here is human facticity, that element of human temporality which we call the past.

However, there comes a point where one must say no to that facticity which while defining one does not exhaust one. In terms of the tradition, one must recognize it for what it is but then move beyond it. One must learn to say No. This is that the lion images—that freedom from the old which would be a precondition for the new beginning. Alderman maintains:

> "Zarathustra's speech 'The Three Metamorphoses' thus gives us Nietzsche's statement of the conditions under which we may create—which is to say encounter—ourselves in a fully human way. First, we acknowledge the human actuality; second, we must respond to that actuality not as if it were exhaustive of our being, but rather as if it only provided the conditions and materials with which we might create ourselves; and then we must with the innocent seriousness of children undertake that creation."[9]

Zarathustra, then, *is* the child as the old saint proclaimed; and, at the same time, Zarathustra must yet become the child in accord with his destiny. The work TSZ is the account of this becoming.

[8]*Ibid*, p. 32.   [9]*Ibid*, p. 35.

In Book V of *The Gay Science*, written after the completion of TSZ, Nietzsche complements the image of the child with the ideal of a spirit who plays:

> Another ideal runs ahead of us, a strange, tempting, dangerous ideal to which we should not wish to persuade anybody because we do not readily concede *the right to it* to anyone: the ideal of a spirit who plays naively—that is, not deliberately but from overflowing power and abundance—with all that was hitherto called holy, good, untouchable, divine. (GS, 382)

The image of the child, the playing child, the embodiment of the spirit of play—it is this which best images Nietzsche's new beginning. If we take the spirit of gravity as its opposite, its other, as that which images the philosophic tradition, then it is this which is overcome by that spirit of play constitutive of the new beginning.

The written scream TSZ is a deconstruction of the various forms of absolutism in the metaphysical tradition. It is a No-saying to any ideal which would be a negation of life. However, in *Ecce Homo*, we hear Nietzsche say: "Zarathustra once defines quite strictly, his task—it is mine too—and there is no mistaking his meaning: he says Yes to the point of justifying, of redeeming even all of the past" (EH, 764). In other words, the No-saying of the lion is fulfilled in the Yes-saying of the child. Thus does Zarathustra ask:

> What can the child do that even the lion could not do? Why must the preying lion still become a child? The child is innocence and forgetting, a new beginning, a game, a self-propelled wheel, a first movement, a sacred "Yes". For the game of creation, my brothers, a sacred "Yes" is needed (Z, 139)

One of the central questions of philosophic concern in the 20th century is the question of the nature of philosophical activity itself. Indeed throughout the tradition this has been a most problematic and questionable issue. However, this is especially the case when philosophy is considered against the background of the achievements of modern science and technology. On the one hand, some would have it that philosophy be nothing but a secretary to the sciences. Here philosophy gets interpreted as something less than the fundamental and creative activity of human existence to which it has traditionally made claim. On the other hand, philosophy can be seen as one of the few autonomous and creative possibilities and at times necessities of human existence. In this regard, when compared to the standards and fashions of the day, philosophy is always something out of step with the times; philosophy is untimely. Heidegger suggests:

This is so because philosophy is always projected far in advance of its time, or because it connects the present with its antecedent, with what *initially* was . . . Philosophy is essentially untimely because it is one of those few things that can never find an immediate echo in the present.[10]

It is, of course, against this background that we must situate Nietzsche's work and the game of creation with its sacred "Yes" which the playing child images.

If philosophy would be creative it must, in Nietzsche's words, justify and redeem the past. If philosophy would be creative it must turn against the tradition in order to think it through to its ground, to its foundations. In philosophy, it is the modern tradition against which contemporary philosophy would turn. What might this turn against modernity involve? In his article, "Postmodernity and Hermeneuties", Richard Palmer suggests that "to turn against modernity itself means to call the modern epoch, with all its artistic, scientific, and cultural grandeur, all its huge successes, into question. It involves the need for radical thinking—that is, thinking that goes to the roots."[11] Within this context of radical thinking we find the locus for Nietzsche's work. In putting into question modern culture, science and technology, Nietzsche's thought effects an overcoming of the whole, underlying modern metaphysical superstructure.

It is Nietzsche, the relentless iconoclast, who goes to the roots of modern thought and who . . . is philosophically the door to postmodernity . . . . Nietzsche attacked Descartes, Kant, Schopenhauer, Christianity (as a life-denying form of Platonism-for-the-masses), scientific objectivity, romanticism, Wagner, morality, contemporary Art, Germans, and so on. When Nietzsche was through "Philosophizing with a hammer, the thought-forms on which the nineteenth century lived were in pieces. Nietzsche's thought was a conflagration, a purification of modern thought, and a careful study of his work is radical therapy for many illusions in twentieth-century thought.[12]

What are some of these illusions characteristic of twentieth-century thought—indeed, characteristic of the whole of modern metaphysics which underlies it?

[10]Martin Heidegger, *Introduction to Metaphysics*, Translated by Ralph Manheim. (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1959), p. 8.

[11]Richard E. Palmer, "Postmodernity and Hermeneutics," in *Boundary* 2 (Vol. 5, No. 2, Winter 1977), p. 365.

[12]*Ibid*, p. 367.

What lies concealed under the sedimentation of meaning and understanding which the tradition of Western consciousness hands over to us? What would Nietzsche's playing child discover?

Now, there are a number of issues which could be taken up at this point; but perhaps the most important discovery and the most significant issue has to do with the appearance/reality distinction and what in Nietzsche's language is called the illusion of a "true world." Nietzsche deconstructs the metaphysical world, the notion of the world-in-itself, the "true world," which is traditionally understood as a world *beyond* the visible, sensible domain. In TSZ, I, "On the Afterwordly," Zarathustra proclaims:

> But "that world" is well concealed from humans—that dehumanized inhuman world which is a heavenly nothing; and the belly of being does not speak to humans at all except as a human (Z, 144).

There is no metaphysical, supersensible domain of being-in-itself. If nihilism "is any mode of thought or action which derogates the very human conditions of thought and action,"[13] then such a metaphysical domain would be a manifestation of that nihilism which Nietzsche's radical thinking would overcome.

In that famous section of *Twilight of the Idols* entitled "How the 'True World' Finally Became a Fable," Nietzsche again takes up this issue:

> The true world—we have abolished. What world has remained? The apparent one perhaps? But no! *With the true world we have also abolished the apparent one.*

He then adds in parenthesis:

> (Noon; moment of the briefest shadow; end of the longest error; high point of humanity; INCIPIT ZARATHUSTRA).
> (TI, 485-486)

In other words, TSZ commences at that point of closure where Western metaphysics exhausts itself. In the brilliant noonday light, the moment of the briefest shadow, Zarathustra's animals appear to him at the end of the Prologue of TSZ. These animals—the eagle and the serpent—image the idea of the eternal recurrence, that "highest formula of affirmation that is at all attainable." (EH, 751). It marks the end of the longest error, namely the appearance/reality duality, the dichotomy between the apparent world and the true world, which has traditionally constituted

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[13]Harold Alderman, *Nietzsche's Gift*, (Athens, Ohio Univ. Press, 1977), p. 38.

the inner structure of modern metaphysics. The all-too-familiar dualisms which make up much of the tradition of modern metaphysics—whether in the form of the Cartesian mind/matter distinction or in the form of the Kantian phenomenon/noumenon distinction—all come crashing down upon the heels of the dancing Zarathustra. The whole register of discourse in which modern metaphysics was inscribed is fractured irrepairably by the Nietzschean hermeneutics. Indeed, the very meaning of intelligibility itself is put into question.

What, then, is the world after Nietzsche's deconstruction of the tradition? What manifests itself as the sedimented meaning of the metaphysical tradition crumbles away? For Nietzsche the world is a monster of energy, without beginning, without end; it is a play of forces and waves of forces—a sea of forces flowing and rushing together, eternally changing, eternally flooding back; a becoming that knows no satiety, no disgust, no weariness:

> This, my Dionysian world of the eternally self-creating, the eternally self-destroying, this mystery world of the twofold voluptuous delight, my "beyond good and evil", . . . do you want a *name* for this world? A *solution* for all its riddles? A *light* for you, too, you best concealed, strongest, most intrepid, most mid-nightly men? —*This world is the will to power—and nothing besides!* And you yourselves are also this will to power—and nothing besides! (WP, #1067)

What is it which Nietzsche's playing child would discover? It would discover itself. For the child is what best images this creative/destructive play of the will to power. Encrusted in the muck and mire of the metaphysical tradition is the throbbing, pulsating, play of forces which Nietzsche's new beginning would release. Life is will to power. With Nietzsche's philosophy of the will to power there emerges a "new, non-metaphysical or transmetaphysical understanding of being, of things."[14] Words such as abyss, chaos, and difference speak this new sense of being. Alphonso Lingis says, in his article "The Will To Power":

> To see difference is not to see absolute opposition, contradiction; it is to see gradations of divergence. But if we see greater and lesser difference, that means we also see lesser and greater similarity. If in a succession of appearance each differs from the preceding one, each is also similar to it; otherwise one would not say even that this one diverges from that one. Thus Being, *physis*, incessant unfolding of a show of ever new, ever divergent appearances—continual

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[14] *The New Nietzsche*, p. 38.

differentiation—is also continual *logos*, continual assembl-
ing, assimilation, of all that appears.[15]

In other words, difference (or chaos and abyss for that matter) while bursting the
bounds of the more traditional discourse of the language of metaphysics still re-
mains bound to *logos*, discourse, speech. However, it is a new speech, as Zarathustra
proclaims early in TSZ, II:

> New ways I go, a new speech comes to me; weary I grow,
> like all creators, of the old tongues. My spirit no longer
> wants to walk on worn soles (Z, 196).

What about this new *logos*—how can it be characterized? How is it related to Nie-
tzsche's method of genealogy, genealogical critique? And, finally, in what manner
does all this bear on TSZ?

Nietzsche's critique of Western consciousness is carried out in terms of his genea-
logical method. According to Paul Ricoeur, the triumverate: Marx, Nietzsche, and
Freud, constitute a philosophy of suspicion. The Nietzschean suspicion concerns
the illusion of absolutes, of metaphysical things-in-themselves, of true worlds con-
cealed behind apparent ones. The Nietzschean suspicion concerns in a word, the
illusion of *identity*, of any final horizon that would bring the philosophic quest to a
state of stasis or rest. As Michel Haar points out in his "Nietzsche and Metaphysical
Language":

> Nietzsche's method aims at unmaking, unearthing, but in an
> *indefinate* way—ie., without ever pretending to lift the last
> veil to reveal any originary identity, any primary founda-
> tion. Thus, the method itself manifests a deeply rooted
> repugnance toward any and all systematization. Hostile to
> the idea of an ultimate revelation of truth, and rejecting all
> unique and privileged interpretation, . . . the method of
> genealogy is necessarily hostile to all codification of its own
> results. Moreover, the fragmented, aphoristic and bursting
> character of the text corresponds to Nietzsche's own grasp
> of the world: a world scattered in pieces, covered with ex-
> plosions; a world freed from the ties of gravity (ie., from
> relationship with foundation); a world made of moving and
> light surfaces where the incessant shifting of masks is
> named laughter, dance, game.[16]

Haar then concludes that Nietzsche's language and method "both possess an explo-

[15]*Ibid*, p. 39.   [16]*Ibid*, p. 7.   [17]*Ibid*

sive energy: "What is volatilized in each case is always identity, on which every system rests."[17] With the philosophy of the will to power there arises a philosophy of difference—in contrast to the traditional metaphysics and its philosophies of identity.

Nietzsche's language in TSZ is an image language; indeed, in *Ecce Homo* he characterizes his main work as a "return of language to the nature of imagery" (EH, 761). The poetic-dramatic form in which Nietzsche casts his central book is itself indicative of the overcoming of the traditional metaphysics with its more conceptual language. Again in *Ecce Homo*, Nietzsche speaks of not knowing "any other way of associating with great tasks than play" (EH, 714). We suggest that Nietzsche's philosophy as a new beginning is such a great task. Thus, again, we note the appropriateness of the image of the playing child which best symbolizes Nietzsche's new beginning. Furthermore, what is of crucial importance here is the very play of an image language which a work like TSZ makes possible. In this regard, John Sallis says:

> The language of *Zarathustra* is not the language of conceptual reflection. Rather it is the immediate language of an overflowing creativity, which in its rootedness in the earth, in this world, expresses itself in concrete, sensible imagery and in so doing reaffirms in the midst of creativity its faithfulness to the earth.[18]

And it is just this, after all, which Nietzsche's Zarathustra beseeches us to do from the beginning of the Prologue and all the way through TSZ, that is, to remain faithful to the earth. However, to do this, to remain faithful to the earth, is to take up, to resume, that creative/destructive play of life which Nietzsche has called will to power, and which is imaged in the child that Zarathustra both is and must become.

What are we to think of this new beginning and of Nietzsche's refusal of the traditional philosophic language of metaphysics? How must we understand this new sense of *logos*? Futhermore, why don't philosophers simply speak in everyday, ordinary language? And isn't the refusal to do so a major reason why philosophers, or at least some philosophers, are not taken seriously? How often, for example, have we heard the complaint that a philosopher's language is too abstract or too obscure? Nevertheless, can philosophy merely proceed in terms of the everyday ordinary language of sedimented and taken for granted meaning?

If philosophy would not lose its capacity for creative response, then it must resist the available significations of ordinary everyday discourse. It is precisely this resistance which Nietzsche's language manifests. The new sense of *logos* in Nietzsche's work amounts to a throwing "out of joint"[19] of traditional philosophic

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[18]John Sallis, "Nietzsche's Homecoming," in *Man and World*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1969, p. 116.

[19]John Sallis, *Phenomenology and the Return to Beginnings*, (Pittsburgh: Duquesne Univ. Press, 1973), PP. 68-69.

language—a rupture in the traditional speech about being. This is in keeping with what has been said earlier concerning the will to power as creative/destructive play.

As a return of language to the nature of imagery, TSZ embodies what Jean Granier calls "Being as text." In his essay, "Nietzsche's Conception of Chaos," Granier says:

> Being *is* text. It appears and makes sense; and the sense is multiple, manifest not in the way that an object is for a subject, but as an interpretation that is itself construed in terms of a multiplicity of perspectives. Interpretation, here, comprises the act of interpretation and the text interpreted, the reading and the book, the deciphering and the enigma . . . . Because the phenomenon of being is a "text" and not a painting . . . it is essentially ambiguous: it withholds as much as it shows, it is an opaque revelation, a blurred sense —in short, *an enigma.* [20]

An image language is capable of mirroring this ambiguity and of making sense of it. In terms of *The Birth of Tragedy*, an image language enables us to gaze into the Dionysian abyss and yet live to tell about it. Precisely where the danger is greatest "art approaches as a saving sorceress, expert at healing" (BT, 60), the young Nietzsche told us. And again from the same work: "For it is only as an *aesthetic phenomenon* that existence and the world are eternally *justified*" (BT, 52). Recall what we suggested earlier: TSZ is the appropriation of that "new voice" spoken of in the *Birth of Tragedy*—the voice of a music-practicing Socrates. As such it is the appropriation of art to the play of the philosopher.

In an even earlier work on the pre-Socratic philosophers, Nietzsche unites the artist and child in terms of play:

> In this world only play, play as artists and children engage in it, exhibits coming-to-be and passing away, creating and destroying, without any moral additive, in forever equal innocence. And as children and artists play, so plays the ever living fire. It constructs and destroys, all in innocence. [21]

We suggest that it is this Dionysian world of becoming, the play of will to power, being as text, which Nietzsche embodies in his TSZ. As text, Being requires interpretation, response, struggle for understanding. But like fire it is elusive, flickering,

[20] *The New Nietzsche*, p. 135.

[21] Nietzsche, *Philosophy in the Tragic Age of the Greeks*. Translated by Marianne Cowan. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1962), p. 62.

blurred. There is no final sense and signification, no ultimate meaning, no identity or foundational unity. What Nietzsche's new beginning would restore is the unending quest in philosophic questioning. It also manifests the limitations of any single instance of that quest. Along these lines, Alderman maintains "that Nietzsche's work is quintessentially and fundamentally philosophical exactly because it focuses on the origins, structure, and limitation of human thought and experience."[22]

We conclude by posing this question: to what extent are we able to relate Nietzsche's philosophic activity to the philosophic activity in Plato's dialogues? Alderman says:

> Philosophy is, as both Plato and Nietzsche knew all too clearly, a kind of drama: the drama of men speaking out of the experience of their lives in an attempt to make things clear.[23]

The form in which Plato wrote philosophy—the dialogue form—embodies this drama; Nietzsche's TSZ is akin to this. Plato creates the *mythos* of Socrates—that great child at play. Furthermore, the playfulness of the dialogues requires a spirit of play on the part of the reader. Nietzsche's image of the playing child could well serve to image this spirit of play characteristic of the Platonic dialogues. Perhaps in the final analysis Nietzsche's new beginning is akin to the beginning of Western philosophy as it found expression in the dialogues of Plato. In other words, perhaps Nietzsche's new beginning is a retrieval of the significance of written discourse, so often taken for granted as something disparaged by Plato. However, Plato *wrote* dialogues. Recall that Heidegger calls TSZ a *written* scream. Granier said: Being is *text*!

In the *Laws* Plato describes man as "a puppet, made by the gods, possibly as a plaything, or possibly with some more serious purpose" (644d). Later in that same dialogue, we are told that this is the finest thing about man. "All of us, then, men and women alike, must fall in with our role and spend life in making our *play* as perfect as possible" (803c). Furthermore, play is associated with education both in the *Laws* and in the *Republic* (536e-537a). Finally we note that philosophy is the highest education and therefore the supreme form of play. If philosophy takes place in speech and especially in written discourse, then it is the play of a book, the play of a text, which is of chief concern—whether a Platonic dialogue or a book for all and none like TSZ.

We have attempted a few steps along the way of that play. In *Beyond Good and Evil*, Nietzsche gives this characterization of a man's maturity: "A man's maturity —consists in having found again the seriousness one had as a child, at play" (#94); or, as Heraclitus maintains, "kingship is the child's."

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[22] Alderman, *Nietzsche's Gift*, p. 1.   [23] *Ibid*, p. 19.

THE ON-LINE REVOLUTION IN LIBRARIES:
THE USE OF COMPUTER-BASED SYSTEMS FOR RESEARCH

Mary Ella Jarvis *

What is a computer based search system? It is a computer-readable data base. So what is a data base? A very technical definition given to us by C. J. Date in his book *An Introduction to Database Systems* is "a collection of stored operational data used by the application systems of some particular enterprise."[1] For the purposes of this paper, data base refers to a computer-readable index to the literature of a particular subject field. Those of you in the sciences are familiar with *Chemical Abstracts* or *Biological Abstracts*. Those of you in education know of ERIC. Those in history have used *Historical Abstracts*. These "indexes to the literature" are now computer produced and have been for several years. The computer tapes from which these printed indexes are made provide us with computer-readable data bases. That is, it is possible to have these indexes on an online computer, to interact with that computer using selected index terms, and to pull out references pertaining to a certain topic that may be consulted for research. These computer-readable data bases provide a quicker and more efficient way for researchers to locate materials in a specific field.

In 1977, the last year for which statistics were available, there were 362 data bases. These data bases had approximately 71 million records available with 50 million of these available online. There were over 2 million on-line searches done during the year.[2] These numbers continued to grow in 1978.

"Computer-based bibliographic services (and on-line data bases) are a response to a combination of trends and developments that are forcing major changes in the way libraries operate."[3] There are several of these trends: the ever-increasing amount of scientific and technical literature, sharp increases in the cost of obtaining that literature, and industry-wide change to photocomposition and other computer-

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*Mrs. Jarvis is Assistant Director of Libraries at Midwestern State University.

[1]C. J. Date, *An Introduction to Database Systems* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1975), p. 1.

[2]Martha Williams, "1977 Data-Base and On-Line Statistics," *Bulletin of the American Society for Information Science*, IV (December, 1977), 21.

[3]Roger W. Christian, *The Electronic Library: Bibliographic Data Bases, 1975-76* (White Plains, N.Y.: Knowledge Industry Publications, 1975), p. 1.

aided production techniques on the part of publishers. Other developments further-
ing the increased use of data bases are technological advances in computer pro-
gramming, storage, terminals, and communications; sharp decreases in the cost of
the necessary equipment; voluminous amounts of government documents contain-
ing important technical information; "increased acceptance by librarians of electro-
mechanical equipment; (and) the availability of sophisticated commercial services
to provide efficient, nationwide access to various individual data bases."[4]

There are numerous benefits and advantages for using these computer-based
bibliographic services. A computer search takes a great deal less time than either a
manual search through the printed indexes or offline batch process search. Terms,
concepts, and strategies can be combined in ways that are difficult or impossible in
a manual search. A single search can include current and past literature. Data bases
are generally "more comprehensive, more deeply indexed and more readily updated
than printed bibliographic tools"; interactive machine-aided searches "can be
expanded, narrowed or redirected instantly on the basis of results achieved."[5]
Large files and multiple sources can be searched at one terminal. The citations are
in what is known as formatted copy output. That is, all citations from one data
base will have the same format in the printout of information. In addition, from the
user's point of view other advantages appear. There is no need to handle numerous
physical volumes. The computer printout does away with "the need to take notes
or copy citations."[6]

There are some shortcomings to these systems. In most cases the full text of the
document must be tracked down after the citation or abstract is obtained. Use of
these services does require a charge borne by the researcher or his organization. As
with printed indexes, some useful citations may be lost because of indexing terms.[7]

Searches can be made for a variety of reasons. One is the retrospective search
which allows the searcher to review the complete files of the data base—what has
been published. Most data bases now go back several years, many back into the
mid-1960's. Another is the quick answer search which allows the user to find a few
references on a topic or to obtain preliminary information on a new topic. These
are often referred to as quick and dirty searches. A very important kind of search is
the current awareness or SDI (selective dissemination of information) search which
allows the user to find out the most current references on a topic.[8] A searcher can
store an SDI profile with the data base and have it run as new data are added to the
data base. This allows him to keep up-to-date at least in terms of what is being pub-
lished in his particular areas of interest.

[4]*Ibid.*, 2.   [5]*Ibid.*, 2-3.

[6]*Ibid.*, 14.   [7]*Ibid.*, 3.

[8]Martha E. Williams, "Networks for On-Line Data Base Access," *Journal of the American
Society for Information Science* (September, 1977), 249-50.

What are the requirements for having a data base, and what equipment is needed? These requirements are few in number. Perhaps the first is to have users with search questions. After this requirement is met, some equipment is needed—"a telephone, an acoustic coupler to connect the telephone to the communications system (TYMSHARE or TELENET), and a terminal which may be either a cathode ray tube (CRT) or a hard-copy producing terminal."[9] In addition the organization must use a local telephone line in order to furnish access to a communications network.

In what areas are data bases available? "Most of the major fields in science and technology and a few fields in the social sciences have machine readable data bases."[10] The data bases fall into four classes. They are the disciplinary bases such as CAS Condensates and BIOSIS Previews; the mission-oriented ones like those produced by NASA and the Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA); problem-oriented ones dealing with topics such as transportation, environment, or pollution; and multi-disciplinary ones like those produced by the Institute for Scientific Information.[11]

As most search services are currently operated, the actual search is done by an intermediary and not the end user. This intermediary is usually a reference librarian or information specialist. It is necessary for this intermediary to do the actual search for several reasons. One is the pure mechanics of searching and the amount of training it takes to acquire these skills. In order "to maintain proficiency in searching a particular data base, the searcher must perform searches regularly."[12] Many of the data base users are not regular users and thus are not able to maintain this proficiency. This intermediary helps to control the costs by using less time. This person is also "up-to-date with respect to changes made in the data bases, center services, and the command languages of on-line systems.[13]

How can one use an online data base for research? The data bases are generally produced and distributed in magnetic tape form with the citations, abstracts, or other records arranged serially.[14] In some cases, a local computer center (at a university, for instance) might subscribe to certain data base tapes such as BIOSIS Previews or Psychological Abstracts Search and Retrieval Service (PASAR). In such

[9]*Ibid.*, 250.

[10]Martha E. Williams, "Criteria for Evaluation and Selection of Data Bases and Data Base Services," *Special Libraries*, (December, 1975), 562.

[11]*Ibid.*

[12]Jeffrey J. Gardner and David M. Wax, "Online Bibliographic Services," *Library Journal*, (September 15, 1976), 1831.

[13]Williams, "Criteria for Evaluation," 568.

[14]Christian, *The Electronic Library*, p. 17.

cases the user would simply use that computer center and ask to be plugged into the specific tape he needs. In many cases, however, the university or organization is connected with a data base vendor such as Lockheed. The process for using the data base this way is also simple. Using the telephone the user accesses the data base vendor. Then he must be connected to the computer in the vendor's organization and to the correct software package such as DIALOG. Then the user must select the appropriate data base such as ERIC (one of the education data bases). All of this process usually takes less than a minute. Then the user gives his code or password and the meter begins to run. First, he enters the search terms; he creates a file; then he uses logic operators - AND, OR, or NOT - to combine the various terms and narrow the search question. When the question has been sufficiently narrowed, the searcher can have some of the citations displayed to see if they are relevant. If so, he can have these citations printed online or off-line and mailed depending on the kind of equipment he is using. "An average search takes about ten to fifteen minutes."[15]

Data bases can be numerical, representational, alphanumeric, or mixed. A numeric base simply numbers and lists the items included in it. The major example is census tapes. A representational data base contains pictorial or graphic information. The prime example of this kind of data base is the chemical structures files provided by the Chemical Abstracts Service. Alphanumeric data bases are the most common. They come in several forms—full-text, partial-text, bibliographic, and bibliographic-related. The full-text data base contains the whole text of a document—a good example being LEXIS, which contains legal statute information. A partial-text data base contains portions of the text: extracts, abstracts, introductions, summaries. The Information Bank of the *New York Times* is such a data base. The bibliographic data base contains references or citations that can be located in literature sources. There are several hundred of these bibliographic data bases—BioSciences' BIOSIS Previews being one example. The bibliographic-related data bases do not contain bibliographic citations but contain information which sends the user to those citations. CASIA (Chemical Abstracts Subject Index Alert) is an example. A mixed data base would include information in a combination of numerical, representational, and alphanumeric forms.[16]

There are approximately 362 data bases available and many of them are available through vendors. At this point I would like to discuss one vendor and one of each kind of the alphanumeric data bases—full-text, partial-text, bibliographic, and bibliographic-related data bases.

Lockheed Information Services is one of the major suppliers of online services. It is based in Palo Alto, California. Its data bases are primarily in the sciences and behavioral sciences, though it is adding some in the arts and humanities. It provides

[15] Williams, "Networks," 251.

[16] *Ibid*., 249.

access to over seventy data bases and over 18 million document records through its software package known as DIALOG. DIALOG is available for use ninety-three hours per week. The searches are retrospective and cover all the years that the particular data bases have been available. Charges are made for actual use of the services available.[17]

One of the full-text data bases is LEXIS. It is a legal data base and a part of Mead Data Central, Inc. It contains statutes, cases, and regulatory materials. It "is organized into collections of related documents called 'libraries' consisting of materials from particular jurisdictions or specialized areas of law."[18] As of July, 1977 there were four libraries available on LEXIS. First is the General Federal Library which includes the following items: the full text of the United States Code; all of the U.S. Supreme Court decisions since 1938; U.S. Courts of Appeals decisions since 1945; and U.S. District Court decisions since 1960. The second library is eleven state libraries which includes statutory and case-law materials from California, Florida, Illinois, Kansas, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Missouri, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Texas. Third is a specialized library—corporation law in Delaware. The fourth library is Specialized Federal Libraries. It includes cases and other materials in the areas of federal tax, federal trade regulation, and patent law. LEXIS is not pre-indexed as are the bibliographic data bases. It, instead, has what is known as inverted files. These allow the user to search for any word, word pair, or phrase in the documents which are included in the base. The terms may be joined by the Boolean operators (*and, or,* or *not*). Word position indicators may be used to require that the terms being searched must occur within a certain number of words. In order to be as current as possible, LEXIS is updated daily. The main advantage of full-text data base such as LEXIS, is that it eliminates the " 'third party judgment' of the indexer or abstractor from coming between the text of a document and the researcher"; the big disadvantage of such bases is that they tend to pull out too many items that are not relevant to the search request.[19]

The main partial-text data base is the *New York Times* Information Bank. It includes articles, editorials, and advertisements from the *New York Times* and selected material from seventy other publications. These other publications include "other newspapers, news weeklies, general-interest magazines, journals of opinion and commentary, and certain trade and professional journals.[20] This base is primarily concerned with current events including political, economic, diplomatic, social, and cultural affairs. The printed *New York Times Index* is produced from

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[17]Anthony T. Kruzas, *Encyclopedia of Information Systems and Services* (2nd ed.; Ann Arbor, Mich.: Anthony T. Kruzas Associates, 1974), p. 327-8.

[18]Signe Larson "Online Systems for Legal Research," *Online*, I (July, 1977), 11.

[19]*Ibid.*, 14.

[20]Kruzas, *Encyclopedia*, p. 385.

this data base twice a month. In the *Index*, as in the data base, a summary-description of the article is given with a citation to the original source. Parts of the text are included in these summaries thus making it a partial-text data base.

Many of the data bases are bibliographic in nature. That is they give citations to information in the printed literature. One of these is BIOSIS Previews. This is the machine-readable version of the citations from both *Biological Abstracts* and *Bio-Research Index*. It reports research in the whole area of life sciences and draws information from more than 8,000 serial publications. There are approximately 275,000 items indexed per year. There are about ten subject entries per document in the subject index. These subjects are taken from a subject classification scheme of over six hundred categories plus use of the authors' title words supplemented by descriptors added by the BIOSIS staff. There are three issues of BIOSIS Previews per month. They are generally available five weeks before the corresponding printed publications.[21]

One of the major examples of a bibliographic-related data base is Chemical Abstracts Subject Index Alert otherwise known as CASIA. A bibliographic-related data base is one that does not contain actual bibliographic citations but contains information which sends the user to those citations. CASIA is a computer-readable index to documents abstracted in *Chemical Abstracts*. It has two types of index entries—one for chemical substances and one for concepts. These entries in CASIA are the same as those published annually in the Chemical Substance Index, the General Subject Index, and the Formula Index. Individual index entries for a given document are grouped together. The groups of entries for a particular index term are arranged in ascending order of the Chemical Abstract (CA) number. For chemical substances CASIA also has CA Section Numbers, CA Index Names, molecular formulas, and CAS Registry Numbers. For concepts it has General Subject Index entries. After obtaining the CA abstract number for a particular chemical substance or concept, the user can then obtain the bibliographic information for the source document from the printed abstract in *Chemical Abstracts*.[22]

What is the outlook for the future of data bases? Are there problems yet to be solved? How are the costs borne? What role does the federal government play? These are a few of the questions often asked about data bases. In exploring the answers to some of these questions, we can see a bit of the future for data bases.

Online data bases continue to grow in number. Martha Williams in an annual column in the *Bulletin of the American Society for Information Science* reported that the number of data bases available jumped from three hundred and one in 1975 to three hundred and sixty-two in 1977.[23] The number of data base vendors

[21] *This is BIOSIS, 1979* (The BIOSIS Catalog of Information Services for the Life Sciences) (Philadelphia: BioSciences Information Service, 1979), p. MT1.

[22] *Information Tools, 1977* (Columbus, Ohio: Chemical Abstracts Service, 1977), p. 17.

[23] Williams, "1977 Data-Base Statistics," 21.

also continues to grow. Lockheed Information Services and System Development Corporation (SDC) still seem to be the major vendors, but others are beginning to appear. These include Mead Data and Bibliographic Retrieval Services (BRS). Each of these vendors has a software package, such as Lockheed's DIALOG, which allows the user to plug into specific data bases. Lockheed and SDC seem to supply the large research organizations, businesses, and industrial users while BRS seems to be serving more academic and educational organizations.[24] These commercial for-profit businesses appear to be filling a great need in providing a means of access to a number of data bases.

What are the costs of such systems? Actual rental of individual data bases is rather expensive though it can be done. For instance, BIOSIS Previews is available on magnetic tape for about $3,750 per year at three issues per month. A hook-up through one of the data base vendors is less expensive. It can give accesss to a number of data bases at a fraction of the cost. The costs for rental or purchase of the telecommunication equipment, including a tie-in to TYMSHARE or TELENET, are the major institutional costs. The actual cost of searching falls to the user. These costs range from $15 to $150 per hour. Searches usually take much less than an hour—normally, ten to fifteen minutes. The cost is prorated to the actual amount of time used.

The issue of who should pay this user cost has been the topic of much discussion and debate. Traditionally, services provided by the library have been free. It is the feeling of some that charging fees for certain services discriminates against those who cannot afford the service. Thus free access to information—for all—is an impossibility. Others say free access is fine but library budgets can go only so far. Libraries have been charging patrons for photocopies and interlibrary loan photocopies—"patron specific" items. A data base search is "patron specific," and a user charge would be logical.[25] The trend tends to be to charge researchers for using the data bases. The use of the data base provides the researcher with information he might not have located otherwise and in much less time than a manual search.

What has been and is the role of the federal government? The federal government is the largest single user of information services as well as a generator, sponsor, and disseminator of such services. The National Library of Medicine, the Library of Congress, the National Institutes of Health, and many other offices and agencies produce and have produced machine-readable data bases. The National Library of Medicine's MEDLARS/MEDLINE "was among the first major machine-readable data bases to be made available on-line nationally, and was one of the first bases to be coupled to another so that a user could probe either or both files from one terminal"; its popularity and proven value have made "many people aware of the

[24]Martha E. Williams, "Data Bases, Computer-Readable," *ALA Yearbook, 1978* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1978), p. 111.

[25]John Linford, "To Charge or Not to Charge: A Rationale," *Library Journal*, (October 1, 1977), 2009-10.

benefits and potential of computer-readable data bases."[26] The Office of Science Information Service of the National Science Foundation was instrumental in establishing information centers that would make mechanized literature searches available to a large number of individual users. The "availability of large 'seed money' grants from the government to aid and encourage" the production and distribution of computer-readable "bibliographic data bases played a pivotal role in bringing computer-based search services into being."[27]

Most government agencies except the National Library of Medicine have moved from an active role in the delivery of online services. There is still federal support for research. This research ends up in articles which are indexed in the data bases. Many workers in government agencies use online data bases for research in specific fields. The direct federal support of online systems, except for the National Library of Medicine's MEDLINE, is gone.[28]

There are two areas in the production of data bases where fundamental improvement must be made in order to increase and accelerate the use of the bases. One area is standardization—especially in the form of entries. Many times the subject matter dictates the structure of the index, and this cannot be changed. Such things as standard journal abbreviations, standard author entries, and standard spelling forms are possible and could be achieved. This probably will not happen until there is a tremendous user demand or until funding agencies for the data bases press for these changes.[29] The other major areas of improvement is in increasing the level of quality control. There are errors and inconsistencies that appear in the data bases now, and there is currently no incentive to correct these errors. This area will not change until the use of the data bases far outweighs the use of corresponding printed volumes.[30]

There are other challenges facing the data base industry. These include excessive and repetitious coverage of the core literature, possible complications with copyright, use of "poor 'interest profiles' developed by users, equipment malfunctions, inadequate market forecasting, and the need for more interdisciplinary data bases covering such broad-scope fields as ecosystems and energy management."[31] These challenges seem to have better possibilities of being met because they are not such broad concerns. If perhaps some of these can be met, then the possibility of solutions for the broader issues will be more attainable.

[26]Christian, *The Electronic Library*, p. 23.

[27]*Ibid.*, p. 24.

[28]Gardner and Wax, "Online Bibliographic Services," 1829.

[29]*Ibid.*, 1831.   [30]*Ibid.*

[31]Christian, *The Electronic Library*, p. 5.

One of the best results of the growing use of data bases has been the increase in resource sharing. Resource sharing allows libraries to provide better service to their users. The increasing amount of literature available, the continuing rise in costs, thin library budgets, and "the availability of supporting technology" have been the major factors in encouraging library cooperation.[32] This cooperation can range from voluntary agreements between the heads of two or more libraries to sophisticated networks connecting a large number of cooperating libraries.[33] One of these networks is the AMIGOS Bibliographic Council which promotes library cooperation in the Southwest. Libraries in the states of Arizona, Arkansas, Kansas, Louisiana, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas are members. This sharing can range from exchange of books and photocopied materials to cooperative use of data bases. Resource sharing can provide avenues of use which a researcher might not have previously considered.

What is the future of the use of data bases? The use of the data bases will continue to grow as will their numbers. At some point in the future standardized abbreviations and quality control will appear because of user demand. Users of the data bases will be charged for their use of the systems because these data bases are providing services that would otherwise be hard to obtain in terms of time and efficiency. The equipment will improve as will the ability of researchers or intermediaries to use the data bases. As Roger W. Christian said in his book *The Electronic Library: Bibliographic Data Bases 1975-76* "The contribution of data bases is to provide active researchers with quicker, more comprehensive access to scientific and technical literature."[34] The future of data bases appears bright as new technology helps with the problems and user needs help define the parameters and bounds of specific systems.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 24.