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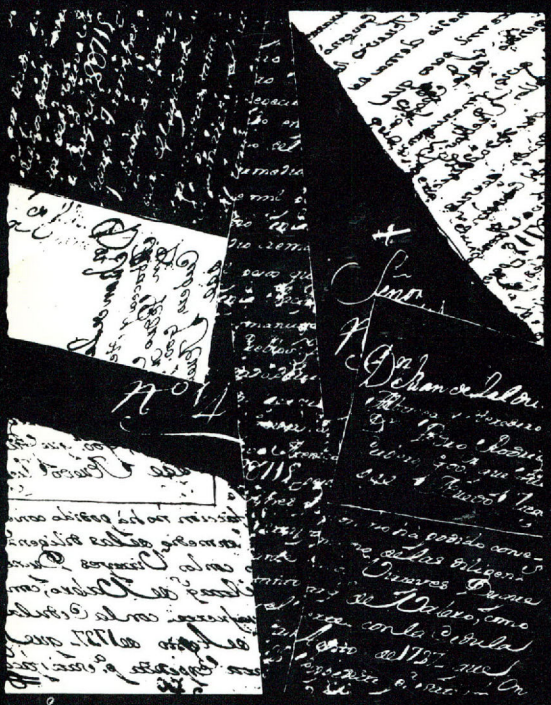

FACULTY PAPERS
OF
MIDWESTERN STATE UNIVERSITY

Papers Presented
at
The Faculty Forum

Kenneth E. Hendrickson, Jr.
Program Coordinator
and
Editor

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INTRODUCTION

We are proud to publish this issue of **Midwestern State University Faculty Papers.** The contents reflect a variety of scholarship and we hope all readers will find something of interest. This issue is sadly, but lovingly and respectfully dedicated to the memory of our colleague Dr. Forrest D. Monahan, Jr. who died on January 12, 1983.

As Faculty Forum program director and journal editor, I want to express my thanks to all the contributors as well as to the President of MSU, Dr. Louis J. Rodriguez and the Vice President for Academic Affairs, Dr. Jesse W. Rogers, for their encouragement and support. Thanks also to my secretary, Dianna Roberts whose assistance is vital to the successful completion of this project each year.

Kenneth E. Hendrickson, Jr.
Program Director and
Editor

In Memoriam
Forrest D. Monahan, Jr.
1928 - 1983

Only two years ago our colleague Dr. Barry D. Powers passed away unexpectedly. We dedicated the 1979-80 edition of our journal to him. Now, unexpectedly, another of our colleagues is gone. Dr. Forrest D. Monahan, Jr. died on January 12, 1983 while undergoing tests at the Scott-White Hospital in Temple, Texas. This issue is dedicated to him.

Forrest Monahan was a beloved teacher whose influence reached far beyond the classroom. For twenty years he not only taught, but also counselled many of his students and frequently gave new directions to their lives. Since his death many have recalled the enormous influence he had upon them.

His field was the American West, but he was also deeply interested in local history and the history of railroading. He was, in fact, a noted authority on both these subjects and was widely sought after as a consultant.

Most of all, Forrest was a valued friend and colleague. We at Midwestern State University will never allow his memory to die, and we will always be guided by his example of excellence.

A NEW CAMPUS FOR THE CITY COLLEGE

Forrest D. Monahan, Jr.*

Midwestern State University had its beginnings in 1922 when the Wichita Falls School Board established in the high school a two year college known as Wichita Falls Junior College. For the next few years the destinies of the High School and Junior College were intertwined. They shared the same building, the same administrative officers and occasionally the same faculty, though the tendency was more and more to separate the teaching duties. The two institutions also jointly moved in 1924, to new facilities on H Street. Their old building was renamed Reagan Junior High. The brand new red brick building, a considerable improvement over the crowded structure on Broad Street, had Wichita Falls Junior College emblazoned in stone over its main North Portals.[1]

In fact it was more of a high school than a college since the high school faculty and student body far outnumbered those of the junior college. The Administration likewise reflected a high school outlook. The Superintendent of Schools was the President of the College; the High School Principal was Dean of the College. Both saw themselves as public school men rather than as college administrators.[2]

Although the two schools did not physically separate until 1936, strains began to show in the late twenties. In 1922, the first year, college enrollment was 55; and it grew steadily thereafter.[3] In March, 1928, Superintendent J. W. Cantwell made an alarming report to the School Board. The High School Building had been designed for a capacity of 1500 students, yet that semester alone enrollment had been 1,756 of which 340 were college students, a 40 percent increase over the previous year. The superintendent analyzed the reasons for the increase as:

1. a higher percentage of high school graduates were continuing their education from within the school district; and
2. a large number of people were attracted from outside the district.

He pointed out that the school population was growing in the lower grades and that within a few years this bulge would show up in the high school, thus increasing the pressure on the college. The high school was simply crowding out the college, which itself was growing.[4]

*Dr. Monahan was Professor of History at Midwestern State University.

[1] Billy R. Gray, *The Growth and Development of Midwestern State University, 1922-1957* (Master's thesis written at the University of Texas, Austin, Texas, 1959; copy deposited in Moffett Library, Midwestern State University, Wichita Falls, Texas), pp. 12-17, 21-22. Hereinafter cited as Gray, *Midwestern University.*

[2] *Ibid.* Interview with A. F. Prof. Edwards, September 22, 1981. Hereinafter cited as Prof. Edwards Interview.

[3] Gray, *Midwestern University.*

[4] Minutes, Board of Education of the Wichita Falls Independent School District, March 19, 1928. Hereinafter cited as Wichita Falls School Board, *Minutes.*

In view of this crisis and the unmistakable growing demand for college courses in Wichita Falls, Dr. Cantwell recommended separate buildings for the two institutions. He also recommended that the college add two more years to become a four-year institution.[5]

Cantwell's recommendations made eminent sense. The catch was, there were no local funds for such a grand scheme. The college was entirely a creature of the Wichita Falls School Board which had created it. This meant that no other government authority was responsible for its expenses. Or to put it another way, the school district was totally responsible for college expenses including expansion. The board needed time to think through the problems of funding the dream of a four-year college.

The School Board went public with its problem; it was clear that any expansion would need broad community support. This campaign received wide coverage in the daily newspapers, the **Wichita Daily Times** and **Record News.** On November 6, 1928, Dr. Cantwell made a public call for help. Speaking to the Wichita Falls Advertising Club he pointed out that the high school was crowding out the college, and that the town needed a separate four-year institution. He asserted that the community should and could do better. It ought to have a four-year school, separate from the high school. The superintendent was persuasive; the Advertising Club endorsed his proposal.[6]

Dr. Cantwell headed a special committee of the Chamber of Commerce, which on November 16 favorably recommended the establishment of a four-year college, using the same arguments that the superintendent had used with the School Board earlier in the year. While endorsing the need, the committee refrained from proposing how to finance the project.[7]

Money was the major issue, and it was the only issue around which the proposal would revolve in the next few months. Fortunately, a Baptist angel was near by. John G. Hardin, eccentric millionaire, farmer, and banker, with an overweening pride in his farm background, lived in rural Burkburnett, and he was ready to give money to worthwhile educational institutions. Hardin is important in this study; and remarks on his life are therefore appropriate. Born in Mississippi in 1854 and raised in Tennessee, he moved to Texas as a youth; and he came into Wichita County in 1879. Hardly any other settlers had yet arrived and Hardin waxed lyrical in describing Wichita County's open land covered with native grass, bluebonnets, and other wild flowers, and unmarred by fences and towns. Loving the land, he bought as many acres as he could and he became a successful farmer. But more than this, he understood marketing. In the buying and selling of anything having to do with agriculture: land, corn, wheat, groceries, he endeavored to sell higher than he bought. If the market were down he would not sell; he would wait until the market went up. And he reinvested his profits. He and his wife, Mollie (the newspapers called her Mary, but she signed her name, Mollie) had few living

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] **Wichita Falls Daily Times,** November 6, 1928, p. 2.

[7] Minutes, Board of Directors of Wichita Falls Chamber of Commerce, December 6, 1928; containing report and minutes of the Business Council for November 16, 1928. Hereinafter the Minutes of the Wichita Falls Chamber of Commerce will be referred to as Chamber of Commerce, *Minutes.*

expenses. Simple in tastes and preferring to live on their farm southeast of Burkburnett, their social activities were confined to attending the local Baptist Church. With astute investment and careful saving, Mr. Hardin prospered very well indeed. By 1917 he was a millionaire; and this without benefit of oil income.[8]

But petroleum was nearby. Nineteen-eighteen was the year of discovery of the Burkburnett field; and the boom was on. John Hardin prospered mightily from this underground wealth. It turned out that he owned mineral rights to about ten percent of the Burk field. His first royalty check was for $225,000.00. Within one year of the beginning of the Burk oil boom, his oil wealth was more than he had gained by careful management in all his previous 65 years.[9]

By 1928 he and his wife had decided to retire from business and to keep to the rural life which emotionally they had never left. Except for business interests their lifestyle was essentially unchanged from the Nineteenth Century. They continued to live in their modest frame home southeast of Burkburnett.[10]

What then was this multi-millionaire who had made provisions for his relatives to do with his money? Why he was to give it away, that's what. But just giving it away to people did not fit his instincts. A deep-hued Calvinist, Hardin distrusted individual action unless it was leavened with disciplined knowledge and constantly exercised with labor. Unearned wealth would degrade people's ethics and cause lazy behavior.[11]

But he did believe in improving people's abilities and thus their chances to improve themselves. So it was that his trust gave most of his money to educational institutions. While he donated regularly to his own Baptist Church and gave building funds to the Church of Christ, Methodist, and Baptist congregations of Burkburnett, his endowments went primarily to Hardin-Simmons, Abilene Christian, Mary Hardin Baylor, and Baylor universities.[12]

The man who helped to channel Hardin's money to Wichita Falls was William Benjamin Hamilton, a prominent Wichita Falls businessman. In many ways he was the antithesis of Hardin. Born in 1887 he was over thirty years younger. He had the finest education available in the Southwest, having received his B.A. degree from SMU with highest honors; and he received the Master's Degree from the University of Texas where he was a teaching scholar. After graduation he taught history and social science at Fort Worth Polytechnic, one of the finer schools for training young Texas minds.

[8] John G. Hardin, **Life Story of John Gerham Hardin by His Own Pen;** edited by O. L. Clark (Dallas: Baptist Foundation of Texas, 1939), pp. 1-15. This work is hereinafter referred to as Hardin, **Life Story.** See also Edgar A. Herring, *John Gerham Hardin, Investor in Humanity* (Master's thesis, Moffett Library, Midwestern State University, Wichita Falls, Texas); see relevant material in Chapters 1 and 2. See especially pp. 71-73. This thesis is hereinafter referred to as Herring, *John G. Hardin.*

[9] Hardin, **Life Story,** pp. 7-8. Herring, *John G. Hardin,* p. 81.

[10] Hardin, **Life Story,** pp. 9-15. Herring, *John G. Hardin,* pp. 106-108. For Hardin bequests see pp. 113 and following.

[11] Hardin, **Life Story,** pp. 5-13. Herring, *John G. Hardin,* pp. 71-83, 88-93, 168-172.

[12] Herring, *John G. Hardin,* pp. 113-172, 168-172.

He forsook the academic life for the petroleum business where he prospered well. Organizing the Texoma Oil and Refining Company in 1916, he helped to open up the North Texas fields and made Wichita Falls his home. He expanded his business interests into cattle and land whose development he approached in a scientific way. Active in civic affairs, Hamilton was Mayor of Wichita Falls in the 1940's and he was in the Chamber of Commerce, serving on many public and civic committees. He and his wife were cultural leaders, actively promoting music and drama, and especially the Wichita Falls Symphony.

The contrasts between Hardin and Hamilton were many. Hardin preferred the simple rural life; Hamilton all his adult life had lived in sophisticated cities and towns and gloried in a planned urban environment. The urbane, witty Hamilton was a contrast to the rural, short-spoken Hardin. Hamilton delighted in the fine arts. Hardin saw poetry in a plowed field.

But the two had one thing in common: an abiding faith in education. Hardin got the best education which the meager rural resources of his early life could supply, and once he was wealthy, he gave huge sums to colleges and universities. Hamilton, of course, got the best education and he excelled at his academic endeavors. At both undergraduate and graduate levels he was an outstanding scholar. After leaving school he served several years on the board of Southern Methodist University where he helped to raise money for the study of geology. Hardin married a teacher. Hamilton was a teacher.[13]

Because of their business interests, the two men were acquainted; and during visits Hamilton turned the older man's eyes to the educational crisis of Wichita Falls Junior College.

While Dr. Cantwell proclaimed the gospel for a new college to various civic groups in the Fall of 1928, careful plans were laid for a stunning announcement on December 11. The community was electrified on reading its morning paper that day; the **Record News** had an open letter from Mr. and Mrs. John G. Hardin in which they offered to give $400,000.00 towards a four-year college in Wichita Falls.[14]

That same day a carefully arranged press conference took place in the Wichita Club where the letter was read to civic leaders. The Hardins were indeed generous; they would give $400,000.00 as an endowment for a four-year college in Wichita Falls. They clearly stated their view that only through education would young people "be able to grasp a vision of a successful life and be a constructive force in the social order of future generations." But in the Hardins' view this was not really a gift. It was a challenge to get Wichita Falls to meet its own obligations. To obtain the money Wichita Falls had to meet two conditions. It had to:

1. Match the funds with $400,000.00 raised in the community;
2. Furnish a campus of at least 160 acres;

[13] Interviews with Dr. Madge Davis, September 10 and September 28, 1981. Hereinafter cited as Madge Davis Interviews. Ellis A. Davis, ed., **The New Encyclopedia of Texas,** rev. ed., 2 vols. (n.p.: Texas Historical Society, 1934), vol. 2, p. 345. **Who's Who In America,** vol. 29 (1956-57), (Chicago: A. N. Marquis - Who's Who, 1956), p. 1047. And also W. B. Hamilton Archives, Hamilton Properties, Hamilton Building, Wichita Falls, Texas.

[14] **Wichita Falls Daily Times,** p. 1.

and it had to meet these conditions by a deadline of June 1, 1929.[15]

The Wichita Falls Chamber of Commerce and its Business Council were soon busy looking for money. At a mass meeting of business leaders the proposal received enthusiastic endorsement. Frank Kell, J. A. Kemp, Noros H. Martin, and William McGregor all spoke favorably as did others including Mrs. T. H. Lawson, President of the PTA and W. B. Chauncey, Chairman of the School Board. The Chamber of Commerce made the four-year college one of its goals for 1929.[16]

Nineteen-twenty-nine was a fateful year. Wichita Falls, its citizens, all Americans, could hardly know that a different age was upon them; a time of dashed hopes, of dread and despair. When the Chamber of Commerce made plans for a college fund drive in 1929, its members could not foresee that economic disaster was at hand. The times had been so good; the wealth of the twenties had come so easily. Like a prophecy of things to come, the school campaign did not go well. Local people were slow to make commitments. The Chamber of Commerce asked businessmen in other Wichita County towns to participate, but Burkburnett, Iowa Park, and Electra showed no interest. June came and there were no matching funds. Hardin extended the offer to October.[17]

In October, 1929, seven months after the inauguration of Herbert Hoover, came the Wall Street crash which heralded national disaster. The Great Depression had begun. The financial earthquake stalled the national economy, and it also stopped the drive for a senior college in Wichita Falls.

Though the town was not as hard hit as more eastern and southern sections of the country, it did suffer. The two mainstays of the local economy, agriculture and petroleum, were in the doldrums. Drouth and sandstorms choked off the flow of farm dollars into Wichita Falls.[18]

The price of petroleum was down, and easy, shallow-field oil was giving out. Many North Texas oil companies went broke and larger ones such as Humble Oil, closed their local offices and moved to Dallas or Houston. The departure of several companies in 1934-35 shook the Chamber of Commerce; but its appeals to company officers and to prominent Texas politicians did not slow down the exodus of the major companies.[19]

As the Depression closed in, business suffered; people were buying less; or they bought on credit that they could not afford. Quite a few went on relief. The city of Wichita Falls in 1936 established a soup line to keep jobless people from starving.[20]

[15] Chamber of Commerce, *Minutes,* December 20, 1928; containing the report of the meeting and press conferences of December 10, 1928.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] Chamber of Commerce, *Minutes,* May 18, 1929, and June 18, 1930.

[18] Almost every meeting of the Chamber of Commerce in the 1930's has some reference to depressed conditions.

[19] Chamber of Commerce, *Minutes,* July 31, 1935; October 22, 1935; November 12, 1935. **Wichita Falls Daily Times,** December 15, 1935, p. 1.

[20] **Wichita Daily Times,** December 31, 1935.

Among the many things that people could not do was to pay taxes. As tax time came, bills became delinquent. Both local government and the school district found their revenues going down. The School Board was in such great financial difficulty that it had no money for salaries; and for several months it paid its teachers, including the college instructors in scrip, which represented I.O.U.'s or promises to pay sometime in the future when the Board might have the money. Some local businesses would accept the scrip for bills, some would not. Banks would pay cash, but only at a 10% discount.[21]

The prospects for advancing higher education in Wichita Falls were poor, but in spite of the setbacks, Hardin still had money; and W. B. Hamilton and the Chamber of Commerce still had hopes. And there was something new on the horizon; the New Deal, which going about in a confusion of policies and proposals, was trying to get the country moving again.

It was the school, however, that revived the issue. The need was still there, and greater than before. High School-Junior College enrollment continued to advance beyond even the alarming numbers of the 1920's. In 1933 joint enrollment was 1,806 and, by 1935 student numbers were 1,912, which was twenty-six percent above the building's capacity. High school students alone would have filled the structure.[22]

To obtain more classrooms for this large population, the school enclosed halls and converted offices. Some college classes which formerly met Monday, Wednesday, Friday were rescheduled to Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday. Crowded conditions made the learning situation tense. The school superintendent learned what every large family knew; that brash kids in their mid-teens did not get along well with sophisticated college-age young adults. Further, high school students who had classes from early morning until 4 pm resented the relative freedom of their elders, whose courses met only three times a week. But the college students wanted even more freedom. They wanted a relaxed campus atmosphere, and they disliked having to comply with high school regulations.[23]

In fact, the Superintendent and the Principal resolved conflicts in favor of the high school. H. D. Fillers who became Superintendent and College President in 1931, and S. H. Rider who was high school principal and dean of the College, ran both faculties by the book of regulations, that is, the high school book. They insisted that the college teachers attend all teachers meetings; which the college people found both boring and wasteful, because the meetings dealt primarily with high school business.[24]

The administration also insisted that the college instructors keep the same building hours as those in high school, that is they had to be at their desks from 8 in the morning until 4 pm, even though they might not have classes at such hours. Believing this to be unprofessional, the college faculty argued that they could better grade their papers and make classroom preparation at home

[21] Wichita Falls School Board, *Minutes,* May 12, 1932. Prof Edwards Interview. Interview with Mamie Raborn, October 2, 1981; hereinafter cited as Mamie Raborn Interview. Madge Davis Interviews.

[22] **Wichita Falls Daily Times,** October 29, 1935, p. 8.

[23] Prof Edwards Interview. Wichita Falls School Board, *Minutes,* August 16, 1928.

[24] *Ibid.,* Madge Davis Interviews, Mamie Raborn Interview.

than in the noisy atmosphere of the high school. Fillers and Rider over-ruled these objections, saying they could not be more lenient with the college people because the high school teachers would be envious and resentful.[25]

One free-spirited teacher on the college staff ran into this hard-boiled attitude. There was an afternoon show downtown that she wanted to attend. So she went. Not only was she absent without leave from her desk, she missed a teachers' meeting; which highly offended Fillers and Rider. Upon reporting for work the next morning she was ordered into a conference with Principal Rider who asked why she had been absent from the teachers' meeting. She tartly inquired, "Did I miss anything?" Whereupon she was reprimanded and sent to Superintendent Fillers for further admonishing. So much for faculty rights.[26]

Students, teachers, and administrators all felt the pressure of over-crowding. The integrity of teaching, and the validity of college learning were at stake. These needs bubbled up to the School Board whose members agreed that a crisis was at hand. Such board members as C. H. Clark, President, Carter McGregor, Sr. and Rhea Howard had close ties to the business community and to the Chamber of Commerce which took action in 1934. Both School Board and Chamber members agreed that the future of college education in Wichita Falls was at a crossroads. If separation of the Junior College from the High School did not soon take place the college would die. The problem was money, which was even more scarce than in 1929.[27]

Well, there was that Burkburnett situation. John Hardin had lost some resources in the Depression; but he still had lots of money, which he was giving away. Emissaries from the Wichita Falls business community went to the Hardin family. W. B. Hamilton, still on good terms with the old man, was an important go-between. So it was that on June 22, 1934, Mr. Hamilton reported to the Chamber of Commerce that Mr. Hardin had made a second college offer, in some respects similar, in other respects different, from the original. The new offer was now only about half of his first. On the other hand, he was willing to settle for half a college, a two-year instead of a four-year institution. Specifically the offer was this: Hardin would provide some $200,000.00 from the recently established Hardin Trust. But true to his nature he attached conditions that required Wichita Falls to do some work for so large a sum. There were three conditions:[28]

1. Wichita Falls had to provide a campus of from 20 or 40 acres for the college;

2. The citizens of Wichita Falls had to pay $20,000.00 to the Hardin interests for expenses in setting up the trust;

[25] Prof Edwards Interview. Mamie Raborn Interview.

[26] Prof Edwards Interview.

[27] Wichita Falls School Board, *Minutes,* July 16, 1930; October (?) (p. 8), 1930; February 2, 1931. Chamber of Commerce, *Minutes,* June 18, 1930.

[28] Chamber of Commerce, *Minutes,* June 22, 1934.

3. Wichita Falls had to construct a college building on the new campus within two years of the death of Hardin or his wife, whichever survived the longest. Mr. Hardin made clear that his money could not be used for construction; it could be used for college operation only after the new building was finished.

The first condition, that of land for a campus was easily met. W. B. Hamilton and his business partner, Noros Martin, quickly made available forty acres of choice wheat land on the south side of town at the end of a dusty, rural road, grandly called Taft Street.[29]

The second and third conditions proved more difficult. The Chamber of Commerce early took charge of the easier of the two, that is, raising $20,000.00. Deciding to do this task in June and July, 1935, the Board of Directors named D. Houston Bolin as chairman of that citizens' campaign. The Chamber of Commerce and the Parent-Teacher Association set up committees to make personal visits and also to make telephone calls. Some college instructors participated in the public drive, both by telephone and by visits. Intense, favorable publicity appeared in the newspapers which published the names of donors.[30]

A variety of people gave various sums of money. A number of working people gave $1, $5, or $10 gifts. Substantial businessmen donated $100 and $250. But unexpected resistance developed. Some businessmen resented the $20,000.00 going back to Hardin interests: "If the old man needed $20,000.00, why didn't he take it out of his donation?" It was a bit like taking coals to Newcastle. By July 2, collections had reached $15,000.00. In spite of the intense drive and favorable publicity, the flow of donations slowed. The deadline was extended. By the close of the drive, the amount reached $18,500.00 which was $1,500.00 short of the goal. Members of the Chamber of Commerce dug into their own pockets to make up the difference; and the drive was declared a success.[31]

Though Wichitans had encountered difficulties in meeting this goal, they had gone farther in Depression 1934 than they did in prosperous 1929. They had met and overcome Hardin's first two conditions. Dealing with the third and final one was more difficult. Construction costs on the new building would total several hundred thousand dollars. Wichita Falls could not find so huge a sum, and so the college drive languished.[32]

In the summer of 1935, hopes revived. Funds might be available from a new source: the Federal Government. National economic collapse had called into existence the New Deal, a multi-dimensional program to get the country moving again. Franklin Roosevelt was inaugurated as President in 1933 on an activist federal program to spend millions of dollars on all kinds of projects.

[29] Deed Book, vol. 337, pp. 460-463; Wichita County Clerk's Office; County Court House, Wichita Falls, Texas.

[30] Prof Edwards Interview, Madge Davis Interviews. **Wichita Falls Daily Times,** July 1, 1934, p. 1; July 2, 1934, p. 1; July 3, 1934, p. 1; July 4, 1934, p. 1.

[31] Prof Edwards Interview. **Wichita Daily Times,** July 4, 1934, p. 1; July 8, 1934, p. 1; July 9, 1934, p. 1; July 11, 1934, p. 1.

[32] Chamber of Commerce, *Minutes,* April 16, 1935.

To conservative Republicans, Roosevelt was about to plunge the country into more chaos than Hoover had. To brass collar Democrats he was going to end the disorder of Hoover's bumbling. After two years of the New Deal's threshing about for workable solutions, order began to appear in administration policies. Though direct relief was still to be available, more emphasis was placed on large permanent projects built jointly by Federal and local governments.

Harold Ickes, Roosevelt's able and quarrelsome Secretary of Interior, was a major proponent of the new policy. He had a powerful engine for his scheme--the recently created Public Works Administration of which he was head. His concept was that of a creative New Federalism in which the national government and local government were partners. Tolerating no waste or inefficiency he required that the local authorities think through and carefully plan each project. From a national perspective this approach had much in common with John Hardin's ideas of philanthropy and good works. The recipient must prove his worth.

In May of 1935 the School Board heard from a Chamber of Commerce committee of which D. H. Bolin and W. B. Hamilton were members; the committee proposed to construct a college building and two dormitories for a total cost of $630,000.00. In June the Board applied to the Federal Government for the full amount, forty five percent by direct grant and fifty five percent by federal loan. A bonanza seemed to be at hand, but it was not so simple.[33]

Bureaucratic wheels in Washington and Fort Worth (the district headquarters of PWA) ground out the request and rejected it. Major objections seemed to be that it asked for too much money and that Wichita Falls offered no matching funds. Quickly adjusting to these circumstances the School Board and the Chamber regrouped and reshaped their proposal. A new request went to PWA which eliminated the dorms. This left only the academic-administrative building which would be jointly financed by the federal government and the school district. The school board now asked for the direct loan only.[34]

Wichita Falls did not allow this request to cross bureaucratic desks on its own merits. The Chamber of Commerce, by now wise in the ways of negotiations, mounted a public and private lobbying campaign, designed to show that the project had widespread support. The Chamber itself sent telegrams to Secretary Ickes and to Harry Hopkins, a major figure in the national administration. And so did the various civic clubs as the American Legion, the Legion Auxiliary, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the Ministerial Alliance, the Women's Forum, and labor organizations. Practically every aspect of civic and economic life enlisted in the campaign. In addition to PWA bureaucrats, the two U.S. Senators, Tom Connally and Morris Sheppard, were contacted; both agreed to help. Local Congressman W. D. McFarlane of Graham, met in a public meeting with the Chamber officers to endorse the proposal; he also promised the help of his Washington office.[35]

[33] Wichita Falls School Board, *Minutes,* May 27, 1935, and June 4, 1935.

[34] Wichita Falls School Board, *Minutes,* September 9, 1935, September 21, 1935. **Wichita Daily Times,** September 12, 1935, p. 1; January 7, 1936, p. 5.

[35] Wichita Falls School Board, *Minutes,* September 9, 1935, and September 13, 1935. **Wichita Falls Daily Times,** September 12, 1935.

The school board decided, and the Chamber agreed, that this was not enough. Having been scorched once by bureaucratic finagling, they decided that the proposal needed a personal touch. The Board wanted someone, who could represent Wichita Falls in a positive way, to go to Washington. In James H. Allison they found their man. A newspaper man, at the time he was Vice President of the Times Publishing Company. Before moving to Wichita Falls he had worked with newspapers in Tennessee and Ohio. Personable and hard-working, during the thirteen years he had lived here, he had been active in the Boy Scouts, the Wichita Valley Project, and other enterprises. As a civic worker he had the respect of the local business community, and as a journalist, he could work with the great and near-great in politics.[36]

He was effective. The school board had named him as its special ambassador to Washington on September 21; on September 30, the PWA announced its approval for a $157,091 grant for a new Wichita Falls Junior College. Anxious joy greeted this good news. There was joy that so important a milestone had been reached; there was anxiety because the grant had two conditions:

1. The Wichita Falls School District had to match the grant with $200,000.00 and;
2. The first construction contract had to be let by December 15.

These conditions left the board with only two and one-half months to have a bond election and to draw up final specifications for the building.[37]

A bond issue was no simple matter. The school board could not call the election on its own initiative. Only the taxpaying voters could do this. So that the procedure for a bond issue was actually two campaigns: the first was for an initiative petition from the taxpayers; and the second was the bond election itself. It seemed that when Wichita Falls took one step forward, two more steps were necessary just to keep up.

October and November, 1935 were months of heavy campaigning for the bond issue. The school board called a public meeting at the Wichita Club for October 7 at which time the petition drive was organized. D. H. Bolin represented the Chamber of Commerce. The Labor unions, Women's Forum, and PTA pledged support and circulated petitions. By October 31 the required number of signatures had been obtained and the board called for the election to take place on November 12. With the final vote only twelve days away, the petition drive melded into the election campaign.[38]

The construction of a junior college, indeed according to some the very existence of the college, was at stake and in the hands of the voters. Business interests and labor united on the issue. Major civic organizations endorsed the bonds. The Trades and Labor Council endorsement reasoned that present facilities were insufficient for adequate education; and further that the project

36 Wichita Falls School Board, *Minutes,* September 21, 1935. Chamber of Commerce, *Minutes,* October 25, 1935. **Wichita Falls Daily Times,** October 11, 1935, p. 4; January 7, 1936, p. 5.

37 **Wichita Daily Times,** October 1, 1935, p. 1. Wichita Falls School Board, *Minutes,* October 4, 1935.

38 **Wichita Daily Times,** October 6, 1935, section 2, p. 8; October 8, 1935, p. 1; October 9, 1935, editorial page; October 13, 1935, section 1, p. 7; October 20, 1935, p. 5; October 25, 1935, p. 20; October 31, 1935, p. 1.; Prof Edwards Interview.

would provide needed jobs. The newspapers carried favorable stories and gav editorial support. The Wichita **Daily Times** gave resounding editorial endorsement saying that a no vote would end the local college; and Wichita Falls' tangible loss would be the Hardin donation of $200,000.00 as well as the loss of the PWA grant of $157,091.00 The editorial further said that the intangible loss of so great a civic asset would be even greater than the loss of these mere dollars. The city would lose the opportunity to become the educational center of North Texas and Southern Oklahoma. The editorial soberly concluded: "We shall make or mar our city's destiny by our answer."[39]

In the absence of organized opposition why were the civic leaders so worried? Because the answer was not so clear. The time was still the depth of the Depression: business was worsening, a sickening drouth was settling over the South Plains. Oil companies continued to close their local offices. Many people were delinquent in their property tax; and now they were asked to increase their taxes. Moreover, in school elections only property holders could vote; which made the question more uncertain. And some people had fresh in mind the near failure of the $20,000.00 Hardin drive the year before.[40] Would the voters burden themselves in hard years for ten times that amount?

Like Paul Revere warning of coming disaster, Superintendent Fillers was everywhere, talking to anyone who would listen about the need to expand the college; civic groups, cultural clubs all got his message.[41] The newspapers ran more editorials. Two days before the election, a full page advertisement endorsed the bonds. It cited the overcrowding of present facilities; it said that separation would improve the quality of both high school and junior college education. Among the ad's signers were such people and businesses as Bailey-Moline Hardware, Bebb's Flowers, Boardman Oil Company, Gem Theatre, Hub Clothiers, Frank Kell, Morgan Motor Company, Panhandle Refining, Perkins-Timberlake, and the State Theater.[42]

The campaign was well planned. The issues were clear. And the bonds carried by the impressive margin of eight to one. The message was plain and unmistakable. Wichitans wanted to expand their educational opportunities in adverse times.[43]

With its architectural plans already prepared, the school board quickly followed the electoral mandate, and let the first contract to Reid Construction of Wichita Falls for laying the foundation. The Board signed the contract in early December which complied with the PWA deadline of December 15. The

39 **Wichita Daily Times,** October 6, 1935, section 2, p. 8; October 8, 1935, p. 1; October 11, 1935, p. 4; October 14, 1935, p. 6; October 20, 1935, p. 5; October 25, 1935; November 10, 1935, p. 2; November 10, 1935, p. 12, editorial.

40 **Wichita Daily Times,** November 4, 1935, p. 6. Prof Edwards Interview.

41 **Wichita Daily Times,** October 13, 1935, section 1, p. 7; October 20, 1935, p. 5; October 29, 1938, p. 8.

42 **Wichita Daily Times,** November 10, 1935, p. 11.

43 **Wichita Daily Times,** November 13, 1935, p. 1.

PWA also added $27,000.00 to its original grant which brought Federal participation to a total of $184,091.[44]

On January 17, 1936, a bitterly cold north wind swept across a forty acre green wheat field where a heavily bundled crowd of 1700 had gathered to witness the ground-breaking for the new college. Photographs show the people smiling in spite of the chill weather. In overcoat, scarf, and hat, John G. Hardin was the center of attention. Though elderly and ailing he took a firm grasp of the shovel. Then this man who had recently given $200,000.00 to the college turned to the crown and said with dry wit:[45]

> I know that I am not expected to make a speech on this occasion. Possibly I have been selected for this (shoveling) part on the program on account of my experience with the pick and shovel. Therefore, gentlemen, I commence the work of building the college.

Putting his foot to the spade, he took two hefty scoops of dirt. So began the construction of the new college.

In honor of Hardin's efforts, the school board named the new campus "Hardin Junior College".[46] The board had promised that the new building would be ready for its students by the 1937 fall session. Though there were no more major delays, eight months (from January to September) was not time enough to complete so large a project.

September came and the college found temporary quarters in the education building of the First Methodist Church, which true to its Wesleyan tradition of good works, took in the homeless collegians. On September 14, 1936, classes opened in Sunday School rooms, which had temporary maps and blackboards added to the walls. Instead of regular desks the students sat around long tables in chairs meant only for Sunday morning use. A major disadvantage was that all labs remained at the High School, some two miles distant; which college students could not use until 4:30 pm. People in such classes as Chemistry, Biology, Home Economics, and Engineering Drawing, had a two campus schedule. Nevertheless, instructors and students agreed that their churchly facilities were more commodious than their cramped high school quarters. The Methodist building easily handled the enrollment of some 240 which was fifty more than the previous semester.[47]

However inconvenient the temporary quarters, the new campus was worth waiting for. A magnificent structure was taking shape on the south side of Wichita Falls. By the spring of 1937, the Hamilton and Martin wheat field had

[44] For early planning and resolutions, see Wichita Falls School Board, *Minutes,* June 4, 1935. For final approval see **Wichita Daily Times,** November 17, 1935, section 1, p. 14; November 20, 1935, p. 1; December 14, 1935, p. 4.

[45] **Wichita Falls Record News,** January 18, 1936, p. 1. **Wichita Daily Times,** January 18, 1936, p. 1.

[46] **Wichita Daily Times,** December 11, 1935, p. 8.

[47] Madge Davis Interview. Prof Edwards Interview. **Wichita Daily Times,** September 6, 1936; September 13, 1936, section 1, p. 13; September 14, 1936, pp. 1 and 2; September 20, 1936; section 1, p. 5.

sprouted a truly distinctive building of solid masonry construction. The structure was really three buildings, which connected by arched arcades on the west, looked like a giant capital letter "E" open to the East. The exteriors of the buildings were covered in interworked red and brown bricks outlined with white stone tracery. Red tile roofs gave a Mediterranean flair to the college. Lying along a North-South axis the central building was a two-story edifice, some 250 feet long; above the east entrance was a tower of about 90 feet in height. This central building was the principal academic area, housing classrooms, laboratories, and offices. Its most interesting feature was the second floor library. Located above the main entrance and next to the tower, the main reading room had a floor space of 40 by 36 feet with a lovely high, trussed ceiling. Overhanging balconies added to its academic atmosphere. This beautiful environment was not fully equipped with books, however. In the final separation from the high school, the college lost its claims to joint book holdings. Nevertheless, a library committee headed by Madge Davis was able to come up with some 2,200 volumes for the shelves.[48]

The south wing, built along an east-west axis was a plain-jane, utilitarian physical education facility. Its principal room was a full-scale basketball court which, with its bleachers to accommodate 800 people, was said to be the largest indoor court in Wichita Falls.

The impressive interior of the north wing was a delicate balance of Italianate design and public needs. The auditorium with arched windows and arcaded aisles was topped off by wooden beams which reached a vaulted ceiling. Awed newspaper reporters called it a chapel.

An outside view from the east on Taft Street gave an overall impression of sturdiness and beauty. The three buildings are large, yet the design of interwoven brown and red brick, the white tracery of stone, and the varying of outside lines break up the massiveness. The design was a tribute to the principal architects Voelcker and Dixon of Wichita Falls. Long term use has also proven that the general contractor, Thomas Bates and Son of Dallas, did a good job.

The college was completed and ready for occupancy in March, 1937, which was nine years after Superintendent Cantwell had sounded the alarm about overcrowding, more than eight years after Hardin made his first offer, and three years after his second. Classes were to begin on Monday, March 15. But the school board, Chamber of Commerce, indeed, the entire community, decided to have a celebration on the day before classes were to start. Declaring an open house, the college invited the general public for a visit and inspection for Sunday, March 14, from 2 to 6 in the afternoon.

With a top lead banner, eight column headline, the Wichita Daily **Times** that morning proclaimed: "Hardin Junior College Portals Open Sunday for Public Inspection." Beneath it was a full east side view of the college, which extended the width of the page. An entire twenty-page section devoted to the college expressed community appreciation. Hundreds of people and businesses signed congratulatory advertisements.[49]

[48] The best single contemporary description of the building is **Wichita Falls Post,** section 3, p. 2. And see also **Wichita Daily Times,** March 14, 1937, section 1, p. 1., and all of section 2 of the same issue. Another description is in the **Junior College Journal,** December, 1938, pp. 296-299. For the Madge Davis Committee, see **Wichita Daily Times,** March 14, 1937, section 2, p. 14.

[49] **Wichita Daily Times,** March 14, 1937, section 1, p. 1, and all of section 2.

Nature herself entered the festivities and prepared notable events for the college's opening. That morning, howling north winds stormed in with freezing rain, sleet, and snow. By noon, unpaved Taft Street where hundreds of cars were to be parked was a quagmire. But a mere storm was not to deprive Wichitans of their celebration. By 2 o'clock the entire student body was on hand to help park the visitors' cars and to guide the people through the buildings. All the faculty of whom there were fifteen, some of the women in long dresses, were in their classrooms and offices, greeting the crowds. Happily there were no official speeches but there was in the central foyer a reception line made up of notables including the school board, John Hardin, W. B. Hamilton, and Noros Martin. Thousands of flowers sent by well wishers decorated the halls and rooms. In the auditorium an orchestra serenaded tired visitors who could sit down and enjoy the music. The reception was an overwhelming success. Between the hours of 2 and 6 pm, 7,500 people swarmed into the building and tramped mud up and down the corridors.[50]

So successful was this dedication, that school authorities decided to have another, one week later. Because of the bad roads out-of-towners had been unable to attend the first. They now could get their own reception. With better weather, the second reception held March 21 was even more successful, with over 8,000 people attending.[51]

In summation what can we say of all this? From first to last during these years, the local school board was responsible for the college education; since it had itself brought the junior college into being. And when the enrollment crisis came in 1928, the board could not look beyond Wichita Falls for help in the solution. A local non-profit civic institution, the Chamber of Commerce was of primary aid. The board and the Chamber worked hand in glove to establish a separate college. The Chamber of course worked with the business community, whose projects it largely represented. The local newspapers, the **Wichita Daily Times** and the **Record News** were significant factors in publicizing college needs and promoting the various drives. Yet all these factors working together would probably have failed had it not been for John G. Hardin and the Federal Government. At crucial moments this unlikely pair came forth with the necessary amount of money. Another matter, a very human factor, was the role of the go-between. Someone of wit and wisdom who had community trust was needed to go from one group to another, to persuade, to cajole, to explain and on occasion to twist arms. No more than four people seemed to have been in this role; and of them, W. B. Hamilton was most persistent. Never giving up hope, he appeared in meetings and conferences throughout the period from 1928 to 1937.

Absent from this account is the Texas state government which had no jurisdiction over city colleges; and, therefore, no duties to perform. This seems strange to us who now work in Midwestern State University, the successor to Wichita Falls Junior College. Today, when Austin coughs, we in Wichita Falls get pneumonia.

As for the effect on the community of building the Junior College, it was the most important positive event to take place in Wichita Falls in the 1930's. In common with most cities during the Depression, Wichita Falls had some notable failures: it never got a desperately needed underpass at Seventh Street.

[50] Madge Davis Interview, Prof Edwards Interview. **Wichita Daily Times,** March 15, 1937, p. 1 and p. 2.

Wichita Daily Times, March 22, 1937, p. 3.

Neither did it get other large building programs for which it hoped. And the departure of the Texas Company operations office in 1936 profoundly shocked the Chamber of Commerce. But in 1937 after tremendous local effort, the people of Wichita Falls could look at the magnificent college structure on its south border and could say, "There, we did it."

Hardin Junior College was a matter of intense civic pride; of hopes fulfilled, and of dreams yet to come.

On the day of the college opening, The **Wichita Daily Times** put it this way in an editorial:[52]

> Today Wichita Falls reaches an important milestone in its development. It will witness the opening of its junior college plant. the partial fruition of a 15-year effort to provide higher education facilities here.
>
> The plant itself, a thing of beauty and distinction, is one to stir the civic pride of every Wichitan.
>
> Those whose vision reaches beyond the physical equipment and see the cultural opportunity...must feel a pride heightened by what they see and remember...
>
> Wichita Falls has a right to be proud today.

But, the paper continued, the job was not finished until the facility housed a full four-year college; this was a hope to be cherished.

The people most directly affected, the students and the faculty, would agree that the new college was a mightly improvement. One professor comparing the past situation to the new, said that on H Street:[53]

> ...we were just an appendage to the high school, but on Taft Street, Oh my, it's a university.

That first week the students were joyous. From the college's east terrace they could look northward across the fields, and over a mile away they could see the walls of the high school from which they had recently been freed. And then going into their splendid new building, they spontaneously began to sing: "America, the Beautiful."[54]

Here in Wichita Falls in 1937, they found a beautiful land.

[52] **Wichita Daily Times,** March 14, 1937, section 1, p. 8.

[53] Prof Edwards Interview.

[54] *Ibid.*

BEN JONSON: A RE-LOOK AT CLASSICISM

Baird W. Whitlock*

As you walk down the left aisle of Westminster Abbey, you will find, about a third of the way down the nave, a small stone in the floor with the inscription "O Rare Ben Jonson." The present stone is a modern copy, but the original is still visible, placed into the wall nearby. There is one story that the inscription, itself a rare one in so sober a place as the Abbey, is actually a stonecutter's error. It is said that what Jonson wanted was the simple wording, **Orare** Ben Jonson, Pray for Ben Jonson; that has the ring of truth about it, as Jonson was one of the leading latinists of the day, the student of William Camden, who was the most famous teacher of Westminster School, which was located just to the south of the Abbey in the old monastery grounds. But the unfortunate stonecutter did not have the latin training of the bricklayer's son whose tombstone he was cutting, and he made a mistake which was to remain one of the great tributes of history.

And rare Ben Jonson was. The tombstone may be but a sign of his even stranger burial. Again, the story goes that Jonson, who was converted to Roman Catholicism at a time when it was anything but the most politic action, asked the Dean of Westminster, also a poet, if he might be buried in the Abbey. After some playful banter, the Dean said he could have one square foot, and the tradition is that Jonson was buried standing up in order to keep within the one square foot. It is certainly true that when the Webbs were buried right next to the spot indicated, the grave diggers discovered leg bones in a vertical position.

No one who knew Ben Jonson would have been at all surprised that he was buried in a different way from everyone else, especially upright while everyone else was prone. It would be but another gesture of personal strength and individuality. Of course, for the reader who equates individualism with being different, Jonson may not seem such an individual, but to anyone schooled in the meaning of classical Greece or the Renaissance, the fact of true individualism which can work within traditions is one of the major points of history and art. Jonson was such an individual who wanted, in the words of Robert Frost, the freedom **of** rhyme and meter, of traditional genres like the ode or Roman lyric.

Jonson was one of the great playwrights of any age and in his own day overshadowed Shakespeare himself. But in this paper I want to concentrate on him as a lyric poet, the role in which he himself would have preferred to be judged. It was also the role that won him the title of "Father" by all the Sons of Ben, his tribe, the seventeenth century literary equivalent of Arnie's Army or the followers of T. S. Eliot - except that his followers, like Herrick, Suckling, and Lovelace, were first rate poets in their own right.

It might be best to see Jonson as these poets saw him: Herrick, for example, writes, while Jonson is still alive:

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When I a verse shall make,
Know I have prayed thee,
For old religion's sake,
Saint Ben, to aid me.
Make the way smooth for me,
When I, thy Herrick,
Honoring thee, on my knee
Offer my lyric.
Candles I'll give to thee,
And a new altar;
And thou, Saint Ben, shalt be
Writ in my psalter.

After Jonson's death, Herrick wrote:

Ah Ben!
Say how, or when
Shall we thy guests
Meet at those lyric feasts,
Made at the Sun,
The Dog, the Triple Tun?
Where we such clusters had,
As made us nobly wild, not mad;
And yet each verse of thine
Outdid the meat, outdid the frolic wine.

My Ben
Or come agen;
Or send to us
Thy wits great overplus;
But teach us yet
Wisely to husband it;
Lest we that talent spend;
And having once brought to an end
That precious stock; the store
Of such a wit: the world should have no more.

Rather than to dismiss such praise as traditional eulogy or to dismiss Jonson as a poet with tastes different from those of our own age, it would do us well to see those qualities which his contemporaries, men such as Donne and Shakespeare, saw in him and recognize not only his high place in the sweep of English literature, but also recognize him as a poet who still makes personal contact with us today.

Certainly the first element of his reputation lay in his careful training in the classics and his use of classical forms and expression. To show the nature of his work as an artist it would be well to make a comparison of a translation of a poem of Catullus made by a leading 17th century poet, Richard Crashaw, and the new poem that Jonson makes on the model of that same poem by Catullus. Crashaw translates the Fifth Ode of Catullus as follows:

Come and let us live, my dear,
Let us love and never fear
What the sourest fathers say:
Brightest Sol that dies to-day
Lives again as blithe to-morrow;
But if we dark sons of sorrow
Set, O then, how long a night
Shuts the eyes of our short light!
Then let amorous kisses dwell
On our lips, begin and tell
A thousand, and a hundred score,
An hundred and a thousand more,
Till another thousand smother
That, and that wipe off another.
Thus at last when we have numbred
Many a thousand, many a hundred,
We'll confound the reckoning quite,
And lose ourselves in wild delight:
While our joys so multiply
As shall mock the envious eye.

This ode can as well claim the position of **the** model **Capre Diem,** or Seize the Day, poem, as any; one which was to have such a strong influence on Donne as well as Marvell. Jonson has the same freedom as Donne and Marvell in his treatment of the original, but unlike them he makes no attempt to hide the fact that he is using the model. He hopes that the reader, and the theater-goer in this case, will recognize what he is doing and take added pleasure in comparing his own treatment with that of Catullus. Coming as it does in the middle of his comedy **Volpone,** its classical base gives it all the more power to heighten the satire of the scene in which it appears:

Come my Celia, let us prove,
While we can, the sports of love,
Time will not be ours for ever,
He, at length, our good will sever;
Spend not then his gifts in vain:
Suns that set may rise again;
But if once we lose this light,
'Tis with us perpetual night.
Why should we defer our joys?
Fame and rumor are but toys.
Cannot we delude the eyes
Of a few poor household spies?
Or his easier ears beguile,
Thus removed by our wile--
'Tis no sin love's fruits to steal;
But the sweet thefts to reveal,
To be taken, to be seen,
These have crimes accounted been.
(III, vii, 166-173)

Not only has Jonson written a completely new poem, but he has changed the entire meaning by putting it into the mouth of Volpone, the Fox.

Another favorite classical form of Jonson, which he shared with his whole age, was that of the epigram, a short, concise, witty statement on a person or event. These are poems directed to the mind, and Jonson sets the tone of his book of Epigrams immediately, with Epigram I - to the Reader.

Pray thee take care, that tak'st my booke in hand,
To reade it well: that is, to understand.

No better warning to any reader of Jonson's poetry could be stated.

One of the favorite epigrammatic forms was that of the satiric attack, sometimes on individuals, more often on types, such as the following:

On Some-Thing, That Walkes Some-Where

At court I met it, in clothes brave enough,
To be a courtier; and lookes grave enough,
To seeme a statesman: as I neere it came,
It made me a great face, I aks'd the name.
A lord, it cryed, buried in flesh, and blood,
And such from whom let no man hope least good,
For I will doe none: and as little ill,
For I will dare none. Good Lord, walke dead still.

Or

On Court-worme

All men are wormes: But this no man. In silke
'Twas brought to court first wrapt, and white as milke;
Where, afterwards, it grew a butter-flye:
Which was a cater-piller. So t'will dye.

All of this is quite ordinary for the time except perhaps better done than most. But when Jonson felt strongly on a subject, his bitterness could make the highest-placed member of the court cringe. One wonders how many women at court reacted personally to

Fine Lady Would-Be

Fine madam Would-be, wherefore should you fear
That love to make so well, a child to bear?
The world reputes you barren: but I know
Your pothecary, and his drug, says no.
Is it the pain affrights? that's soon forgot.
Or your complexion's loss? you have a pot,
That can restore that. Will it hurt your feature?
To make amends, you are thought a wholesome creature.
What should the cause be? oh, you live at court;
And there's both loss of time and loss of sport,
In a great belly: Write then on thy womb,
"Of the not born, yet buried, here's the tomb."

It is little wonder that Jonson always had more enemies than friends at the court in London.

The friends that he did have, however, were the ones that he could be proud of, and to whom he rendered epigrammatic praise equal to the abuse he levelled at others. To John Donne he could write,

> Donne, the delight of PHOEBUS, and each **Muse,**
> Who, to thy one, all other braines refuse;
> Whose every worke, of thy most earely wit,
> Came forth example, and remaines so, yet:
> Longer a knowing, then most wits doe live.
> And which no affection praise enough can give!
> To it, thy language, letters, arts, best life,
> Which might with halfe mankind maintayne a strife.
> All which I meant to praise, and, yet, I would;
> But leave, because I cannot as I should!

The praise that he gives to Donne is honest praise, clear about the poems that he thought great, the early ones that Donne wrote. He praises him as wit, as student, as virtuous person, all of which could be supported. He does not say that he thinks Donne is a skillful poet. His works came forth example indeed, example of the use of conceit, of a colloquial speaking tone that was to influence Jonson as well as the followers of them both. But he can, without any hypocrisy, later say of Donne to William Drummond of Hawthorndon, "That Donne's Anniversary was profane and full of blasphemies; that he told Mr. Donne, if it had been written of the Virgin Mary, it had been something." or "That Donne, for not keeping of accent, deserved hanging." But also, "He esteemeth John Donne the first poet in the world for some things; his verses of the Lost Chain he hath by heart, and tht passage of **The Calm,** That dust and feathers to not stir, all was so quiet. Affirmeth Donne to have written all his best pieces ere he was 25 years old."

Perhaps his greatest praise of Donne came in an epigram accompanying some of his own manuscript poems:

> Who shall doubt, **Donne,** where I a poet be,
> When I dare send my Epigrams to thee?
> That so lone canst judge, so alone does make:
> And in thy censures, evenly, dost take
> As free simplicity, to disavow,
> As thou hast best authority t'allow.
> Read all I send; and if I find but one
> Mark'd by thy hand, and with the better stone,
> My title's seal'd. Those that for claps do write,
> Let pui'nees', porters', players' praise delight,
> And till they burst their backs, like asses, load:
> A man should seek great glory, and not broad.

To his teacher at Westminster, who was also probably the greatest historian of the period, Jonson addressed one of his finest compliments, and there is no reason to think it any less sincere than the others we have seen:

To William Camden

Camden, most reverend head, to whom I owe
All that I am in arts, all that I know.
(How nothing's that) to whom my countrey owes
The great renowne, and name wherewith shee goes.
Then thee the age sees not that thing more grave,
More high, more holy, that shee more would crave.
What name, what skill, what faith hast thou in things!
What sight in searching the most antique springs!
What weight, and what authoritie in thy speech!
Man scarse can make that doubt, but thou canst teach.
Pardon free truth, and let thy modestie,
Which conquers all, be once over-come by thee.
Many of thine this better could, then I,
But for their powers, accept my pietie.

How many teachers wish that they could have an equal praise given their work! But then, perhaps if there were more Willian Camdens, there would be more Ben Jonsons!

It was Camden who taught him his approach to "making"--poetry (the term is an exact translation of the Greek *poiésis*, an approach that seems offensive to modern ears. He said to the same William Drummond, "That he wrote all his first in prose, for so his master, Camden, had learned him." To many this seems a contradiction of all that poetry stands for. We shall consider in a moment whether such a charge holds up in any way. But it was also Camden who gave him his sense of the Horatian (following the poetic approach of the Roman poet Horace)--the attitude of poetry as a making of a moral world, poetry as virtue, poetry as teaching. That Horatian note is as central to Jonson as his appeal to the reader's mind, for they are, in classical terms, the same thing. This Horatian quality saves Jonson from obsequiousness in a genre that almost demanded the time-saver, the yes-man.

All of the poets of the age depended upon the contributions or entire support of patrons, and Jonson was no different from the others, but where the others, like John Donne, poetically licked the boots of ladies like Lucy, Countess of Bedford, Jonson's sense of balance and honesty kept him from excess. Perhaps the best example is a poem directed to Lucy, who was certainly the best-qualified of all of the female patrons of the time to understand and appreciate the poets in her train. Jonson describes, in Horatian terms, what the perfect woman should be and then tips his hat in his close to Bedford, but he tips his hat, not his hand. The poem is more of a challenge to Bedford to become what he has described than it is a portrait.

This morning, timely wrapt with holy fire,
I thought to forme unto my zealous **Muse,**
What kinde of creature I could most desire,
To honor, serve, and love; as **Poets** use.
I meant to make her faire, and free, and wise,
Of greatest bloud, and yet more good then great;
I meant the day-starre should not brighter rise,
Nor lend like influence from his lucent seat.
I meant shee should be curteous, facile, sweet,
Hating that solemne vice of greatnesse, pride;

I meant each softest vertue, there should meet,
Fit in that softer bosome to reside.
Onely a learned, and a manly soule
I purpos'd her; that should, with even powers,
The rock, the spindle, and the sheeres controule
Of destinie, and spin her owne free houres.
Such when I mean to faine, and wish'd to see,
My **Muse** bad, **Bedford** write, and that was shee.

Note that it was his Muse that told him who it was. Apparently experience had not called it to his mind.

Perhaps the most famous Horatian passage in Jonson occurs not in an Horatian ode (a poetic form employing carefully wrought couplets in four line stanzas) but in the first Pindaric Ode in the English language (unless Milton had already written his first Christmas Ode at the time: they were both written sometime during 1629). The Poem, "To the Immortall Memorie, and Friendship of that Noble Paire, Sir Lucious Cary, and Sir H. Morison," has the traditional Pindaric form of Strophe, Antistrophe, and Epode, translated here by Jonson quite strictly as the turne, the counter-turne, and the stand. The ode was originally sung by a dancing chorus, which explains the terms. There are some quite magnificent passages in the relatively long poem such as the description of a mythical birth at the time of Hannibal:

Thou, looking then about,
E're thou wert halfe got out,
Wise child, did'st hastily returne,
And mad'st thy Mothers wombe thine urne.
How summ'd a circle didst thou leave man-kind
Of deepest lore, could we the Center find!

or the question opening the first epode, along the same line:

For, what is life, if measur'd by the space,
Not by the act?

The third strophe, in which Jonson begins to draw the conclusions from his more general questions and mythological references as well as the youthful death of Morrison, is the most famous part of the poem, and rightly so:

It is not growing like a tree
In bulke, doth make man better bee;
Or standing long an Oake, three hundred yeare,
To fall a logge, at last, dry, bald, and seare:
A Lillie of a Day,
Is fairer farre, in May,
Although it fall, and die that night;
It was the Plant, and flowre of light.
In small proportions, we just beauties see:
And in short measures, life may perfect bee.

And it is in the small proportions of Jonson's short lyrics that we are made most aware of his brilliance as a poet, as in a song from another play, **The Silent Woman,** a song as timeless in its small way as anything written by Catullus:

Still to be neat, still to be drest,
As, you were going to a feast;
Still to be pou'dred, still perfum'd:
Lady, it is to be presum'd,
Though arts hid causes are not found,
All is not sweet, all is not sound.

Give me a looke, give me a face,
That makes simplicitie a grace;
Robes loosely flowing, haire as free:
Such sweet neglect more taketh me,
Then all th'adulteries of art.
They strike mine eyes, but not my heart.

The voice here, however, is Horatian more than it is Catullan.

It is at this point that it is worth turning to at least two of Jonson's best short poems, both of them epitaphs, both slight in size but superb in expression. In them Jonson has shown himslef a classical writer in all that the phrase means, a terseness of expression that subdues over-emotion and sentimentality and yet springs forth an intensity of inner emotion that is far greater because of the restraint shown in its expression. I will use only a part of the epitaph "To Elizabeth" in order to emphasize the point at hand:

Would'st thou heare, what man can say
  In a little? Reader, stay.
Under-neath this stone doth lye
  As much beautie, as could dye:
Which in life did harbour give
  To more vertue, then doth live.

Surely no greater statement on woman's beauty or human beauty in general could be made than that one simple couplet:

Underneath this stone doth lye
As much beauty as could dye.

The second poem is, in my estimation, Jonson's finest, perhaps the finest death poem in ours or anyone's language. Here is love, sentiment, anguish, pain, all restrained by a perfection of form and meter. It is stoicism at its best, and we are let into the heart of the poet and father, the "maker," precisely because he does not bare it to us. Within the poem are conceits -- or extreme metaphors -- which go beyond Donne, and there is a condensation of thought that goes beyond the limits of prose language. This is the knowledge that a true poet like Jonson had which made his method of composition -- prose first and then poetry -- so effective. He knew what a poem could do that prose could never accomplish:

On My First Sonne

Farewell, thou child of my right hand, and joy;
My sinne was too much hope of thee, lov'd boy,
Seven yeeres tho'wert lent to me, and I thee pay,
Exacted by thy fate, on the just day.
O, could I loose all father, now. For why
Will man lament the state he should envie?
To have so soone scap'd worlds, and fleshes rage,
And, if no other miserie, yet age?
Rest in soft peace, and, ask'd, say here doth lye
BEN: JONSON his best piece of **poetrie.**
For whose sake, hence-forth, all his vowes be such,
As what he loves may never like too much.

Our language is poverty-stricken in symbols of intense emotion like love and grief. The greatness of the true classical writer, like Jonson, is that he can work with that poverty and render the nuances of emotion that are the sure sign of the sensitive soul. A passage by George Bernard Shaw on another classical artist, a composer, sums up what I have been trying to say about this quality in Jonson:

> It is impossible to make an effect with Mozart, to work up an audience by playing on their hysterical susceptibilities. It is still as true as it was before the Eroica Symphony existed that there is nothing better in art than Mozart's best. We have had Beethoven, Schubert, Mendelssohn, Schumann, and Brahms since his time... but the more they have left the Mozart quartet or quintet behind, the further it comes out ahead in its perfection of temper and refinement of consciousness. In the ardent regions where all the rest are excited and vehement, Mozart alone is completely self-possessed: where they are clutching their bars with a grip of iron and forging them with Cyclopean blows, his gentleness of touch never deserts him: he is considerate, economical, practical, under the same pressure that throws your Titan into convulsions. We all in our barbarism have a relish for the strenuous: your tenor whose B flat is like the bursting of a boiler always bring down the house, even when the note brutally effaces the song; and the composer who can artistically express in music a transport of vigor and passion of the more muscular kind, such as the Finale to the Seventh Symphony of Beethoven, or the Ride of the Valkyrie of Wagner, is always a hero with the interpreter in music...With Mozart you are safe from inebriety. Hurry, excitement, eagerness, loss of consideration are to him purely comic or vicious states of mind...Give me the artist who breathes the true Parnassian air like a native and goes about his work in it as quietly as a common man goes

about his ordinary business. Mozart did so; and that is why I like him. Even if I did not, I should pretend to; for a taste for his music is a mark of caste among musicians, and should be worn, like a tall hat, by the amateur who wishes to pass for a true Brahmin.[1]

Read Jonson for Mozart.

So far we have hardly mentioned the poems that are Jonson's best-known works, those songs that are so literally that that it is hard to imagine them as poems without music:

Drinke to me, onely, with thine eyes,
And I will pledge with mine;
Or leave a kisse but in the cup,
And Ile not looke for wine.
The thirst, that from the soule doth rise,
Doth aske a drinke divine:
But might I of JOVE'S **Nectar** sup,
I would not change for thine.
I sent thee, late, a rosie wreath,
Not so much honoring thee,
As giving it a hope, that there
It could not withered bee.
But thou thereon did'st onely breath,
And sent'st it backe to mee:
since when it growes, and smells, I sweare,
Not of it selfe, but thee.

That we can trace the ideas and some of the passages in the song to Philostratus does not in even the slightest way keep us from the pure enjoyment of the ideas and emotion set forth in a perfect metrical system. Robert Frost was once asked by a young poet what he thought was necessary for a good poem. His reply was, "a tenable position." This critical stance is a requirement for understanding and appreciating much of the lyric poetry of the past. It is the playing with a tenable idea, an idea which has found currency in all generations, an idea with which one may agree or disagree, but which has its own validity, an idea whose strength is increased by its expression in form and meter. Such a poem is "Song, That Women are but Men's Shaddowes," a poem based on a metaphor that Jonson works through to its logical conclusion, unlike Donne, who often broke the logic of the argument before he finished his poem:

[1] **Shaw on Music,** ed. Eric Bentley (1955), pp. 81-82.

Follow a shaddow, it still flies you;
Seeme to flye it, it will pursue:
So court a mistris, shee denyes you;
Let her alone, shee will court you.
Say, are not women truely, then,
Stil'd but the shaddowes of us men?
At morne, and even, shades are longest;
At noone, they are or short, or none:
So men at weakest, they are strongest,
But grant us perfect, they're not knowne.
Say, are not women truely, then,
Stil'd but the shaddowes of us men?

Jonson could play the so-called metaphysical game as well as Donne, and he did on occasion, as in "The Houre-glasse":

Doe but consider this small dust,
Here running in the Glasse,
By Atomes mov'd;
Could you beleeve, that this,
The body was
Of one that lov'd?
And in his mistris flame, playing like a flye,
Turn'd to cinders by her eye?
Yes; and in death, as life unblest,
To have't exprest,
Even ashes of lovers find no rest.

But he obviously felt that the more traditional approach to lyric poetry was the better one, and this did not mean a loss of individuality as a poet, but instead a gain. Jonson's greatest achievement in the love lyric is a set of ten poems to a young girl whom he calls "Charis." We do not know whether he had a particular person in mind or whether he was following an idea much worked with in sixteenth century poetry, a love affair of an old man and a young girl. There is probably no more difficult alliance to describe, for it tends to become laughable, pedantic, or just plain lecherous. Jonson, as usual, walks the tightrope of restraint and pictures a relationship which can only be considered admirable.

Let it not your wonder move,
Lesse your laughter; that I love.
Though I now write fiftie yeares,
I have had, and have my Peeres;
Poets, though devine are men:
Some have lov'd as old agen.
And it is not alwayes face,
Clothes, or Fortune gives the grace;
Or the feature, or the youth:
But the Language, and the Truth,
With the Ardor, and the Passion,
Gives the Lover weight, and fashion.
If you then will read the Storie,

First, prepare you to be sorie,
That you never knew till now,
Either whom to love, or how:
But be glad, as soone with me,
When you know, that this is she,
Of whose Beautie it was sung,
She shall make the old man young.
Keepe the middle age at stay,
And let nothing high decay.
Till she be the reason why,
All the world for love may die.

C. S. Lewis, one of this century's greatest literary critics, whose death, along with that of Aldous Huxley, went almost unnoticed because it happened on November 22, 1963, remarked in one of his most famous articles that John Donne did not write either love poetry or religious poetry; he wrote poems **about** love and religion. The reason that Lewis gives for his remarkable position is that Donne simply does not seem to be interested in the girl or God in most of his poems, but in his own reaction to the girl or to God. The point is well taken; certainly Jonson's success in his love lyrics is due in great part to the picture he draws of the object of his love, real or imagined. As love poetry it is successful, at its best, because the reader can be drawn into an empathetic relationship with the poet. Number Four of the lyrics to Charis is one of the most memorable descriptions of a loved one in history; if it has a drawback, it may be that it is too perfect:

See the Chariot at hand here of Love
Wherein my Lady rideth!
Each that drawes, is a Swan, or a Dove,
And well the Carre Love guideth;
As she goes, all hearts doe duty
Unto her beauty;
And enamour'd, doe wish, so they might
But enjoy such a sight,
That they still were, to run by her side,
Through Swords, through Seas, whether she would ride.

Doe but looke on her eyes, they doe light
All that Loves world compriseth!
Doe but looke on her Haire, it is bright
As Loves starre when it riseth!
Doe but marke her forhead's smoother
Then words that sooth her!
And from her arched browes, such a grace
Sheds it selfe through the face,
As alone there triumphs to the life
All the Gaine, all the Good, of the Elements strife.

Have you seene but a bright Lillie grow,
Before rude hands have touch'd it?
Ha'you marked but the fall o'the Snow
Before the soyle hath smutch'd it?
Ha'you felt the wooll of Bever?
Or Swans Downe ever?
Or have smelt o'the bud o'the Brier?
Or the Nard in the fire?
Or have tasted the bag of the Bee?
O so white! O so soft! O so sweet is she!

Parody is one of the sincerest forms of artistic flattery, and no single stanza of poetry written in the seventeenth century was parodied as much as that last one. One of the reasons for the parody was, of course, a difference in attitudes towards women, many of which our century has shared; thus, we often find the parodies more delightful than the original--as, for example, Suckling's

Hast thou seen the down in the air,
When wanton blasts have tossed it?
Or the ship on the sea,
When ruder waves have crossed it?
Hast thou marked the crocodile's weeping
Or the fox's sleeping?
Or hast viewed the peacock in his pride,
Or the dove by his bride,
When he courts for his lechery?
O, so fickle, O so vain, O, so false, so false is she!

But Suckling's parody is still a tribute to the power of Jonson's verse, his perfect sense of balance and development of an idea, of metrical phrasing. And I would suggest that if our age likes the Suckling better than the Jonson, it will mean that we have lost something that perhaps neither men nor women should be happy about.

It would be wrong to leave the songs to Charis with Number Four as representative, however, for it would leave Jonson somehow at one or two removes from reality, and this is never the case with Jonson. For an antidote, there is Number Seven, which should remove any question as to whether or not Jonson knew what boy-girl relationships were really like:

For Loves-sake, kisse me once againe,
I long, and should not beg in vaine,
Here's none to spie, or see;
Why doe you doubt, or stay?
I'le taste as lightly as the Bee,
That doth but touch his flower, and flies away.
Once more, and (faith) I will be gone.
Can he that loves, aske lesse then one?
Nay, you may erre in this,
And all your bountie wrong:
This could be call'd but halfe a kisse.
What w'are but once to doe, we should doe long.

I will but mend the last, and tell
Where, how it would have relish'd well;
Joyne lip to lip, and try:
Each suck others breath.
And whilst our tongues perplexed lie,
Let who will thinke us dead, or wish our death.

There is a body of critics that charge Jonson with too light a view of man's estate, that sees him as superficial in an age of great religious poetry, that in a sense argues that the classic is somehow opposed to the religious, and cites the poetry of Donne and Herbert as examples of what is missing in Jonson. Certainly Jonson is not primarily a religious poet, but it is equally wrong to say he misses the spiritual element in either himself or man. Perhaps his best-known poem on a religious subject is "A Hymne on the Nativitie of My Saviour," a poem in which the purity of the verse strives to match the purity of the occasion:

I Sing the birth, was borne to night,
The Author both of Life, and light;
The Angels so did sound it,
And like the ravish'd Sheep'erds said,
Who saw the light, and were afraid,
Yet search'd, and true they found it.

The Sonne of God, th'Eternall King,
That did us all salvation bring,
And freed the soule from danger;
Hee whom the whole world could not take,
The Word, which heaven, and earth did make;
Was now laid in a Manger.

The Fathers wisedome will'd it so,
The Sonnes obedience knew no No,
Both wills were in one stature;
And as that wisedome had decreed,
The Word was now made Flesh indeed,
And tooke on him our Nature.

What comfort by him doe wee winne?
Who made himselfe the price of sinne,
To make us heires of glory?
To see this Babe, all innocence;
A Martyr borne in our defence;
Can man forget this Storie?

If the clarity and purity of the poem's structure is obvious, it is also perhaps misleading, for the poem itself has the density of one of the creeds. In four short stanzas celebrating the incarnation, Jonson has tied together the theological message of the first chapter of John (of Christ as creator and light of life), the messiah-king doctrine of Isaiah, the prophecy of Micah, the results of the council of Nicea concerning the nature of the one substance of the Father and Son of the Trinity, a discussion of Divine Will and Incarnation, and finally a description of the substitute sacrifice of the Messiah as described in

Isaiah. Most poets would have made their learning and their wit more obvious; Jonson is content to put his message into the spirit of the worship of the Christ child. This sense of decorum, of matching the elements of form with meaning, is once again the sign of the classical poet at his best. It is also, I would suggest, the sign of a truly religious poet.

Jonson can do the more common task of his age in writing religious poetry as well, the description of his own mental anguish at his separation from God's will:

> Good, and great God, can I not thinke of thee,
> But it must, straight, my melancholy bee?
> Is it interpreted in me disease,
> That, laden with my sinnes, I seeke for ease?
> O, be thou witnesse, that the reynes dost know,
> And hearts of all, if I be sad for show,
> And judge me after: if I dare pretend
> To ought but grace, or ayme at other end.
> As thou art all, so be thou all to mee,
> First, midst, and last, converted one, and three;
> My faith, my hope, my love: and in this state,
> My judge, my witnesse, and my advocate.
> Where have I beene this while exil'd from thee?
> And whither rap'd, now thou but stoup'st to mee?
> Dwell, dwell here still: O, being every-where,
> How can I doubt to finde thee ever, here?
> I know my state, both full of shame, and scorne,
> Conceiv'd in sinne, and unto labour borne,
> Standing with feare, and must with horror fall,
> And destin'd unto judgement, after all.
> I feele my griefes too, and there scarce is ground,
> Upon my flesh t'inflict another wound.
> Yet dare I not complaine, or wish for death
> With holy Paul, lest it be thought the breath
> Of discontent; or that these prayers bee
> For wearinesse of life, not love of thee.

Jonson's prayer is God-centered, not self-centered. Unlike Donne, he does not ask to be cleansed before he comes into God's presence, somehow made worthy of converstion with God, but he admits his faults and asks for guidance: "Lord I believe, help thou my unbelief."

But whether one feels that Jonson has the same sense of the human condition that poets like Donne possess or not, one must always be aware of the control of the poet behind the work in Jonson's poems. In the sacred poems as well as in the secular, the decorum is obvious, as is the technical control. It was as a versifier that his contemporaries and followers were most overwhelmed by Jonson's ability. Just a few examples should make the point clear.

In **The Masque of The Metamorphosed Gypsies,** presented before the King in 1621, Jonson showed in two small songs his control of vowel and syllable length and hardness to give, in one identical verse form, two different speeds, each revealing the quality of the meaning contained in the words; the frst:

The faiery beame upon you,
The starres to glister on you;
  A Moone of light,
  In the Noone of night,
Till the Fire-Drake hath o're-gone you.
The Wheele of fortune guide you,
The Boy with the Bow beside you,
  Runne aye in the way,
  Till the Bird of day,
And the luckyer lot betide you.

A few minutes later the mood shifts slightly, and the play of wit calls for a denser, more hesitant line. But to keep up the parallel with the former song, he uses the identical form.

To the old, long life and treasure,
To the young, all health and pleasure;
  To the fair their face
  With eternal grace,
And the foul to be loved at leisure.
To the witty, all clear mirrors,
To the foolish, their dark errors;
  To the loving sprite,
  A secure delight;
To the jealous, his own false terrors.

You either read these lines at Jonson's speed or lose a tongue in the process.

Perhaps even more famous is the song from **Cynthias Revells,** in which his use of the long "o" and doubled consonants slow down the whole movement of the song to match both the subject matter of falling tears and the tone of sadness:

Slow, slow, fresh fount, keepe time with my salt teares;
  Yet slower, yet, o faintly gentle springs:
List to the heavy part the musique beares,
  "Woe weepes out her division, when shee sings.
    Droupe hearbs, and flowres;
    Fall griefe in showres;
    "Our beauties are not ours:
      O, I could still
    (Like melting snow upon some craggie hill,)
    drop, drop, drop, drop,
Since natures pride is, now, a wither'd daffodill.

The masterpiece of technique and irony is a poem entitled "A Fit of Rime Against Rime." In it Jonson repeats all of the cliches of those who feel that rhyme and meter strictly adhered to force the writer to say things he doesn't want to or keep him from saying exactly what he wants. Jonson seems to agree entirely with the position, and yet he "says" just the opposite in what he does. He carries on an incredibly complicated rhyme and metrical scheme, a couplet in tetrameter, followed by a line of dimeter which rhymes with another dimeter

following the second couplet, and so on through the poem. Moreover, over half of his rhymes are feminine rhymes, two syllable rhymes rather than single syllable rhymes, which are, of course, harder to come by. Moreover, he uses internal rhyme, uses technical terms of prosody while doing in verse what the words refer to, and in general does everything imaginable with his poem that he says hinders a poet from doing what he wants to. The irony and intention are clear: Jonson is saying that only a limited poet is limited by the materials of poetry; that a good poet, to use the expression again, wants and uses the freedom **of** form, meter, rhyme.

Rime the rack of finest wits,
That expresseth but by fits,
True Conceipt.
Spoyling Senses of their Treasure,
Cosening Judgement with a measure,
But false weight.
Wresting words, from their true calling;
Propping Verse, for feare of falling
To the ground.
Joynting Syllabes, drowning Letters,
Fastning Vowells, as with fetters
They were bound!
Soone as lazie thou wert knowne,
All good Poetrie hence was flowne,
And are banish'd.
For a thousand yeares together
All **Pernassus** Greene did wither,
And wit vanish'd.
Pegasus did flie away,
At the Wells no Muse did stay,
But bewail'd,
So to see the Fountaine drie,
And **Apollo's** Musique die,
All light failed!
Starveling rimes did fill the Stage,
Not a Poet in an Age,
Worth crowning.
Not a worke deseving Baies,
Nor a lyne deserving praise,
Pallas frowning;
Greeke was free from Rimes infection,
Happy Greeke by this protection!
Was not spoyled.
Whilst the Latin, Queene of Tongues,
Is not yet free from Rimes wrongs,
But rests foiled.
Scarce the hill againe doth flourish,
Scarce the world a Wit doth nourish,
To restore,
Phoebus to his Crowne againe;
And the Muses to their braine;
As before.

Vulgar Languages that want
Words, and sweetnesse, and be scant
Of true measure,
Tyran Rime hath so abused,
That they long since have refused,
Other ceasure;
He that first invented thee,
May his joynts tormented bee,
Cramp'd for ever;
Still may Syllabes jarre with time,
Still may reason warre with rime,
Resting never.
May his Sense when it would meet,
The cold tumor in his feet,
Grow unsounder.
And his Title be long foole,
That in rearing such a Schoole,
Was the founder.

It was to the man who could make his poetry do what he wanted it to, who could make his technique jump through the hoop, who could learn from the ancients and yet go them one better, who could be an individual **because** he stayed within the tradition, indeed, restored the tradition, that the poets who knew him and followed him turned to Ben as their "Father." Today we tend to say that Donne really influenced the century more, but I suspect that the poets at the time, aware as they were of influences, knew what they were talking about when they called themselves the Sons of Ben.

We have seen how generous he could be in his praise of others while at the same time criticizing them, but his criticism was consistent. He would praise them for their sense of nature, but damn them for their want of art, for their lapses in technical control. He honored Donne for being the first poet in some things, and he could say of Shakespeare:

Soule of the Age!
The applause! delight! the wonder of our Stage!
My **Shakespeare,** rise; I will not lodge thee by
Chaucer, or **Spenser,** or bid **Beaumont** lye
A little further, to make thee a roome:
Thou art a Moniment, without a tombe,
And art alive still, while thy Booke doth live,
And we have wits to read, and praise to give.

Yet he could, in the same poem, criticize Shakespeare:

And though thou hadst small **Latine,** and lesse **Greeke,**

and make clear his famous dichotomy:

Yet must I not give Nature all: Thy Art,
My gentle **Shakespeare,** must enjoy a part.
For though the **Poets** matter, Nature be,
His Art doth give the fashion. And, that he,
Who casts to write a living line, must sweat,
(Such as thine are) and strike the second heat
Upon the **Muses** anvile: turne the same,
(And himselfe with it) that he thinkes to frame;
Or for the lawrell, he may gaine a scorne,
For a good **Poet's** made, as well as borne.

And Jonson was a made poet as well as a maker of poets. He was made by Camden, by Catullus, Horace, and the other writers of Greece and Rome, and by himself as he trained himself to the high calling of poet. He sought for, and often achieved that sense of beauty which he describes in **The New Inn:**

It was a beauty that I saw
So pure, so perfect, as the frame
Of all the universe was lame,
To that one figure, could I draw,
Or give least line of it a law!
A skeine of silke, without a knot!
A faire march made without a halt!
A curious forme without a fault!
A printed booke without a blot!
All beauty, and without a spot!

Stonecutter's error or poet's fancy, we, as well as three centuries and more of poets and readers, must echo the line on the Abbey floor: O Rare Ben Jonson!

PROBLEMS OF EXECUTIVE EVALUATIONS: THE VIEW FROM ACADEME

Melba Harvill*

In the late sixties and early seventies, egalitarian and consumer movements began to alter the social, economic, and cultural landscape of America. Some of these changes effected colleges and universities. One profound change in higher education was the formalization of the evaluation process. There has been much interest in this issue in recent years.

Much of this interest is an extension of the work that has been done in student and faculty evaluation. The cry for accountability has also played a role in the interest of administrator evaluation. If faculty should be accountable for what they teach, why should not administrators be accountable also? Another significant factor has been the increase in the number and importance of administrators in higher education.[1]

The evaluation process involves judging the worth of an idea, process, or experience. It presupposes a set of standards or criteria. Evaluation may be both a means and an end. As a means, it includes studies and procedures designed to maintain or improve the quality of instruction, to better student learning, and provide evidence of progress. As an end, evaluation looks to the improvement of thought - be it critical, creative, or productive.[2]

Evaluation is not new to academe, but it has traditionally been done on a more informal basis. Formalized procedures of evaluation are not necessarily intended to replace the informal. In fact, the concept of a faculty as a loosely organized group with various levels of administration works against a formal evaluation process. However, higher education **must** consider the students. Their education depends upon the capacity of the institution to attract and keep competent staff. Thus detailed formal evaluation procedures have increasingly become a part of the annual operating practices in many institutions. And the college/university president has not escaped them.[3]

The president of any academic institution acts in a number of capacities. First, he serves as the conceptual leader of the institution. In other words, he brings the various entities together so that the entire organization functions and makes sense to others. Second, the president is usually responsible for organizational maintenance and development. Third, he has a part in policy and program implementation and evaluation. Finally, he is responsible for the organizational and policy aspects of program innovation and creativity. Thus his role is broad, varied, and hard to measure,[4] but nevertheless, failure in any or all of these activities is relatively easy to detect.

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1 Cameron Fincher, *Evaluation of Administrators: A New Challenge to Institutional Research.* **Research in Higher Education II** (1979), 189; Ruthann E. Williams, *Presidential Evaluation.* Buffalo, New York: The State University, 1977. ERIC Document 144643.

2 Paul Dressel et al. **Evaluation in Higher Education** (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1971), pp. 6, 24-25.

3 Williams, *Presidential Evaluation,* p. 7; **Mutual Benefit Evaluation of Faculty and Administrators in Higher Education.** William J. Genova, et al., eds. (Cambridge: Ballinger, 1976), p. 2, hereafter cited as Genova; Allan Tucker and Robert B. Mautz, *Presidential Evaluation: An Academic Circus.* **Educational Record** 60 (Summer, 1979), p. 253.

4 Chester A. Newland, *Performance Appraisal of Public Administrators: According to Which Criteria?* **Public Personnel Management** 8 (September-October, 1979), p. 303.

Administrative evaluation presents a number of problems at the outset. There are very few published instruments available, so evaluations are frequently conducted in a downward hierarchical fashion without the benefit of an explicitly stated set of behavioral criteria. Moreover, the reasons for the evaluation may not be clear. It might be done to increase the efficiency of the institution or to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the incumbent administration. Also, the long range goal of evaluation might not be clearly understood by all those involved. It might be an assessment only, or it might include feedback mechanisms and professional development as well. Finally, there is the dichotomy between evaluation as an end in itself and as the means to facilitate the attainment of other objectives.[5] In any case most of these reasons can be divided into three categories. The first category concerns the pressure and demands from both internal and external sources upon the institution. The second concerns the improvement of performance, and the third concerns the improvement of organizational operation.[6]

Reasons related to pressure and demands upon the institution from internal and external sources are multifaceted. Often there are external demands for accountability from the public, trustees, alumni, and government. There may be a need to enlighten both internal and external audiences as to the worth of the institution. Some administrators feel that they have a right to a performance evaluation because of increased concern for job security. In addition, faculty contend that student evaluation of them should be matched with faculty evaluation of the administration. At some institutions, evaluations are a part of the collective bargaining agreement.[7]

Reasons related to improved performance take several directions. Evaluation serves as a vehicle for the improvement of the administrative role at an institution. It also serves to improve administrative performance, as well as to align individual performance more closely with the institutional goals. In addition, evaluation is one means used to inventory competencies and to aid the administrator in planning future career decisions. It also provides for self-assessment on the part of the president. Furthermore, the role and responsibility of the president often shifts, and he seldom has time to assess the impact of these changes on his institution. Evaluation provides the opportunity to review the office of the presidency and to delineate its roles and responsibilities.[8]

The evaluation process also has a positive effect on organizational development. It improves the internal communication process since it gives subordinate faculty and administrators one means of input concerning

[5] Fincher, *Evaluation of Administrators,* pp. 189-90; Francis M. Betts, III, *The Assessment of Administrative Performance in Colleges and Universities,* (1979), p. 3; Richard M. Fenker, *The Evaluation of University Faculty and Administrators.* **Journal of Higher Education** 46 (November-December, 1975), p. 666.

[6] Robert C. Nordvall, *Evaluation and Development of Administrators,* **AAHE-ERIC/Higher Education Research Report No. 6** (Washington, D.C.. 1979), p. 4.

[7] *Ibid.,* pp. 4-5.

[8] *Ibid.,* p. 5; Gary Ripple, *Performance Appraisal and Staff Development in Educational Administration.* (Chicago, 1980), p. 3; Williams, *Presidential Evaluation,* pp. 3-4.

management personnel. Evaluation also provides a permanent forum for the exchange of ideas and strategies for educational leadership and a place where constituents can provide needed response to presidential action. Evaluation also identifies areas in need of development. It serves as a tool for rewarding outstanding performance, as well as a means of validating the selection, promotion, and retention of competent personnel.[9] Thus there appears to be little argument that the concept of executive evaluation is valid.

Any attempt at formal evaluation will doubtless encounter numerous pitfalls and problems due to the difficulty of developing a satisfactory instrument to be used. Some of these problems relate directly to managerial attitudes and concepts. Often managers are prone to overlook the need to set objectives which fulfill their responsibilities to maintain and improve their unit. It is often a temptation to state objectives while omitting standards for them, as well as to choose objectives that are not entirely attainable. Sometimes, expected results are covered so generally that they simply restate managerial responsibilities rather than specific results that must be achieved in order that those responsibilities be met. Furthermore, significant conditions under which objectives are to be achieved are often omitted. Moreover, it is easy to overlook the fact that most management positions entail two kinds of responsibility: technical and managerial.[10]

Whatever the method of evaluation, care must be taken that it be clear and not too structured, lest the evaluation become an end in itself instead of the means to something else. It should be structured to minimize subjective judgments, personal biases, and arbitrary standards. In addition, it should minimize the possibility of the "halo and/or devil's horn" effects.[11] Care should be taken that the evaluation not become a political process, or be used as a power play in collective bargaining. In addition, nothing should be taken out of the context of the full evaluation. Special interest groups should be avoided in the evaluation process, since they may have reasons to slant the results.[12]

There are additional situations to avoid, also. The evaluation instrument should not be developed during a time of crisis. Second, mass distribution of the results should be avoided. No recommendations should be made that are based on material that only represents a part of the total picture the evaluation presents. And perhaps most imprtantly, using an evaluation developed by an individual not competent to prepare it should be avoided. Few members of the university community are able to render an informed judgement about the total performance of the president. Furthermore, the presidential office is

[9] Nordvall, *Evaluation and Development of Administrators,* Williams, *Presidential Evaluation,* p. 3; Marshall W. McLeod and Wallace G. Clark, Jr., *A Participative Approach to Evaluating Administrators.* **College and University** 55 (Spring, 1980), 264-65; Genova, pp. 127-31.

[10] Peter Allen and Stephen Rosenberg, *Formulating Usable Objectives for Manager Performance Appraisal.* **Personnel Journal** 57 (November, 1978), pp. 626-628.

[11] Ripple, *Performance Appraisal and Staff Development,* pp. 5-6.

[12] Nordvall, *Evaluation and Development of Administrators,* p. 6; Benedict J. Surwill and Stanley J. Heywood, **Evaluation of College and University Top Brass: The State of the Art.** (Washington, D.C.: 1976), p. 12. Hereinafter cited as **Top Brass.**

such that the person occupying it cannot possibly please everyone. In today's world of decreasing enrollment, increased inflation, and a changing society, pleasing everyone is even more difficult.[13]

The problems make the establishment of evaluation criteria quite difficult, but this must be done prior to the undertaking of a formal evaluation. There are certain assumptions that aid in this process. First, it must be assumed that the set of standards of administrative performance are measurable. A second assumption is that such standards can be made operational so that they can be used to measure performance. Finally it is assumed that there is some correlation between the assessment and the attainment of at least some of the institutional goals.[14]

Based upon the above assumptions, there are at least five principles of operation that should be considered in the preparation for any evaluation. First, it should serve a variety of purposes. Among others, the evaluation should consider the overall movement of the institution toward its goals. The instrument should serve as a yardstick of presidential accomplishment. Second, it should be multifaceted. In the interest of fairness and completeness, the evaluation should be on a broad range of activities and responsibilities. It should come form a variety of sources. Anyone who is affected by and knowledgable about the actions of the executive should participate. Third, the evaluation should use a variety of methods. Executive style as well as multiplicity of actions makes more than one method essential. Fourth, it should be made within the context of the institution. It must be appropriate to the time and place, and it should be limited to those aspects which can be legitimately appraised. Finally, the institution should be willing to act on the findings.[15]

Within the context of the principles noted above, evaluation criteria can be established. The selection of these criteria is crucial to the success of the evaluation and to the instrument used in its process. The criteria should contain an element of flexibility, and they should also consider the uniqueness of the individual as well as the peculiarities of the institution. In addition, there needs to be more than a performance evaluation. The criteria ought to consider the thought processes behind presidential decision-making and determine whether all alternatives were evenly weighed. It should also ascertain whether the effects of the alternatives were considered.[16]

Any presidential evaluation criteria must be based upon reliable, valid, observable, and measurable elements of the job. Personal bias and subjective judgments should be avoided. In order to accomplish this, a job description is required. It should define the job in terms of specific responsibilities. Such a description will be the foundation upon which valid evaluation criteria can be developed. Furthermore, the president and the group responsible for the evaluation procedure must agree on what is to be evaluated, as well as the standards for evaluation. Without this agreement, the evaluation will be

[13] Surwill, **Top Brass,** p. 12; Tucker and Mautz, *Presidential Evaluation,* p. 256; Interview, Dr. Louis J. Rodriguez, Midwestern State University President, March 26, 1981.

[14] Betts, *The Assessment of Performance,* p. 4.

[15] Genova, pp. 4-5; McLeod and Clark, *A Participative Approach to Administrators,* p. 265.

[16] Williams, *Presidential Evaluation,* p. 7; Interview, Dr. Jesse Rogers, Vice President for Academic Affairs, Midwestern State University, March 26, 1981.

meaningless and probably inequitable. Agreement should also be reached on the time frame of the evaluation, the means of sharing the results with the president, and the group should agree on what will be done with the results of the evaluation, as well as upon who will participate and how the information will be gathered.[17] Guidelines such as these will aid in developing more meaningful evaluation criteria.

Effective criteria can be roughly divided into four categories. The first, administrative management criteria, are probably the most numerous. Such criteria deal with academic planning, program planning, decision-making, and problem-solving. They also include the use of available funding, effective use of facilities, and the utilization of the institution's human resources. Also, it might include performance as an academic leader and as an academic manager, as well as the manner in which the internal administration of the institution is handled.[18]

Leadership criteria provide a second category to be considered. These may include standards of academic excellence, educational statesmanship, political astuteness, and administrative style. This category might also include organizational productivity and efficiency.[19]

A third category of criteria concerns relationships with the president's or the institution's constituents. This includes the ability to foster morale, the ability to maintain a healthy environment, and the ability to represent the institution to its best advantage. In addition, it includes the handling of student affairs, sensitivity to faculty concerns, and the relationship with the governing board of the institution.[20]

A final category of criteria is personal traits. These include good health, a sense of humor, and energy. Intelligence, integrity, judgment and initiative are others to be included, and there are many more. Though personal traits may be controversial, they should be addressed in the formal evaluation.

Just as there are various approaches to the justification for, problems of, and criteria for presidential evaluation, so there are various approaches to the development of an evaluation instrument of procedure. All are different, and all have their advantages and disadvantages. Some have been tried more than others, but the examples in current use often fit into one of six patterns.

The first approach to evaluation is the unstructured narration. Such narration, done by the president, is a recounting of his efforts for a specified period of time. In narrative form, it has no particular structure or emphasis.

[17] Williams, *Presidential Evaluation,* pp. 5-6; Denny Williamson, *A Primer on Performance Appraisals,* **Supervisory Management** 24 (June, 1979), 36; James D. Harvey, *Evaluating the Performance of the Chief Executive Officer,* **Hospital and Health Sciences Administration** 23 (Spring, 1978), 6; Surwill, *Top Brass,* p.11.

[18] G. Lester Anderson, **The Evaluation of Academic Administrators; Principles, Processes, and Outcomes,** (State College, Penn.: 1975), p. 27; Williams, *Presidential Evaluation,* pp. 9-14; Nordvall, *Evaluation and Development of Administrators,* p. 43.

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] Nordvall, *Evaluation and Development of Administrators,* p. 43; Williams, *Presidential Evaluation,* p. 7; Anderson, *Evaluation of Academic Administrators,* p. 28.

It reflects what the president feels to be his accomplishments. Obviously, it will be favorable in most cases. It is not likely to point out many areas that need attention. In addition, it suffers in that it has a unilateral outlook.[21]

A second approach to evaluation is the use of unstructured documentation. It is similar to the narrative approach in that it has no structure or emphasis. The president maintains a file of documentation that he believes best exemplifies what has been accomplished over the specified time. Its strengths and weaknesses are similar to the first approach mentioned.[22]

A third approach involves structured narration. The evaluation document, prepared by the president, is in the form of a narration. However, it does have guidelines and specific requirements as to what it is to contain. Though it does not fit the approach totally, the system developed by Los Angeles Community College will serve as an example.

The primary objective of the evaluation process at this junior college was to improve performance on the job. Not only did it evaluate present performance, but it also included future plans for institutional development. In addition, the plan was designed to assit the president in his professional development as leader of the school, to identify his strengths and weaknesses, and to harmonize his own perceptions of his performance with the opinion of others.[23]

In order to meet these objectives, the college devised a four step plan:

> Step 1 - The president discussed with his superior his concept of the presidency. They agreed upon the job content and the relative importance of his major duties. This agreement included a list of the things he was being paid to do and for which he was accountable. There was a full understanding of how much importance was placed on various aspects of his job. Step 2 - The president established clearly defined goals for each of the above responsibilities and a timetable for meeting them. Step 3 - The president met with his superior to discuss these goals and to set up checkpoints for each one to determine his progress. Step 4 - Both the president and his superior met again at the end of the designated time to discuss the results and to determine how well the goals were met. The president was evaluated on his ability to set goals as well as on his ability to attain them.[24]

Such a plan has a number of advantages. First, the president knows in advance upon what he is to be evaluated. Second, both he and his superior agree on what the presidency really is. Third, the entire process takes place within the president-superior relationship and thus should strengthen it. Fourth, the process has some self-correcting characteristics which tend to help the president set challenging and attainable goals. Lastly, the program treats

21 Nordvall, *Evaluation and Development of Administrators,* p. 11.

22 *Ibid.,* p. 12.

23 Los Angeles Community College District Presidential Evaluation Process, 1976-77, (Los Angeles: 1977), p. 1. Hereafter cited as LACC District.

24 *Ibid.*

as a total process the president's ability to see organizational problems, to devise ways of attacking them, to put his ideas into action, and to carry his plans through to completion.[25]

The Los Angeles program is not without its weaknesses. An obvious one is the lact of input from sources other than the president and his superior. The possibility exists that the entire process will lack teeth and become a routine exercise in whitewashing.

A fourth type of evaluation is the rating scale. It is probably the most widely used means of evaluation at present. Rating scales may be constructed in a variety of ways, and used to measure a variety of characteristics. Texas Christian University developed a typical rating scale. At TCU this scale began in a committee charged with developing an evaluation instrument. Through stages of development, testing, and evaluation, their questionnaire was refined. It measured performance at three levels: faculty (upward movement), colleague (parallel movement), and administrator (both upward and parallel).[26]

Rating scales do have a number of advantages. They are simple to administer and score. Confidentiality and anonymity are easily maintained with them. If the results are shared, rating scales can provide data to build administrative teamwork and they can provide useful information about the perceptions of those with whom the administrator works.[27]

Despite these advantages, rating scales have severe deficiencies as methods of evaluation. Trait measurement is no longer a popular assessment method; they are difficult to validate. The halo effect may be a factor with rating scales. Furthermore, standardized forms often do not tie in as well to administrative development as do some other methods. Finally, evaluation must go beyond quantifiable measurement to a quality dimension, and the rating scale falls short of measuring quality.[28]

A fifth approach to presidential evaluation is the use of structured documentation, or the portfolio method. The president and superiors select the performance categories in which documentation of accomplishments shall be made. Once these are selected, the president is responsible for documenting performance in each area.[29]

This seldom-used method is not without its advantages. It provides an effective procedure for personnel decisions. It also can be used with many development programs. Such documentation also can be useful in institutional goal-setting. Finally, it can assist in role clarification, team building, and insuring accountability. The portfolio also has some serious drawbacks. Such documentation is seldom useful in building a personal inventory or in checking the perception of others. In addition, it provides only noncomparative evidence that is not relative to any standard, including the administrator's own performance.[30]

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

[26] Fenker, *Evaluation of University Faculty and Administrators,* p. 666 ff.

[27] Nordvall, *Evaluation and Development of Administrators,* p. 16.

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 16-18.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[30] *Ibid.*

The final method of evaluation is management by objectives. This method is being used increasingly in evaluation of higher education. Since it is not within the scope of this paper to discuss MBO, suffice it to say that it follows standard methodology. The mission of the institution is defined, goals are set for a given year, and all units establish job descriptions, objectives, and a schedule for implementation.

Management by Objectives has many advantages. It measures performance rather than traits. Through a better understanding of the administrator's role, individual performance can be improved. In addition, this system makes the transition from evaluation to development in areas of deficiency an easy one. Finally, it leads to improvements in the total management of the institution.

Management of objectives is not a panacea, however. One basic dificulty is that colleges and universities seldom have clearly stated missions and goals that can be measured objectively. Many institutions do not have the necessary research programs to provide the needed data. Furthermore, they often lack the competence to implement such a management practice. Finally, colleges often tend to introduce management by objectives without proper training and development programs. Since the writing of objectives for administrators is difficult, there is a tendency to emphasize activities rather than key results.[31]

At least two other methods of presidential evaluation deserve mention. Both Brooklyn College and the State University of New York System work with a committee, but in different ways. Brooklyn College has used a faculty committee since 1975. It was an outgrowth of the difficulties that arose in the school as a result of the financial plight of New York City. The faculty learned that the President planned to request the resignation of one of the Deans while the others were to remain in office. There was no evidence of prior consultation by the President with anyone. When questioned, the President indicated that the review of administrators was solely his concern. When the President refused to act on the recommendation of the Faculty Council to establish separate committees to review Deans and other administrative officers, the Council established its own Committee for the Review of Administrators.[32]

The Committee worked in three stages. First, it collected pertinent documents from the Board of Higher Education and the Middle States self-study and evaluation reports. Second, those being evaluated were asked to submit explicit analyses and descriptions of their functions to the Committee. And finally, interviews were scheduled with present and past administrators, faculty, and student representatives. The end result was a series of written reports and recommendations.[33]

The effectiveness of this procedure was minimal. None of the recommendations made by the committee were implemented by the administration. After receiving the reports and documentation from the committee, the Chancellor prepared his own evaluation of the President. Finally, the President removed the Dean, who had been evaluated as excellent by the committee.[34]

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

[32] Elizabeth A.R. Brown, *Faculty Evaluation of Administrators: The Experience of Brooklyn College.* **AAUP Bulletin 64** (December, 1978), pp. 298-300.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 301.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 303.

The State System of New York makes a slightly different use of committees. Working through the Board of Trustees, who developed a set of guidelines, each campus in the system devised his own evaluation procedures based upon these guidelines. Some used an outside consultant as a fact-finder. Others used an **ad hoc** committee, which was an extension of the search committee. Still another campus relied on an administrative efficiency survey.[35] But each method had to fall within the Trustees' guidelines.

Regardless of the method of evaluation to be used, it must be implemented. Though implementation may vary with the method, some factors are common to all implementation processes. First, some sort of committee or group must be formed to coordinate the phases of the evaluation. Once the committee is selected, it must decide on its purpose. Exactly what is the group to do? The commitee must then identify the current goals, and these goals must be thoroughly understood by all those involved. The next step might be to describe the institutional context to determine what items should be worked on at the administrative level. The committee will need to detemine the goal appropriateness. Are the goals really important? Did the executive formulate and attain them with appropriate authority patterns?[36] Then the process begins again. But in the final analysis, no matter how much thought has gone into defining the purpose, method, and implementation of presidential evaluation, it will not succeed if it does not have a broad base of support from all segments of the university community.

Any review of the various components and problems of presidential evaluation leads to a variety of conclusions. Perhaps the most obvious one is the lack of standardized criteria. This is difficult to accomplish. The responsibility and accountability toward which appraisal is aimed are so dynamic that static criteria may not be useful. Moreover, evaluation must be a continuous process; once over lightly will not do the job. The college/university is in a constant state of change, thus any method of appraisal must keep pace with this change.

Administrator, or presidential evaluation **per se,** has not attracted an abundance of research. The literature of business abounds with studies of executive evaluation. And the literature of education has no shortage of faculty, student, and ean appraisal studies. But the chief administrative officer has been neglected. One writer went so far as to say:

> If the vitality and health of individual institutions are to be maintained, Higher Education's continued lag behind business and industry in the assessment and development of its managers must be addressed.[37]

[35] Williams, *Presidential Evaluation,* pp. 15-16.

[36] **Mutual Benefit Evaluation of Faculty and Administrators in Higher Education,** pp. 135-141.

[37] Williams, *Presidential Evaluation,* p. 2.

Since each college and university differs in objectives and traditions, their appraisal systems should also differ. Adopting another institution's system may not achieve the desired results because of such differences, but this does not mean that other studies should be ignored. There is much that can be adapted to meet the needs of other institutions.

Evaluation at its best has inherent problems when applied to the academic setting. Much time will be spent on something the effect of which is difficult to detemine. In addition, institutions of higher education contain a work force that is highly educated. They are likely to resist change unless they have participated in its planning and implementation.

Educational institutions are charged with creating an atmosphere of learning, developing, and maturing. They also provide an open forum for the presentation and discussion of new ideas. In short, they provide a service, and quantifying a service is not easy. How does one measure the value of a history lecture, a successful research experiment, or the haunting strains of a Beethoven sonata drifting on the breeze? The president of a college or university performs a service also - a service to his entire institution. Its measurement and appraisal presents a challenge to future researchers. The purposes appear to be clear. Many of the problems are apparent. Much of the criteria has been determined. Perhaps it remains for those of us who have chosen to remain in academe to refine, clarify, and contribute to this increasingly important facet of our world.

SACERDOTAL & SOCIO-CULTURAL PARALYSIS IN JOYCE'S *DUBLINERS:* A SUBJECTIVE APPROACH

Hamilton D. Avegno*

I. Prolegomena: Non-scholarly and Non-sacerdotal

Si monumentum requiris, circumspice! James Joyce (1882-1941): innovator-creator of an epiphany of epiphanies called the **Dubliners;** of a "jocoserious farsed epistol to the Hibruws"[1] hailed as **Ulysses;** of an unheroic Stephen Hero; of an art-and-life celebrant, Stephen Dedalus, in **A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man;** and of an ebullient, barely decipherable verbal extravaganza shrouded under the title, **Finnegan's Wake.** It is generally believed that Proust, Kafka and Joyce are the holy (or unholy) trinity of the pantheon of contemporary literature. But Joyce is **sui generis:** father, king, innovator-creator and coruscatory word-and-myth maker **non-pareil.** The novelist, E.L. Doctorow, has aptly pegged Proust's **la recherche du temps perdu** as seven volumes of intricately brilliant, intricately wrought dullness.[2] And Kafka's **cauchemar** world of grim absurdity, irony and alienation is at best a **Neue Sachlichkeit** of dehydrated slobs and grotesqueries. Kafka neither affirms, negates, nor transcends: his world is peopled by impotent Samsas and K's who are boxed in, stifled, insectilized and convicted by a heartless and gutless, Mammon-oriented bureaucracy.

It is Joyce who is Aquinas, Rabelais, Vico, Quixote, Falstaff, **mythos** and **inventio** rolled into one great ecumenical poetic clown and sage. He is Camus' Sisyphus on a grander and more robust scale, not merely satisfied to fill the heart ever upward,[3] but intent upon roaring forth as the defiant affirmer of all of life's jokes, passions, lusts, aspirations and frustrations: the scorner of idols and death, the apostle of the religion of life and art at its deepest, richest and most comedic.

Too many Ellmans, Kenners, Levins, Becks--the high priests of Joycean criticism--have neglected Joyce as the great and tragic Clown Prince of the picaresque, absurdly human, serio-comic worlds of **Ulysses** and **Finnegan's Wake.** Joyce's University College friends called him Jocax or Jokester and Joyce himself said that **Joyce** meant **joyeuse.**[4] Oddly enough, it is the **Dubliners** and **A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man** (at least to Chapter IV) which embody the **gravitas** and epiphanies of a more restless and sombre Joyce slowly rejecting the Jesuitical priesthood for a vocation of secular insouciance and Jove-like jocularity. It is indeed ironic to discover that two of Joyce's most distinguished contemporaries reacted with supercilious, puritanical

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1 James Joyce, **Finnegan's Wake** (New York: The Viking Press, 1945), p. 228.

2 E. L. Doctorow, **Loon Lake** (New York: Random House, 1979), p. 141.

3 Albert Camus, **The Myth of Sisyphus** (New York: Vintage Books, 1960), p. 91.

4 William York Tindall, **James Joyce** (New York: Noonday Press, 1960), p. 134.

snobbery towards his monumental **Ulysses.** "Illiterate, underbred...ultimately nauseating...the work of a self-taught working man...," Virginia Woolf wrote in her diary.[5] It is difficult to fault Ms. Woolf's interior monologues and superb craftsmanship, but I doubt that either Molly Bloom or Blazes Boylan could have either bloomed or blazed in Ms. Woolf's Bloomsbury hothouse! D. H. Lawrence, who played erotically sophomoric games with chirpy genitals, flower-festooned pubic hair and equine haunches, morally objurgated **Ulysses** as "deliberate, journalistic dirty-mindedness."[6] Woolf's socio-moral snobbery is understandable but unforgiveable; Lawrence's hypocrisy is neither understandable nor forgiveable.

The title of my paper, 'Sacerdotal and Socio-cultural Paralysis in Joyce's **Dubliners'** suggests a dehydrated, gullible-to-multiple footnotes topic: the stuff of the sterile scholarship of a member of the academic **castrati**--and, perhaps, I am a minuscule member of that frequently impudent and impotent caste. In short, the topic does not stink enough: it does not either pierce the nasal membranes or sicken the viscera. A rigidly structured, footnoted development of the topic would have nothing of "the odor of ashpits and old weeds and offal and stale urine about it."[7] I would rather read Joyce than write about him; it is impossible merely to xerox replicas of epiphanal illumination and passion.

The Joycean epiphany, however, cannot be avoided. From Stephen Dedalus' point-of-view, an epiphany is a radiance, a shining out or showing forth, more ecclesiastical than secular or symbolic.[8] Another definition, a more hybrid one, describes an epiphany as a composite revelation-illumination that is incisive, vivid and poetic--an utterance that seems to transcend utterance. The late Marshall McLuhan, dubbed McLooney by his non-admirers, galvanized the epiphany into a sudden explosion of vivid word-pictures which evoke a shattering implosion in the mind and viscera of the reader.

II. The Broken Chalice: Sacerdotal Paralysis

But forget the nomenclature, the academic preciosity, the research rutting, for it is Joyce, his words, his feelings, his epiphanies that are the soul, sense and guts of the **Dubliners** as illuminations. Joyce is often serious, but never mirthless nor lugubrious. He sees the infinite inherent in the finite and he sees the twisted mirth embedded in the grotesque. For the moment, I, the writer, become a youthful narrator in **The Sisters,** whose speech and hearts are still in Irishtown. Father James Flynn has died at 65 of a stroke. He had taught me a lot about Napoleon, sacerdotal vestments and duties, the catacombs and the sacraments. "When he smiled he used to uncover his big discolored teeth and let his tongue lie upon his lower lips..."[9] Snuff-sniffing-stained-and-smelling,

5 Quoted in *Ibid,* p. 126.

6 *Ibid.*

7 Warren Beck, **Joyce's Dubliners** (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1969), p. 8.

8 James Joyce: **A portrait of the Artist as a Young Man** (New York: The Viking Press, 1960), p. 94.

9 James Joyce, **Dubliners** (New York: Vintage Press, 1969), p. 13. Further references to this work will appear in the text and abbreviated **Dubliners** with appropriate page numbers.

trhrice-stroked, once tremulous hands stilled, **breaker of the chlice,** dropper of breviaries, I go with my aunt to see him and his two sisters. He is coffined on a bed and I kneel down to pray, to fancy "that the **old priest was smiling** as he lay in his coffin. But no...there he lay, solemn and copious, vested as for the altar, his large hands loosely retaining a chalice. His face was very truculent, grey and massive, with black cavernous nostrils and circled by scanty white fur. There was a heavy odor in the room--the flowers." **(Dubliners,** 14) I think of death, of paralysis, of an otiose, **unwafered chalice.** His sister, Eliza, tells us that he scrupled to excess, had once broken a chalice, and one night, sought by a dying soul, he was found "sitting up by himself in the dark in his confession-box, wide awake and laughing...softly to himself." **(Dubliners,** 18) I had expected to be heart-stabbed by his death and grief-filled, but I wasn't. Mostly I recall the idle chalice on his defunct breast and a "strange sensation of freedom as if I had been **freed** from something by death." **(Dubliners,** 13) I am Irish, Irish Catholic, and Clongowes was my dwelling place, but did Father Flynn the emblematic **ignis fatuus** of dear, dirty brown Dublin die to sad Kierkegaard's despair?

I'm now involved in a second and very bizarre epiphany, **An Encounter,** young, prideful, lusting for exile and the exotic. A roughneck classmate named Mahoney and I are milching on a June day; we're bound for the river, the ships, a ferryboat crossing the Liffey to see the Pigeon House. Father Butler teaches us Roman history in Latin while I dream of "some American detective stories...with unkemp fierce and beautiful girls." **(Dubliners,** 20) We never reach the Pigeon House and Mahoney calls Father Butler the Bunsen Burner. Mahoney was macho and really physical, but I was bursting with a lot of the old Narcissus. "Father Bunsen" never went to the Pigeon House nor did Mahoney or I ever reach it. The Pigeon House is Dublin's electric light and power station; it is also symbolic of the Paraclete, the **Heilege Geiste** in Chapters One and Three of the "chaffering, all including most farraginous chronicle" of **Ulysses.**

There is a priest in **Eveline,** a compact, chilling epiphany of death-in-dust-and-life, who fuses well with the odor of dusty cretonne and Eveline's iron-cold fear of kinesis. Every week Eveline dusted the priest's yellowing photograph that hung on the wall "above the coloured print of the promises made to Blessed Mary Alacoque," **(Dubliners,** 37). Eveline doesn't know his name; he had been a friend of her father. He is in Melbourne now: the priest had fled casually and he seems insignificant. Could he have defrocked himself, fled to a Dedalian wilderness, gone crazy? **Deruvan Seraun!** Unlike Eveline, who chokes on static fear and dusty memories, he was at least mobile. She prayed and stayed, enveloped by the cretonne dust of the living dead and the dead past.

Araby is an **'epiphanie exquise'.** I am about 24 or 25 and flashing back about nine years in epiphanal time. I have two theories about the perverse magic of **Araby.** The first is that, as a kind of **leitmotif,** it involves a literally defunct and an equally symbolic defunct scraggly Edenic garden. I live on blind North Richmond Street and the former tenant of our house, a priest, had died in the back drawing room. Behind the house are a central apple tree and a few scraggling bushes under one of which I found the late priest's rusty bicycle pump. A rusty pump (Holy Mother mechanical church creaks along, short on love's lubrication, short on charisma) and one of its vicars is a strange ironist: he leaves all of his money to institutions and his furniture to his sister in this our English-stifled, priest-dying, God-neglected brown Dublin.

My other theory about the luminous qualities of **Araby** is more complex, too academic, and I am sure the great Joyce would frown disapproval upon it. I am a young, intensely 'infatuated romantic lay priest' immersed in a vest and vaporous epiphany, one in which Catholic symbols and rituals are transferred to my Araby, my **pompa diaboli,** my new religion of life and nascent carnal romanticism.[10] Bitterly, ironically, my new religion will prove to be a disenchanting perversion of my Old Faith. The season is Advent ("the space of sky above us was the color of ever changing violet and towards it the lamps of the street lifted their feeble lanterns"--**Dubliners,** 30); my redeemer is Mangan's sister and "her name is like a summons to all my foolish blood." (**Dubliners,** 30) I am called not to the consecration of the Eucharistic wafer, but to the life-giving source of erotic pleasure. As "a young priest", I carry parcels for my aunt on Saturday evenings when she goes shopping. "(I) walk through the flaring streets, jostled by drunken men and bargaining women, amid the **curses** of laborers, the shrill **litanies** of shop boys who stood on guard by the barrels of pigs' cheeks...these noises converge in a single sensation of life for me. I imagine that I (bear) my **chalice** (the flesh and blood of Mangan's first-nameless sister?) safely through a throng of foes. Her name (springs) to my lips at moments in strange prayers and praises...my body (is) like a harp and her words and gestures (are) like fingers running along the wires." (**Dubliners,** 33) (I know that the harp is associated with the book of Psalms and the liturgical music of the Church.)

Perhaps **Araby** is a sacro-erotic surrogate after the manner of John Donne's **The Canonization:** the ephemeral titillations of romantic passion supersede the ineffable rapture of a mystical immersion in the Passion of Christ.[11]

Araby would be a splendid bazaar teeming with the exotic, the opulent, smoldering sultanas--and a **Cafe Chantant.** But I had forgotten what my creator, Joyce, the supreme ironist, well knew: the East of the Church Fathers is Christ-oriented and enchanted and "the Orient is His Name." (**Zacharias,** VI, 12) The antiphon of the liturgy **O Oriens** reads: "The great day of the everlasting life will no longer be illuminated by the visible sun, but the true light, the sun of justice, which is called the Orient (Christ)."[12]

Aglow with adoration and mute desire I am resolved to make my pilgrimage to the magic carnal cathedral of Araby. I have promised to bring Mangan's sister (Could her first name be Mary?) something from the bazaar: an offering to my sacro-sanct goddess. I arrive at 9:50 p.m. and Araby is quickly transmogrified into a large barn-like structure girdled at half its height by a gallery; the hall is nearly all dark; most of the stalls (read confessionals?) are closed; and "there is a silence like that which pervades a church after a service." (**Dubliners,** 34) But there are no votive lights, no Ravel's **Daphnis and Chloe:** the **Cafe Chantant** is mute and closed; and two young Englishmen are counting money, not Eucharistic wafers, on a **salver.** Then the English-accented Philistines who daily empty "Mother Grogan's teapot" (Ireland) begin to chant in trivia. I am trying hard to remember why I had come and "I look humbly at the great jars that (stand) like Eastern guards at either side of the dark entrance to the stall" (**Dubliners,** 35) and murmur no to a disinterested sales girl. I show no interest in Araby's wares and I will return with no offering for

[10] William Bysshe Stein, *Joyce's Araby, Paradise Lost,* **Perspective** XII, 4 (Spring, 1962), p.221.

[11] *Ibid.,* 224.

[12] *Ibid.,* 227.

Mangan's sister. Araby is closing around me like a matrix of darkness and disenchantment. A voice calls lights out and "gazing up into the darkness I see myself as a creature driven and derided by vanity; my eyes (burn) with anguish and anger." (**Dubliners,** 35) Is the young Joyce, the future iconoclast and supreme ironist, saying that the **nunc stans** (the eternal serenity) is forever and the **nunc fluens,** the **now** that flies?

(**Note to reader:** Because I feel more detached from the paralytics that follow, I am shifting writing gears, from the 'personal first' to the 'detached third.')

Mr. James Duffy of the tragically epiphanal **A Painful Case** is himself a profoundly painful case. He lives in Chapelizod (Tristan had lived nearby like an **agnostical monk** who suffers from a paucity of "white corpuscles" (sacramental blood). His living quarters resemble an austerely geometrical, atheistical chapel: "a black iron bedstead, an iron wash stand, four cane chairs, a clothes-rack, a coal-scuttle, a fender and irons and a square table on which lay a double desk." (**Dubliners,** 107) Duffy, the 'monastic agnostic,' suffers from the greatest of Joycean sins, intellectual pride, and is totally devoid of the ultimate Joycean virtue, **caritas.** "He had neither companions nor friends, church nor creed. He lived his **spiritual** life "without any communion with others, visiting his relatives at Christmas and escorting them to the cemetery when they died." (**Dubliners,** 109) Duffy is intellectual, hygienic, precise, even meticulous: "He refuses to submit himself to the criticisms of an obtuse middle class...(or) to compete with phrasemongers, incapable of thinking consecutively for 60 seconds..." (**Dubliners,** 111) The late Lionel Trilling once referred to the following lines from **A Painful Case** as the quintessence of ultimate alienation: "He lived a little distance from his body, regarding his own acts with doubtful side glances." (**Dubliners,** 109) To reiterate: Duffy the 'cerebral priest' is the genuinely painful case of that most poignant and paradoxical of epiphanies, **A Painful Case.** He is a contumelious snob and a puritanical prig who puts his sparse emotions and 'celibate genitals' in hock when Mrs. Emily Sinico reveals her desire for a total psychic and physical communion with him. At 39 Emily is a sensitive, intelligent, meloniously bosomed,' woman whose calloused, sea-faring husband looks upon her as a piece of furniture. Emily first met Duffy at a musical concert and thereafter they meet clandestinely at her cottage. (Her husband, usually at sea, thinks that Mary, his daughter, is the object of Duffy's curiosity!) In time she became his mother-confesor, his potential angelic guardian, and "he lent her books, provided her with ideas, and shared his intellectual life with her." (**Dubliners,** 113) But Emily wants more than his mind; she wants to caress and to be caressed by him, to enter into total union with him. Duffy 'the atheistical abbot' of propriety and the system refuses to enter into a furtive liaison with her. In the words of Gabriel Garcia Marquez, he is of those people whose minds are on "too much ash and too little ass." Consequently, he meets Emily in a park (Parkgate) and pontificates the irrevocable dissolution of their platonic relationship. Neither her tremors nor tears nor physical delirium can deter him, for "every bond is a bond to sorrow." (**Dubliners,** 112)

For four years Duffy practices the passionless priesthood of alienation and **degagé.** He forgets the loving, but unloved Emily, reads Nietzsche's **Thus Spake Zarathustra** and **The Gay Science;** and occasionally writes an odd sentence or two. An especially significant one reads: "Love between man and man is impossible because there must not be sexual intercourse and friendship between man and woman is impossible because there must be sexual intercourse." (**Dubliners,** 112)

On a cold November night he moves his lips **secreto** and priest-like over a paragraph in **The Daily Mail** which is captioned:

DEATH OF A LADY AT SYDNEY PARADE
A PAINFUL CASE

Emily Sinico is dead at 43, knocked down while intoxicated by a slow-moving train. The injuries are relatively minor and the **main cause of death is heart failure.** For four years a lonely, loving, unloved woman had swilled the sauces of stout and inferior Jamesons in an effort to obliterate Duffy's cruel rejection. Then she walked into a train. At first Duffy reacts with arrogant disgust toward the death of his former soul companion. "He saw the squalid tract of her vice, miserable and malodorous." (**Dubliners,** 114) Her death is degrading and morally nauseous, especially to him. Duffy wonders how he could have confided in her and the shock strikes his stomach with nausea and shatters his nerves. Something inexplicable impels him in the direction of Parkgate, 'their park,' and he experiences a complete **volte face:** the incurable loneliness of the human soul overwhelms him. As he walks, her voice seems to touch his ear, her hand touches his. A mind-retching **angoisse** seizes him: "He gnawed the rectitude of his life. He felt that he had been outcast from life's feast. **One human being had seemed to love him and he had denied her life and happiness.** He had sentenced her to ignominy, to a death of shame." (**Dubliners,** 117) He envies even the venal and furtive fornicators lying in the shadow of the park wall. No one wants him, loves him, even knows him. Along the river Liffey there worms, like a huge male phallus, a slow-moving freight train, its fiery head winding through the darkness. In the drone of the engine he can hear the repetitive syllables say EMILY and as he leaves the park the rhythm of the engine pounds in his ears. "He halted under a tree and allowed the rhythm to die away. He could not feel her near him in the darkness nor her voice touch his ear. He waited for some minutes listening. **He could hear nothing: the night was perfectly silent.** He listened again: **perfectly silent.** He felt that he was alone." (**Dubliners,** 117) He is utterly alone: creedless, communion-less, and cold--**nunc et semper et in saecula saeculorum!** And Joyce's beautifully cadenced, cogently conclusive epiphany is "a shining forth" of purest radiance!

In **The Boarding House, Grace, and Ivy Day in the Committee Room,** other priests perform mediocre and/or minor acts of semi-stasis and gaucherie. In **The Boarding House,** the priest-confessor only serves to expedite the entrapment of the feckless Bob Doran by the Mooneys (The Madam and her daughter, Polly). Doran, who has "a good screw" in "a great Catholic wine merchant's office," (**Dubliners,** 63) has been subtly and gently seduced by Polly with the connivance of her mother, Mrs. Mooney. The latter handles moral problems with the subtlety of a meat cleaver and wants reparations for Polly, i.e., she wants to marry Doran and his good screw (position) to Polly. On a Saturday night Doran goes to confession and he remembers it with acute pain, for "the priest had drawn out every ridiculous detail of the affair and in the end had so magnified his sin that he was almost thankful at being afforded the loophole of reparation." (**Dubliners,** 65) The next day Madame Mooney and Polly, the perverse madonna, easily inveigle Doran into "putting his head into the sack."

Although alien to sanctifying grace, Joyce's **Grace** is one of the more complex, humorous and graceful of the epiphanies. Tom Kernan, a gentleman alcoholic and tea taster, has just lost the tip of his tongue during some 'peloo-

thering' that ends when he is found lying face downwards in the filth and ooze of a lavatory floor. He is rescued and brought home by a Mr. Power, who works for the Royal Irish Constabulary in Dublin Palace. A good husband, a good father, and a derelict Catholic, Kernan's convalescent tongue elicits a visitation from a talkative quartet of **soi-disant** philosophers: Mr. Power; Mr. Martin Cunningham, paladin of piety and Catholicism; Mr. McCoy, one-time tenor turned **Johannes factotum;** and Mr. Fogarty, modest grocer and bearer of libations. "Great men are very near to madness," Fogarty tells them in his only moment of profundity. (**Dubliners,** 166) Papal infallibility is roundly applauded and argued by everyone except Tom Kernan, who is much more concerned with tea and the lost tip of his fallible tongue. Kernan tells Martin Cunningham that some of the past popes were "not up to the knockers." (**Dubliners,** 168) Cunningham insists, however, that "even the most out-and-out drunkard of a pope never preached **ex cathedra** a word of false doctrine." (**Dubliners,** 168) The Jesuits come in for high praise, with Kernan abstaining. **"The Jesuits cater for the upper classes,"** Mr. McCoy says. "They're the greatest order in the Church; they're the boys who have influence; and the General of the Jesuits stands next to the Pope." (**Dubliners,** 163-64)

Cunningham, Fogarty, Power and McCoy tell Mrs. Kernan "we're going to make your man here a good holy pious and God-fearing Roman Catholic." (**Dubliners,** 168) They plan to make a retreat at the Jesuit church on Gardiner street. They'll 'wash the pot,' renounce Satan and his pomps and works, and stand up with lit candles to renew their baptismal vows. Kernan, however, is staunchly anti-candle! The residue of the Protestant in him exclaims, "I'll do the retreat business and confession...and all that business. But...no candles! No, damn it all, I bar the candles...the magic-lantern business." (**Dubliners,** 171) Everyone laughs, especially Mrs. Kernan, whose Catholicism was a bland synthesis of a few articles of faith with a sprinkling of superstitution. "She believed steadily in the Sacred Heart as the most generally useful of all Cathloic devotions and approved of the sacraments. Her faith was bounded by the kitchen but, if she was put to it, she could also believe in the banshee and the Holy Ghost." (**Dubliners,** 158)

In one of the benches near the pulpit of the Jesuit Church on Gardner street, Mr. Cunningham and Mr. Kernan are seated. In the pew behind, Mr. McCoy sits alone; and back of him, Mr. Power and Mr. Fogarty are seated. The five-retreating-to-God repentants form a **quincunx,** symbolic of the five wounds of Christ. I can only wonder: do they come to crucify or to be crucified? Father Purdon, S. J., sturdy of figure and surplice, struggles up the pulpit and answers my question. He has not come 'to crucify them with hellfire and brimstone,' but to bewilder them with a paradoxical Biblical quotation; to accommodate religion to a world of commerce, frailty and drunkards; and to demote Christ to the level of their Supreme Spiritual Accountant. The Real Presence--the consecration of the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ and the essence of the Mass as devine drama--appears only as a monstrance containing a **red speck:** "Father Purdon knelt down, turned toward the red speck of light, and covering his (massive red) face with his hands, prayed." (**Dubliners,** 173) The inscrutable verses he enunciates, speciously pro-Mammon, are intended for a congregation whose members have more in common with shillings and shekels than with the Sacred Heart and transubstantiation: "For the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light. Wherefore make unto yourselves friends out of the mammon of iniquity so that when you die they may receive you into everlasting dwellings." (**Dubliners,** from Luke 16:8, 173)

Father Purdon chose the text for business and professional men, offering them the worshippers of Mammon, the very adversaries of Christ, as exemplars of religion for men of a commercial, Caesarian world. Purdon is casuistical, Jesuitical: he offers them understanding and a 'finance-oriented Christ' as their "spiritual accountant...who wish each and every one of his hearers to open his books, the books of his spiritual life, and see if they tallied accurately with conscience." (**Dubliners,** 174) Purdon assures his bourgeois Dubliners that Christ will understand and embrace them if they verify their accounts and rectify any spiritual discrepancies. "Well, I have looked into my accounts. I find this wrong and this wrong. But with God's grace, I will rectify this and this. I will set my accounts right." (**Dubliners,** 174)

Father Purdon's Christ is not a hard taskmaster. Neither is the massive, persuasive Purdon. His concept of grace is neither divine nor necessarily sanctifying. It has to do with that grace period which most of us, frail, quixotic men and women, require to right our wrongs and redress our grievances in a world that is more analogous to a can of worms than a bowl of cherries. It is possible that Purdon is a kind, worldly man himself; it is equally possible that he is a minor ecclesiastical plutocrat who would like to use these men to fatten the coffers of his congregation.

I recall the **quincunx:** Cunningham and Kernan
McCoy
Power and Fogarty -- and I wonder if the retreat, Father Purdon's "financial homily," and the five men are in any way connected with the crucifixion and stigmata of Christ? Perhaps the atrabilious Stanislaus Joyce is right when he states that his brother, James, the idealist, saw things as they are and never faltered in his love of his father, fatherland, and God the Father.[13]

The last of Joyce's shepherds in the moribund diocese of the **Dubliners** is in his favorite epiphany, **Ivy Day in the Committee Room.** To Joyce, Ivy Day is like a holyday of obligation in his "gallant, venal city," for the votaries of 'Christ-like' Parnell wear a sprig of holly in their buttonholes on that day.[14] Old Jack and his son, Hynes the sponger, Martin Cunningham and Mr. Henchy all chant litanies to Ireland's dead savior but the notes are flat, the words hypocritical, and the only sustained melody is one of disloyalty to each other. Basically they have more in common with their temporizing candidate for the Royal Exchange Ward, Tricky Dicky Tierney, then they do with the 'sainted Parnell.' Mr. Hayes says "O, he's as tricky as they make 'em...he hasn't got those little pig's eyes for nothing." (**Dubliners,** 123) And Father McKeon is something midway between a sleazy mystery and a sycophant of the local venal politicians. He is scarcely a sight to titillate the eyes:

> a person resembling a poor clergyman or a poor actor. His black clothes were tightly buttoned on his short body and it was impossible to say whether he wore a clergyman's collar or a layman's because the collar of his shabby frock coat, the uncovered buttons of which reflected the candlelight, was turned about his neck...His face, shining with rain drops had the appearance of **damp yellow cheese** save where two rosy

[13] Stanislaus Joyce: **My Brother's Keeper** (New York: The Viking Press, 1958), p. 167.

[14] Tindall, **Joyce,** 34.

> spots indicated the cheeckbones. He opened his very long mouth suddenly to express disappointment and at the same time opened wide his very bright blue eyes to express pleasure and surprise. (**Dubliners,** 125)

Mr. Henchy asks Father McKeon to join the committee's company and he refuses in "a discreet, indulgent velvety voice," explaining that he's looking for Mr. Fanning, "the registration agent and mayor maker of the city." (Fanning reappears in a similar role in **Ulysses.**) Old Jack (Ireland) wonders if McKeon is even a priest. Mr. Henchy thinks so, "...a kind of black sheep, an unfortunate man of some kind." (**Dubliners,** 126) Father McKeon is a priest-errant--sans church, sans chapel and sans institution of any kind. A Dantesque trimmer, he neither serves nor praises Holy Mother Church nor worships Parnell. A sacerdotal **persona non grata** fits in well with the venal gallants of Joyce's Dublin: "all in pieces, all coherence gone, lacking all just relations between father and son, priest and church, master and disciple."[15]

III. Consummatum Est: the Sacerdotal Paralysis

Joyce's priests in the diocese of the Dubliners could hardly have given rise to that bromide of Ireland as a "priest-ridden, God-forsaken country." The youthful narrator of **The Sisters** "says softly to himself the word **paralysis** (which) had always sounded strangely in my ears." (**Dubliners,** 9) Father Flynn (**The Sisters**) is a literal and 'practicing paralytic': three strokes, a broken chalice and an ironic confessional humor all attest poignantly to his inertia and **acedia.** He did, however, teach the youth a great deal--and with considerable affection. The priest in **Araby** is dead; and, even alive, he must have been more of a mechanical bicycle pusher and antiquated drone than a Cardinal John McHale who stood up at a Vatican Council on Papal Infallibility and, with the voice of a lion, bellowed **Credo!** Father Butler of **An Encounter** is a Bunsen Burner divorced from the light of the Holy Spirit (the Pigeon House) and a dull, well-intentioned, albeit innocuous, instructor of the dead past of Roman history. In **Araby,** the young, romantic priest of 'carnal sanctification' is quickly defrocked: his ecstatic illusion of himself as the chalice bearer for Mangan's sister leads him to the failed magic of Araby and to tears and anguish in his eyes. In **A Painful Case,** James Duffy, the soi-disant 'agnostic monastic' of intellectual pride and 'societal and rational chastity' learns, like Sophocles Kreon, the wisdom of **caritas** in cold, isolated sorrow, when it is much, much too late. Father Purdon, S. J., appears to be an exception: he is neither inert nor gauche nor paralytic, but a man of imposing physique and personality and very much of the pecuniary world. Conversely, he could be accused of practicing 'anesthesiology' from the pulpit by numbing his parishioners into a state of mundane muddling and spiritual stasis since the core of his sermon extols the virtues of Mammon in a greed-oriented world! And, finally, there is poor Father McKeon of **Ivy Day,** more black sheep than shepherd, oscillating between political sycophancy and an ecclesiastical limbo! Poor, pathetic priests from the Joycean diocese of the Dubliners: how they suffer from acedia and paralysis and a surplus of ineffectual surplices! And this was Joyce's intention: "to betray the soul of that...paralysis which many consider a city."[16]

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] Joyce, **My Brother's Keeper,** p. 146.

IV. The Dying and the Death-in-Lifers

The non-clerical inhabitants of the **Dubliners** are afflicted with a number of Joycean characteristics. One is the need for exile to achieve success or fulfillment; a second is their inability to achieve a meaningful, psychic communion with each other, a painful effect of alienation stemming from the incurable loneliness of the human soul; and, a third, the grievous sin of intellectual and/or spiritual pride and a lack of the virtue of **caritas.** (Venial sins might include myopic, Irish chauvinism and the seeming ubiquity of Haines **(la haine)** and Browne--the uninvited English.)

The narrator and Mahoney in **An Encounter** are eager to experience exile and adventure by playing cowboys and Indians. When the games become routinely dull, they milch from school to admire the great ships from foreign ports. "Real adventures," the narrator reflects, "**do not happen to people who remain at home** (italics mine); they must be sought abroad." **(Dubliners,** 21) The narrator's eyes are intent upon finding a "pair of green eyes," an epiphany of the exotic. His gaze, consequently, focuses upon a Norwegian sailor, who, in reality, turns out to be a very dull sailor with blue and black or grey eyes. He does peer up into eyes of a bottle-green color: they belong to a shabbily clad, queer-acting "old josser," apparently a homosexual and exhibitionist, who scares some **caritas** into the young narrator's prideful mind. The ultimate results are frustration and stasis, and the sterile mystery of the 'queer old josser'--simpleton, god, or sexual deviate?

Eveline (Vide **Eveline)** poignantly concretizes the dilemma of static fear in conflict with the possibility of life and love in exile. Amid the dust of Dublin and her own home, Eveline's life runs the gamut from the dull and sterile to the dead. She hates her tedious job at the **Stores,** resents her father's verbal abuse as well as her multiple household chores. She meets Frank, a manly, open-hearted, musical sailor who promises her a home, love and security in Buenos Aires. She has promised to elope with him: "she had a right to happiness, Frank would take her in his arms, fold her in his arms. He would save her." **(Dubliners,** 41) While inhaling the odor of dustry cretonne, though, she remembers a promise she had made to her crazed and dying mother--a vow to keep the home together for as long as she could, made as her mother frantically chanted **Derevaun Seraun! Derevaun Seraun!**

At the North Wall Dock Frank urges her to board the ship, to escape with him. But she chokes up, a mental and speechless paralytic, begging God to tell her what to do. Joyce's epiphany of her surrender to stasis is concise, cold, vividly dramatic. Any paraphrase of a Joycean epiphany is usually anemic, a skeleton without flesh, a body without a soul. Let Joyce cast his spell:

> A bell **clanged** upon her heart. She felt him seize her hand.
> --Come!
> All the seas of the world **tumbled** about her heart. He was drawing her into them. He would **drown** her. She gripped with both hands at the **iron** railing.
> --Come!
> No! No! No!...her hands clutched the iron in frenzy...
> --Eveline- Evvy!
> He rushed beyond the barrier and called her to follow. He was shouted at to go on but he still called to her. She set her **white** face to him, passive, like a **helpless** animal. Her eyes gave no sign of **love** or **farewell** or **recognition. (Dubliners,** 41)

Clanged, tumbled drown, iron: words of betrayal and death! Yet Eveline's tragic cowardice--her white-faced, passive animal helplessness--stabs the reader's breast and leaves him with a **cor laceratum.**

Of all the frustrated cripples and paralytics who people the **Dubliners,** Little Chandler, the core of **A Little Cloud,** best adumbrates Gabriel Conroy and his fellow shades in **The Dead.** The name, Chandler, may mean candlemaker, chandelier, or a mere wisp of brightly glowing, easily-snuffed out cloud. An anemically Byronic romanticist who labors tediously as a legal copyist, little Chandler dreams of becoming a poet and conjures up vivid images of vermin-like children and squatting, tramp-like houses as he crosses the streets and bridges of Dublin. In a reverie he believes that the English critics will review his fantasized lyrics and write: "Mr. Chandler has the gift of easy and graceful verse...a wistful sadness pervades these poems...the Celtic note." **(Dubliners,** 74) He wants a more Irish name: T. Malone Chandler!

Chandler has a rendezvous with a former classmate, Ignatius Gallaher, at Corless', Dublin's equivalent of **Les Ambassadeurs.** Gallaher is brash and outspoken, a widely traveled member of the London press corps. He exudes an air of bravura and spews numerous cliches: about the sophistication of London, about the incredible gayety of Paris, and about the incredible corruption of the great European capitals, Berlin in particular. The very antithesis of Chandler--who is shy and has never traveled any further from Dublin than the Isle of Man--Gallaher patronizes 'old jog along Dublin' and, after learning that Chandler is married, boasts that he will never 'put his head in the sack' until he has seen the world and had his fling. And he means to marry money--"there'll be no mooning or swooning about it." **(Dubliners,** 78) Little Chandler detects a note of coarseness about Gallaher and his pride asserts itself: he is superior to Gallaher by virtue of birth, education and ability. Surely, he tells himself, he is capable of more than mere tawdry journalism.

Three whiskies have emboldened the normally timid and melancholy Chandler and he dreams of leaving Dublin, of going to London, of meetings with dark, Oriental women--"full of passion and voluptuous longing." **(Dubliners,** 79) But Little Chandler is trapped, economically and biologically: he has an infant son and a prim, pretty wife. When Chandler arrives at his flat, he is aglow with 'spirits-induced' fantasies. The 'little cloud' of tempered melancholy and soi-disant lyricism yearns to write a book of poems, to escape to the 'great city of London,' to write like Byron. Annie, his wife, is short-tempered and places the baby in his arms so that she can go to Bewley's to buy a parcel of tea. Little Chandler looks coldly at a picture of Annie, prim and proper, and wonders why he had married the cold eyes in the photograph: "there was no passion in them, no rapture...(they were not) Oriental eyes...dark and full of passion, of voluptuous longing." **(Dubliners,** 79)

He reads from Byron a melancholy verse of the lover who returns to his beloved's tomb to scatter flowers on the dust he had loved. The baby, pure **Id,** awakens and erupts into a spasm of tears, fright and hysteria; Chandler's dreams are dissipated by naked reality: "It was useless...He couldn't do anything. The wailing of the child pierced the drum of his ear. It was useless, useless! He was a prisoner for life. His arms trembled with anger and suddenly bending to the child's face he shouted--Stop!" **(Dubliners,** 80) Annie, incipient matriarch, returns to scold Chandler and to rescue the child from hysteria and his arms. Sober, repentant, and domesticated, Little Chandler 'glows' no more. **Son chandelles et reves de gloire sont mortes:** "He listened while the paroxysm of the child grew less and less;...and tears of remorse

started to his eyes." (**Dubliners,** 80) Chandler has suffered **caritas;** he will also probably be forever tethered to his family and the 'silk of the kine.'

No catalog of Joyce's socio-cultural paralytics can afford to omit Farrington of **Counterparts** and Maria of **Clay.** Farrington, a tall man of great bulk with a hanging face and wine-colored eyes, seethes with unhappiness and frustration. He hates his job as a legal copyist and hates even more his bald, pink-pated Belfast employer, Mr. Alleyne. He is behind in his copying and insults Alleyne who demands a humiliating apology. "His emotional barometer is set for a spell of riot." (**Dubliners,** 90) So he pawns his watch and spends the night in the company of several free-loading cronies. Farrington's Irish pride is humiliated when Weathers, an English acrobat, easily bests him at hand wrestling and his inchoate lust for a sensual English woman, who had gazed at him in one of the pubs, quickly peters out when she ignores his passing nudge as he leaves for home.

Neither drunk nor lust-fulfilled nor satisfied, he returns to a dark, wife-less (she is at chapel, praying) flat and a cold supper. Farrington vents his cumulative resentment and anger on little Charlie, one of his five children. When Charlie rekindles the fire to warm Farrington's supper, the latter begins to cane him with vehemence. As the stick cuts Charlie's thigh, the child cries out: "Please, Pa, don't beat me...don't beat me, Pa...I'll say a Hail Mary for you... I'll say a Hail Mary for you." (**Dubliners,** 93) **Ave Maria gratia pleni**--and Farrington is full of the graceless malice of circumstantial cruelty and malaise.

Maria of **Clay** is the antipode of Farrington. Symbolically, she is an odd trinity: the Virgin Mary, a witch (the epiphany occurs on All-Hallows Eve) and, possibly, Ireland itself. A very small person, she likes her tidy, diminutive body Even in the **Dublin by Lamplight Laundry,** a Protestant-owned firm, she is 'Maria, the veritable peacemaker' to her co-workers. And her favorite brother, Joe Donnelly, proclaims her Maria the Mediatrix: "Mamma is Mamma but Maria is my proper mother." (**Dubliners,** 100) As a witch she has a very long nose and a very long chin, so that when she laughs the tip of her nose nearly meets the tip of her chin.

She loves her quarreling brother, brings gifts to Joe's children, and plays Halloween games with them. Blind-folded, she is led to a table and a soft wet substance, the clay of death and dust. The next time she selects a prayer-book and Mrs. Donnelly predicts that she will immure herself in a convent. As the 'old country,' she will never know a man or children: she is a death-in-lifer, a slave to family, fatherland, the Church and her English keepers.

V. The Dead: The Descent into Hades

I am shifting writing gears again, from 'detached third' to 'personal first.' Why? Because Joyce's **The Dead** is my subjective conception of the greatest long short story or novella ever written. And I can identify, **con amore,** with its characters, its funeral atmosphere, its ironies and its descent into Hades. To be more specific, I am dying (more rapidly than you, that is), I am a university teacher of sorts, and I have a wife who once glowed with the radiance and mystique of Gretta Conroy. I even have a long-winded hypothesis about Joyce's **ultimate** epiphany: **The Dead** is a hauntingly poetic **danse macabre** of the living dead, the dying and the dead, all of whom like petty shades are groping ritualistically about in a snow-shrouded, sepulchral Hades of cultural, spiritual and erotic paralysis and pettiness.

I am Gabriel Conroy, stout, tallish, moderately liberal, with a professorship at the National University. My wife, Gretta--more mysterious and far lovelier

than anyone I know--and I are enroute from Monkstown, our home, to the annual Misses Morkans' Christmas party. I teach literature, write a few book reviews; and, as I approach the dark, gaunt house on Usher street, a phrase I had written seems to haunt me: "**One feels that one is listening to a thought-tormented music.**" (**Dubliners,** 192) The Morkans are my two aunts, Julia and Kate, and my niece, Mary Jane, the first two aging and dying and all three unmarried, musical, fallow, and Church-permeated. Aunts Julia and Kate are "small, plainly dressed old women...Julia is gray of hair and face, a face that is large, shadowed and flaccid (whereas) Kate is more vivacious...her face is all puckers and creases, like a shrivelled red apple and her hair...had not lost its ripe nut color." (**Dubliners,** 172) Mary Jane plays the organ in Haddington Road; Aunt Julia is the leading soprano at Adam and Eve's; and Kate, old and feeble, gives occasional piano lessons.

The party is on the 12th day of Christmas, January 6, the Feast of the Epiphany, and the snow is general all over Ireland. The snow, the shroud of death, is epiphanal. The Morkans' party is an annual, well-attended affair and it is a masterpiece of ambiguity: festive and frolicsome on the surface, sad and funereal in depth. The party-makers are a macabre miscellany. Lily, the caretaker's daughter is busy with coats, drapes and wraps. Pale, slim, with hay-colored hair, she "is done with schooling and done with men...the men that is now is all palaver and what they can get from you." (**Dubliners,** 170) Lily is dying in good health; she will probably never marry or love; and the lily is associated with both death and resurrection. My name, Gabriel, is a double-barreled symbol, too; Gabriel of the Annunciation of the Birth of Christ and of the death that precedes the second coming of Christ. Mr. Browne is a guest; he is ubiquitous and of the English persuasion. Freddy Malines is there, all screwed-up but essentially innocuous. On one occasion, "Freddy (explodes) before he (has) reached the climax of a story in a kind of high-pitched bronchitic laughter..." (**Dubliners,** 173) Bartell D'Arcy, the tenor, is a pompous ass with a sore throat whose operatic heroes are all dead. He does not even believe in Caruso! Many of Mary Jane's students and their young men are there, but it is Molly Ivors "who has a crow to pluck with me." Crows remind me of death but Molly, a frank, talkative, freckle-faced young woman, is obsessed with Irish nationalism and the Gaelic revival. To her I am a "nefarious West Briton" because I write a weekly literary column for **The Daily Mail.** I am also a traitor to Ireland because I vacation in France and Belgium instead of the Aran islands. I tell her I do it for the change and for the languages; then we arrive at the region of ice or Dante's **Giudecca** (9th circle, Inferno). Icily she tells me that I have my own people and language to think and worry about. I retort sharply and tell her that Irish is not my own language and that I am sick of Ireland! During the lancers (dances), she hisses 'West Briton' to me, loudly enough for everyone to hear. I am hurt; I am shocked deeply; I had wanted to say that literature is above politics. Then I notice that the large brooch in front of her collar bears an Irish device and motto and I also discern her implacable disgust with me. She decides to leave before the lavish dinner and I offer to take her home. "**Beannacht libh,**" she exclaims with a harsh laugh before her abrupt departure. My wife, Gretta, finds her comical; I find her a humorless, chauvinistic, paralytic. As the after-dinner speaker who will eulogize the three Morkans, I will even the score with Molly Ivors. I will allude to aunts Julia and Kate: "Ladies and gentlement, the generation which is now on the wane among us...had certain qualities of hospitality, of humor, of humanity, which the new and very serious and hyper-educated generation that is growing up

around us seems to me to lack." (**Dubliners,** 174) A dagger right through the super-nationalistic heart of Molly Ivors!

Mary Jane's piano piece had been too technical and too little melodic, but aunt Julia, study in gray, sings **Arrayed for the Bridal** in a strong, clear voice: "She (attacks) with great spirit the runs which embellish the air...she did not miss even the smallest of grace notes." (**Dubliners,** 178)

I am ready to carve the flat brown goose (Is Ireland's goose cooked?) that lies upon a table that overflows with hams, fruits, and countless delicacies. After the eating, the drinking and verbal trivia, I eulogize the Three Graces of Dublin--Aunts Kate and Julia and Mary Jane. I extol their generosity, warmth, and hospitality and use my favorite phrase: "We are living in a thought-tormented age of cynical and hyper-educated people who lack these qualities." (**Dubliners,** 194) I propose a toast and we all sing, with Mr. Browne the Englishman as our leader, "For they are jolly good fellows..."(**Dubliners,** 194) I am a hypocrite, for I know that my aunts are really two stupid old women.

A note of levity lightens the conversation. Aunt Kate and I tell the story of my grandfather, the late Patrick Morkan, the glue-boiler, and his fine horse, Johnny. "Out of the mansion of his forefathers," I relate, "he (Patrick Morkan) drove with Johnny and everything went on beautifully until Johnny came in sight of King Billy's statue; and whether he fell in love with the horse King Billy sits on or whether he thought he was back in the mill again, he began to walk around and around King Billy's horse again and again." (**Dubliners,** 196) I walk in circles in my galoshes and everyone laughs. You see, King Billy is to Irish Catholics what a swastika is to the Jews. In July, 1690, at the Battle of Boyne, King William of Orange defeated an army of French and English soldiers under the command of James Stuart the Pretender. And since that day "the old woman's children" have been walking begrudgingly to the oppresive measures of King Billy's successors.

It is morning and still snowing and the guests are leaving. Near the top of the first flight of stairs, a woman is standing, listening to Bartell D'Arcy sing. It is Gretta, my wife and there is "a grace and mystery in her attitude as if she were the symbol of something." (**Dubliners,** 198) If I were a painter, I would paint her and call the picture, **Distant Music.** Gretta listens serenely, intently, and I, too, hear the hoarse, plaintive voice: "O, the rain falls on my heavy locks/ And the dew wets my skin,/ My babe lies cold..." (**Dubliners,** 198)

The song means nothing to me; to Gretta, perhaps it means everything. Mary Jane says the snow is the heaviest in thirty years and that it is general all over Ireland. As I walk behind Gretta I begin to lust after her: "The blood bounded in my veins; I wanted her to forget our years of dullness, the children, her household chores, and my writing. In a past **billet doux** I had written: Why is it that words like these seem so dull and cold? Is it because there is no word **tender** enough to be your name?" (**Dubliners,** 206)

Like distant music the words kindle memories and desires within me. At the curbstone near the Gresham hotel, I feel proud of her grace and womanly carriage." ...the frst touch of her body, **musical and strange and perfumed,** (italics mine) send through me a keen pang of lust...I could have flung my arms around her hips and held her still...I long to cry out to her soul, to crush her body against mine, to overmaster her." (**Dubliners,** 208)

In the hotel (the children are in Bessie's care in Monkstown) I tell the porter to remove the candlelight. But I do not want to force myself upon her; that would be brutal, savage. I yearn for some sign from her, some ardour in her eyes, some awareness of my mood, some token of emotional rapport.

(**Dubliners,** 209-209) I run my fingers through her long hair and yearn to kiss my own wife. Gently she disengages herself from me; she looks tired and begins to cry. She tells me she's thinking about that song, **The Lass of Aughrim,** and then she throws herself upon the bed, sobbing freely. Michael Furey, a lad she had known a long time ago in Galway, leaps from the burial ground of her memories in all of his freshness, youth, life and fervor. The song had acted as a catalyst: he was a young, delicate boy who used to sing that song to her. "Such eyes he had: big, dark eyes! and such an expression!," Gretta exclaims tearfully. (**Dubliners,** 211) They used to walk together; they were great together; they were in love. Irony and pity should be our judges and assessors, Anatole France once said. Michael Furey had worked in the gas works and I am a writer of sorts and a university professor! The fires of my lust begin to dull angrily in my veins and I ask Gretta if she wants to see him. "He is dead," she sobs, "He died when he was only seventeen. Isn't it a terrible thing to die so young as that?" (**Dubliners,** 213) He had died because of her, consumptive and dying and determined to see her before she left Nun's Island for Dublin. He had stood patiently in a cold, damp rain; he refused to live without her. A week later he was dead, of consumption complicated by pneumonia.

I am humiliated and my pride crumples as I realize the supreme irony of the resurrection of love from the dead. A boy from the gas-works had died for a woman, my wife. She had that memory: a man had died for her. It was ironic, how little a part, I, her husband had played in her life.

> A shameful consciousness of my true person assails (me). I see myself as a ludicrous figure, acting as a pennyboy for my aunts, a nervous well-meaning sentimentalist, orating to vulgarians and idealizing my own clownish lusts, the pitiable, fatuous fellow I had caught a glimpse of in the mirror. (**Dubliners,** 220)

Ultimately Gretta stops talking, emotionally overwhelmed, sobbing profusely into the quilt of the bed. I hold her hand gently and she quickly falls asleep. A deep sense of pity (**caritas**) for her enters my soul. Her still beautiful face was no longer the face for which Michael Furey had died and I have an intuition about Furey: he is the Eumenides, the Furies, a synthesis of Megaera, Alecto, and Tisiphone, and he has justly humiliated my smug, bourgeois pride and my pampered ego. And, irony of ironies, the 'dead Furey' was still fiercely alive and young in my and Gretta's mind in this world of **The Dead.**

We are all becoming shades: good, kind gray aunt Julia singing **Arrayed for the Bridal** will soon be **Coffined for Burial;** aunt Kate will follow. Mary Jane, Malines, Browne, and the haughtily nationalistic Molly Ivors are all moving into "that region where dwell the hosts of the dead." (**Dubliners,** 221)

And so, one by one, we are all becoming shades. Far better, as A.E. Housman has put it, to go the way of Michael Furey, in the full blaze of some glory or passion than to age or dismally wither away. I am Gabriel Conroy but Joyce, the supreme ironist and epiphanist, is my creator. Let the flowing words of his epiphanal eminence 'shine forth' my feelings, my grief, my descent into Hell:

Generous tears filled (Gabriel's eyes. He had never felt like that himself toward any woman (Gretta), but he knew that such a feeling must be love. The tears gathered more thickly in his eyes and in the partial darkness he imagined he saw the form of a young man standing under a dripping tree. Other forms were near it...his own identity was fading out into a grey, impalpable world: the solid world of self which these dead had one time reared and lived, was dissolving and dwindling...

Yes, the newspapers were right: the snow was general all over Ireland. It was falling on every part of the dark central plain, on the treeless hills, falling softly upon the Bog of Allen and farther westward, softly falling into the dark mutinous Shannon waves. It was falling, too, upon every part of the lonely churchyard on the hill where Michael Furey lay buried...**His soul swooned slowly as he heard the snow falling faintly through the universe and faintly falling, like the descent of their last end, upon all the living and the dead. (Dubliners,** 223-24)

Chiaroscuro: lights and shades, snow and death, the descent into the Plutonian Hades or the Dantesque **Giudecca. De mortuis, nil nisi bonum;** About Joyce's dead say nothing but good!

THE NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION IN TEXAS

Kenneth E. Hendrickson, Jr.*

The full fury of the depression had descended upon Texas by the spring of 1933 when Franklin Delano Roosevelt became President. It was estimated at the time that 267,000 bread-winners were unemployed, and 105,000 families representing 7.1% of the total population were on relief. To cope with these disastrous conditions the state legislature issued $20,000,000 in emergency bonds for the relief of unemployment, but this was pitifully little and the funds were soon exhausted. The circle of disaster continued to widen engulfing thousands more Texans each month, and by the fall of 1934 there were 246,849 relief cases in the state.

Meanwhile, efforts of the New Deal relief agencies began to produce some results. By mid-1933 the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, created by Congress in May, provided the state with over $50,000,000 for both direct and work relief. Likewise, the Public Works Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps brought relief money into the state and put thousands back to work. Then in 1935 came the Works Progress Administration with its various component programs including the National Youth Administration. Within another year the federal government had spent over $350,000,000 in the Lone Star State and this combined with some $80,000,000 in state contributions began to make a noticeable dent in unemployment, but did not end it. Not until the coming of the war did the problem of unemployment in Texas subside entirely.[1]

The NYA was established by Executive Order No. 7086 on June 26, 1935 under authority granted by the Emergency Relief Appropriations Act of April 8. Immediately President Roosevelt appointed a National Advisory Committee and a National Executive Committee with Josephine Roche as Chairman. He also named Aubrey Williams of Alabama as National Director. At the outset the program met a generally favorable response, with only the National Education Association voicing strong opposition. Terming it a "raw deal" for the public schools, NEA Executive Secretary Willard E. Givens complained that the NYA would take control of education out of the hands of the states. It would also inject politics into education and would be extravagantly expensive.[2]

The NYA was originally designed to provide education, jobs, recreation, counselling and opportunity for American youth between the ages of 16 and 25. In Texas, as in other states, its program touched only a minority of those in need because of financial limitations, but otherwise it was quite successful

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1 Rupert Norval Richardson, **Texas: The Lone Star State,** (New York: Prentice Hall, 1964), pp. 325-328.

2 Willard E. Givens, *New Deal a Raw Deal for the Public Schools,* **Journal of the National Education Association** (September, 1935), p. 98.

and was not the subject of harsh criticism, except from the NEA and a few extreme conservatives, until after the beginning of the war. The first administrator of the NYA program in Texas was twenty-seven year old Lyndon Baines Johnson, a protege of Congressman Richard Kleberg. Under Johnson's able leadership, and with the enthusiastic support of Governor James V. Allred, the program was effectively launched.

As Lyndon Johnson saw it, Texas presented various unique administrative problems for the director of a statewide relief program. These were derived from the size of the state and the heterogeneity of its population. There were, Johnson said, three distinct groups in Texas which he intended to consider separately and in descending order of importance in dealing with the problem of relief for youth. These three groups were: the "white," or "American;" the "Mexican;" and the "Negro." None, he felt, could be dealt with generally. The Mexicans were located for the most part in South and West Texas, the Negroes in the East, and the "Americans" were scattered everywhere with varying problems and interests depending upon location. Each group had distinct needs created by ethnic background, cultural distinction, geographic and climatic location, and distance from sources of aid. Johnson hoped that National Director Aubrey Williams and his associates in Washington would appreciate all these problems as they considered his first staff and budget requests,[3] but Washington gave him no special preference and instead cautioned him to make the most effective possible use of the funds provided.[4]

Although they demanded frugality, the administrators in Washington nevertheless allowed considerable flexibility during the formative years of the NYA. Still, almost all projects fell within one of the following categories: the school aid program; the out-of-school work program; the vocational guidance program; and the resident center training program. All of these except the last were fully developed under Johnson's administration, and all were more or less successful, although they were by no means of equal significance judged by the results they produced.

At the state and local level NYA was in many ways an exercise in participatory democracy and some observers regarded this as its strongest feature. The state director was advised by a committee made up of representatives of various significant interest groups throughout the state. In Texas the State Advisory Committee was headed by the well known A. J. Wirtz, of Austin. Other important members of the original group were Miller Ainsworth of Luling, State Commander of the American Legion; J. Lutcher Stark of Orange, Chairman of the Board of Regents of the University of Texas; D. H. Perry of Robstown, Director of the National Cotton Cooperative Association; and Beauford Jester of Corsicana who would later serve as Railroad Commissioner and Governor. Others were appointed from time to time during the next seven years. They met as a group very infrequently, but Johnson and his successor Jesse C. Kellam both consulted with them as individuals on a regular basis.

[3] Lyndon Baines Johnson to Aubrey Williams, August 12, 1935; *A Survey of Unique Problems Presented by the State of Texas in its Organization for Effective Presentation of the National Youth Administration Program,* Lyndon Baines Johnson Papers, National Youth Administration Collection, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library, Austin, Texas. Hereinafter cited: LBJ Papers NYA.

[4] John J. Corson to Johnson, August 28, 1935, Johnson to Brown, January 13, 1936; in **ibid.**

Far more important than the SAC were the local advisory committees appointed at the county level. At one time or another slightly less than one half of the 254 counties in Texas had such committees in operation, although their structure and scale of involvement varied considerably. Theoretically, these committees were responsible for advising local and regional administrators; securing local co-sponsors for projects; acting as liaison between the NYA and other groups in the community; serving as propaganda and publicity conduits; and like activities. In carrying out their functions the committees tended to be informal and less structured in small towns and to use more formal procedures in larger towns, but regardless of their pattern of development they were often effective in making the NYA responsive to community needs.[5]

Between July and September, 1935, Johnson and his staff began to build a program, contacting the important public and private institutions in the state for support. These included the major agencies of state government; many county and municipal administrations; and the leading men in higher education and the public schools, industries, labor unions, civic clubs and churches. Johnson received encouragement from almost all the agencies he approached including the Texas Relief Commission, the Department of Vocational Education, the Highway Department, the State Park Board, the State Department of Education, the Texas Federation of Labor, the Parent-Teacher Association, and the American Legion. In spite of the skepticism of the NEA virtually no one was publicly opposed to the NYA at this stage of its development.

The first portion of the NYA program to be implemented in Texas was the school aid project designed to provide partial support for high school and college students. By the middle of September, 1935, planning was complete and the program was operating in 83 colleges and the high schools of 248 participating counties. During the next two years while Johnson was State Youth Director an average of 10-18,000 students per month were employed at various part-time clerical or maintenance jobs earning a maximum $6.00 per month in high school and $15.00 in college. Although hesitant and somewhat balkly at first, high school principals and college presidents alike soon took the NYA to heart. Their main complaint, one which was never resolved, was the lack of enough money to help all those in need. Administrators clamored incessantly for more funds. Although he could not oblige them, Johnson did secure approval for the creation of several so-called "freshman college centers" around the state. These were set up to provide junior college training in their home communities for students unable to attend college on campus. They were jointly sponsored by the NYA, the WPA, various state agencies, and several colleges and universities. During the first year twenty such centers were established and they served about 630 students. The next year attendance increased to nearly 1000. This aspect of the program attracted much attention and served as a model for other states.

Next to be developed was the out-of-school work program designed to assist those youth who had graduated or dropped out of school and were unemployed. These projects were prohibited from duplicating those of the WPA and required co-sponsors which were usually public agencies. They were further restricted in that they could not involve major improvements to private property.

[5] Johnson to Corson, August 14, 1935, LBJ Papers NYA. Also see the NYA in Texas - Final Report, n.d., 1943; National Youth Administration, Texas, Record Group 119, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Hereinafter cited: NYA Texas RG 119 NA.

Although the out-of-school work program in Texas would eventually develop hundreds of projects, it began with only four. Two of these were co-sponsored by the State Highway Department and involved the construction of 250 roadside parks and the graveling of 2,000 miles of shoulder along state highways. The third and fourth of the original projects involved the improvement of seventy six state parks through the construction of recreational facilities and the similar improvement of the playground facilities in all the public schools of the state. These four projects alone were designed to employ 37,000 youth part-time for periods ranging from three to ten months at $8.00 per month and all were approved, but they had to be scaled down substantially when the Texas quota for out-of-school workers was reduced to 12,000. Shortly another major facet of the program emerged when arrangements were completed to allow several hundred youth to assist county agents in the distribution of soil conservation information to farmers under similar financial arrangements.

Sometimes out-of-school work projects had to be pushed in order to be accepted. A good example of this was the construction of the Canton Community Center in Van Zandt County where the Commissioners Court was reluctant to support the project apparently fearing that the results would be shoddy. Eventually, Judge L.F. Sanders convinced his colleagues to approve it, and with donated land and funds raised by the service clubs the building was constructed. When it was finished there was general agreement that the results were excellent.

The final portion of the NYA program to be established during the first year was the Junior Employment Project set up in Fort Worth on February 1, 1936. It operated in cooperation with the National Re-employment Service and the Texas State Employment Service and during its first year provided vocational counselling to nearly 5,000 youth. It also referred young people to potential employers in the private sector, but was not particularly successful in securing them jobs. During the first three months only twenty-two people were placed, although eventually thousands of youth found jobs through placement offices operating in Dallas, Fort Worth, Houston and Waco. Funds for this aspect of the NYA program were withdrawn by the government in 1941.

One part of the NYA program which did not develop at all was the Apprenticeship Training Project designed to act as a feeder to private industry. The failure of this project to take root occurred not so much because of the open opposition of the unions, but because the state administrators feared they might be antagonized. Much the same thing occurred in other states.[6]

Of all the New Deal programs the NYA was seemingly the most popular in Texas - even more popular than the Civilian Conservation Corps. School administrators generally voiced approval as did students and parents who inundated Johnson's office with letters of appreciation. Typical of the administrative reaction was that of A.B.C. Dean, Superintendent of schools in Beaumont. "Your program," he wrote "has been a life saver to our pupils....We have chosen those most deserving and worthy and they have responded with good, dependable service for all money received."[7]

[6] Lyndon Baines Johnson, *A Report on the Activities of the National Youth Administration in Texas During the Month of September, 1935,* September 30, 1935, in **ibid.** Also see: Final Report, The NYA in Texas, NYA Texas RG 119 NA.

[7] A.B.C. Dean to Aubrey Williams, February 13, 1936, NYA Texas RG 119 NA.

R. G. Valle, a science teacher at La Grulla High School, reflected the views of the educational community from another perspective. "All the people in this community is [sic] proud of our government for the establishment of the NYA which is helping thousands of youth to be able to continue their education," he wrote. "Several boys and girls who have been out of school for a year or two have come to me to see if they could get employment and attend school."[8]

Parents were anxious for assistance and thankful when it came. "Will the NYA be put in here at Ulvalde High School?" queried W. J. Samson. "I am not able to furnish my boys with such things as they need....I will be 64 next month and my budget does not supply my larder as it should and keep my kids in school."

"I would have been unable to attend college without NYA," wrote Rachel Kidd to Congressman Marvin Jones. "We poor students are greatly encouraged because we know that there is someone outside our families who is concerned with our welfare."

And Willis Johnson wrote to LBJ, "Without funds allowed me by the NYA I would have been forced to remain out of school. The introduction of President Roosevelt's policy of student help has meant much to the youth of today..."[9]

The NYA was also well received by the press. So well, in fact that Assistant Director Richard Brown in Washington was clearly skeptical of Johnson's boast that almost no criticism appeared in the papers. Yet it was true. An analysis of several major newspapers as well as a number of smaller ones reveals that the overwhelming sentiment of the press was indeed favorable, and this included the views of such papers as the independent San Antonio **Express** and the Hearst controlled San Antonio **Light,** both of which were generally hostile to the New Deal.[10]

Of course, there was some press criticism, usually accusing the program of wastefulness or "boondoggling." A typical example is this editorial from the Galveston **News** which appeared under the headline:[11]

LADS AND LASSIES FROLIC AND PLAY:
FOR THIS THEY'LL GET PAID BY NYA

> Don't be alarmed if some afternoon you happen to observe when passing the old west end school...a group of hungry looking but pixie footed lads and lassies...tripping forth gayly..., pausing...to hum a few bars of tra-la-la and do a form or two of the old Virginia reel.

[8] R.G. Valle to Williams, January 31, 1936, in **ibid.**

[9] Willis Johnson to Lyndon Baines Johnson, October 27, 1935; Rachel Kidd to Marvin Jones, October 25, 1935; W.J. Samson to Johnson, September 23, 1935, in **ibid.**

[10] The papers surveyed include: The Dallas **Morning News,** Dallas **Times-Herald,** Dallas **Journal,** Houston **Post,** Houston **Press,** Austin **American,** Laredo **Times,** Wichita Falls **Times,** Wichita Falls **Record News,** Fort Worth **Star-Telegram,** Waco **News-Tribune,** San Antonio **Express,** San Antonio **Light,** Paris **News,** Sweetwater **Reporter,** Tyler **Journal,** Bryan **Eagle,** Borger **Herald,** Mission **Times,** McKinney **Courier-Gazette.**

[11] Galveston **News,** n.d., 1936.

It will only be a sign that the boondogglers are on the job...They are doing it simply to collect $16.00 a month...to help support their families...

It is one of five local NYA projects now underway...to develop "community recreation leaders" whatever they are. The subjects being taught are broadly classified...as home, social, and rural recreation. In other words, how to amuse yourself at home, in public, and in the country. Just how folk dancing fits in with any of these remains a mystery...

As if to answer such charges, however, stories like this one from the Fort Worth **Star-Telegram** frequently appeared:[12]

WHAT A CHANGE IN MORALE HAS COME OVER
1200 CITY YOUNG PEOPLE UNDER NYA

Some there are who would criticize the government for its National Youth Movement, saying it is a waste of money...(But) one has only to visit the Recreation Building on Rio Grande Ave from about 3:30 o'clock until dark some afternoon, and to study the eager faces of the hundreds of young people gathered there to see that the NYA has been a vital force for good for this city's young people.

To realize just what it has meant, we might go back two months to the beginning of the movement, and view again...those young people as they first gathered there. Such a depressing picture as they did present in their run-over shoes, worn out clothes, shaggy hair cuts and discouraged expressions...

Today, just two months after the NYA movement is underway, we find the same young people changed...

...they have been making a little in this work, anywhere from $12.00 to $25.00 per month...It has given them a chance to improve..., to help at home...to feel more necessary.

Who knows? May be some have turned on a new road in life.

One area of NYA activities which seems hopelessly unfortunate by present day standards was the treatment of the Negroes who were regarded as third class citizens just as Johnson had said they would be. At the outset Washington requested the integration of the State Advisory Committee, but easily gave in under pressure exerted by the Texan. After brief discussions with Johnson, Assistant Director John Corson, Brown's predecessor, agreed to the appointment of segregated committees.

[12] Fort Worth **Star-Telegram,** n.d., 1936.

The Texans' argument, as stated by Johnson, was that the racial question in the state had resolved itself over a period of about a century into "a definite system of customs which cannot be upset overnight." So long as these customs were observed, said Johnson, there would be peace and harmony between the races in Texas, but any act which might be, as he put it, "shockingly against precedence," such as an effort to mix the races on a common board, could have disastrous results.

The Negro SAC was selected on the basis of recommendations from the leading Negro citizens of the state. Most of the members were educators or clergymen and the most influential of these were Joseph J. Rhoads, President of Bishop College, L. V. Williams, Principal of Booker T. Washington High School in Dallas; and Mary Branch, President of Tillotson College in Austin. In addition, Negro leaders all over the state, whether members of the SAC or not, were asked to cooperate through the dissemination of publicity and information to Negro youth. Men such as S. E. Fowler, General Secretary of the Negro Y.M.C.A. in Fort Worth, and Dean R. O'Hara Lanier of the Houston College for Negroes were instrumental in this sort of work.[13]

Aside from the deplorable nature of segregation itself there were two serious problems which the NYA administration recognized, but never fully overcame. One derived from the fact that fully one half of the Negroes in the state lived in out-of-the-way rural areas making it almost impossible for representatives of the relief program to reach them. Few of these people ever heard of NYA let alone receive benefits from it. The second major difficulty was that little was known about the full magnitude of social problems among urban Negroes. Virtually no studies of their general condition existed and as a result the administration was forced to rely upon impressions and the recommendations of urban Negro leaders for program development. Such an arrangement was not entirely satisfactory, for tensions existed within the Negro community which were often as severe as those affecting white-black relations. The Baptists and the Methodists, for example, were at odds, and since Dr. Rhoads represented the former while the latter had no representation at all on the Negro SAC there were frequent complaints of favoritism.

Another problem, the effects of which are very difficult to measure, was that almost all the counselors who dealt with Negro youth were white. At the very least this practice served to perpetuate the system which had developed since Reconstruction. To remedy such conditions the NYA leaders in Washington constantly pressured Johnson to appoint black counselors and to hire at least one black assistant director, but he delayed.

During the Johnson era the Negro NYA program developed somewhat as follows. The student aid project served approximately 890 people per month out of a total pool of 9,000 students in the high school program. Additionally, some 470 Negro college students in thirteen institutions had part-time jobs. Also, fifteen of the freshman college centers established during this period served Negro students.

The NYA employed an average of 1,660 Negroes per month in out-of-school work projects during the first years, most of them in Dallas and Harris Counties. They worked on light construction projects sponsored by public agencies such as the Highway Department, the Relief Commission, school

[13] Johnson to Richard R. Brown, March 16, 1936, *The Texas Youth Administration - Negro Activities;* Juanita Sadler to Johnson, April 9, 1936; Beatrice Denmark to Brown, February 9, 1937; LBJ Papers NYA.

districts, and municipalities. For those entirely lacking skill a pilot training project was established to test whether such efforts were feasible on a permanent basis. This project was conducted on the campus of Prairie View Normal School and was designed to provide young women with the requisite skill to become maids. It was well received and highly successful, but it also demonstrated how little interest in social reform emanated from the operations of the NYA program in Texas. On the other hand, it provided substantial benefits to participants by heightening their awareness of health and personal hygiene needs.

Little press coverage was devoted to the Negro program, but this was invariably favorable. The following for example, appeared in the **Fort Worth Star-Telegram:**[14]

> Selecting participants in its program primarily on the basis of need and with full consideration for all groups, the NYA is helping approximately 19,000 Negro young people.
>
> To insure adequate handling of the problem as it relates to Negroes, special Negro staff members have been appointed in states where Negro population is large...In Texas a special advisory committee composed entirely of Negroes has been appointed.

When Representative J. P. Buchanan died in February, 1937, Lyndon Johnson resigned to run for his seat. He was succeeded as State Director by his friend and assistant, Jesse C. Kellam. This event marked the beginning of the second era of NYA history in the state, a period which lasted until the United States entered World War II.

The school aid program continued to operate effectively providing assistance for approximately 12-18,000 high school and college students per month. A survey conducted in 1938 revealed that this phase of NYA operations was still exceptionally popular. Ninety per cent of the school officials questioned declared their students' attitude was excellent regarding both labor assignments and school work. They also favored the continuation of the program and, moreover, sixty per cent were for making it permanent. It should be noted however that all those surveyed were high school administrators. Many teachers were not quite so enthusiastic since they bore the burden of supervision, saw many deserving students go unaided, and balked at the mundane and often slipshod nature of much of the work performed. These problems did not go unnoticed by state and federal officials, but it was not until 1940 that formal action was taken to force improvement. Then, Texas and most of the other states created School Work Councils to provide greater coordination and efficiency. Their job was to encourage more effective allotment procedures, more efficiency, more publicity and more gracious acceptance of the program by school personnel. The Councils operated until 1942, and for some states there is sufficient evidence to conclude that they worked effectively. Unfortunately for the case of Texas there is no such evidence because many of the records for this period have been destroyed.[15]

[14] Fort Worth **Star-Telegram,** n.d., 1936.

[15] *Final Report, the NYA in Texas,* n.d. no pagination. NYA Texas RG 119 NA. The Chairman of SWC was Henry L. Foster, Superintendent of Schools in Longview.

The college program was much the same. It provided aid to twenty percent of all students receiving assistance in the state and it was very popular. More than ninety percent of the college officials surveyed in 1938 regarded their students' attitudes as excellent and all but one thought the program should be continued. No college officials in Texas declared publicly that the NYA carried with it the potential for insidious encroachment by the federal government upon local control of education. As in the high school program, and perhaps more surprisingly, the college work projects were quite mundane. Over half of the students had clerical or maintenance related jobs.[16]

If the school aid program was popular, though dull, it undoubtedly salvaged thousands of lives. The out-of-school work program accomplished much the same thing and it also produced results of lasting benefit to society. By 1938 it provided part-time employment to 5,000 young people per month on the average, working on several hundred projects. Some of these were very ordinary, to be sure, but a few, such as the La Villita project in San Antonio, were spectacular and deserve specific attention.

La Villita, site of the original settlement of San Antonio, was a ghastly slum along the San Antonio River. Here dwelt more than one hundred poverty stricken residents in conditions of utter squalor when Mayor Maury Maverick undertook to demolish and restore the area using NYA labor. Maverick acquired the property by trade and the work began on August 1, 1939, with 110 young men, mostly Mexican-Americans, on the project. During the next two months they removed 162 truckloads of junk and readied the area's structures, some of which dated from the 1830's, for restoration. In the meantime, the city undertook to relocate all the residents, an effort successfully carried out under the direction of social worker Hamilton Magruder.

The restoration itself began in October under the direction of architect David Williams and the City Department of Parks. The project provided work for 300 boys and assistance for an additional 2,100 members of their families. The boys not only performed the work, but received on-the-job training as well, and many soon went into private industry with full-time jobs. Before the project was completed the labor turn-over rate was nearly twenty per cent.

The restoration took approximately one year to complete after which it was expected to become a handicraft center providing a major cultural link between the Anglo and Mexican-American communities of the city. Development of the handicraft center was placed in the hands of artist Blanding Sloan who was widely known as a print maker and who had directed the Cavalcade of Texas project for the State Centennial in 1936. Sloan and his associates succeeded in establishing La Villita as a permanent handicraft center - it has now been in operation for more than forty years - and they also succeeded in creating the cultural link which Maverick envisioned. One might argue that the link is weak, but nevertheless the project has received much favorable publicity

[16] J. C. Kellam to All School Superintendents, Principals, and College Presidents, August 20, 1938, *Survey of the School Aid Program of the National Youth Administration in Texas.* During the 1937-1938 school year 2,092 institutions participated in the School Aid Program. Approximately 75 percent of these responded to the survey.

throughout the hemisphere and is still an attraction for citizens of all ethnic backgrounds in San Antonio.[17]

In 1938 Kellam undertook to expand the resident center program which had begun with the Prairie View Negro girls project in 1936. His plan was to provide work training for youth from isolated areas and at the same time to move toward the establishment of the apprenticeship training program which had never developed. The first center in the newly expanded program was to be on the campus of San Marcos State College, and was to be set up with the cooperation of the State Department of Vocational Education, but before it could be inaugurated the approval of the Texas Federation of Labor was necessary. This was achieved by demonstrating to labor leaders in the major Texas cities that such a project would not interfere with union sponsored apprenticeship programs or provide too many workers to compete with those already in the field, but would actually complement the Federation's programs. Kellam selected Travis Lewis, director of Vocational Education in Forth Worth, with close connections to the TFL, to handle this problem. Lewis not only put the message across successfully, but also arranged to further involve labor by appointing selection committees in each city made up of union men, employers and educators who would choose the boys for the project. This system worked well in all the cities where it was established. However, the Central Labor Federations in Dallas and San Antonio refused to cooperate.

Fifty boys were sent to San Marcos where they went through a four month training program in wood-working and metal skills which combined classroom and practical application for a total of seventy hours per month. They were paid $26.50 per month of which $18.65 was returned to the college to pay for room and board.[18] This program had numerous flaws and weaknesses in its initial stages. It was of too brief duration and the training phase was not well organized. But it was successful enough to encourage Kellam to extend it. Eventually, by 1941, eleven resident training centers accommodating 1200 youth were operating. The most elaborate of these was at Inks Dam near Burnet where 200 boys received pre-apprenticeship training in a variety of skills. This project had an elaborate organization with its own local government, a newspaper, a radio station, and a complete program of sports and recreation.[19]

Even after it was fully established, the resident training center program was by no means an unqualified success. By 1940 it was clear that the training was still very uneven, the products of indifferent quality and the housekeeping atrocious. So serious did these problems become, in fact, that Kellam was considering the abandonment of the entire project when the war broke out.[20]

[17] *How Youth and the Mayor Cleared a Slum, 1941.* A Brochure on the La Villita Project. NYA Texas RG 119 NA. Dallas **Morning News,** June 30, 1940; San Antonio **Light,** June 30, 1940. Also see: R.B. Henderson, **Maury Maverick: A Political Biography** (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1970), pp. 199-201.

[18] Travis J. Lewis, *A Cooperative Training Program for the Youth of Texas Sponsored by the National Youth Administration, Southwest State Teachers College, and the State Department of Vocational Education,* March 19, 1938, NYA Texas RG 119 NA. Also see: Paris **News,** November 8, 1938.

[19] Texas NYA Digest, (March, 1941), p. 10, NYA Texas RG 119 NA.

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

At this point the Resident Center activities were rapidly shifted to defense training and the centers remained in operation until the termination of the NYA program in 1943.

The Negro program continued much as it had begun - segregated yet generally popular among the few who received assistance - however Kellam made several administrative changes which Johnson had resisted. He appointed Dr. M. W. Dogan of Wiley College to the Negro SAC and he added a Negro Affairs Specialist to his staff. Between 1937 and 1941 an average of 3,500 Negro youth per month received out-of-school assistance and 3,000 received in-school aid. In addition there were six special projects for Negroes similar to the resident training centers for whites. These provided training and experience in such fields as carpentry, metalwork, farming, and homemaking. The Negro program accounted for about 14 percent of the total NYA program in the state and was, of course, inadequate to meet the need. There continued to be many more applicants than could be accommodated.[21]

The beginning of World War II inaugurated a third and final period in the history of the NYA. As the economy improved with the demand for increased productivity the number of young people in need of aid declined, yet Aubrey Williams and his associates in Washington were not dismayed. They had already ceased to think of the program as a temporary relief measure and had begun to think of it as a permanent feature of American society. They encouraged recruiting and insisted that the NYA could serve a vital wartime need by training youth in defense-related skills such as wood and sheet metal work, sewing, welding, radio and automotive repair, and foundry work. They now allocated more of their resources for equipment and supervision in the workshop program and less to the in-school work program and found almost at once that this seemingly logical move generated greater opposition than had ever before existed. The schoolmen objected to cuts in their program while the vocational educators began to howl that the NYA was intruding into their territory.[22]

Reflecting these changes and shifts of opinion, the Congressional debate over extension of the NYA in 1941 was bitter and prolonged. The opponents included not only those who agreed with the vocational educators, but also those who opposed any form of increased federal intervention into local affairs, together with the conservatives who were hostile to any program still representing the New Deal. Favoring the NYA were those representing the views of manufacturers who employed NYA-trained people in their shops, individuals who believed the relief program still had something to offer people in their areas, and some educators who agreed with organized labor in its desire to have the NYA made permanent.[23]

[21] J. C. Kellam, *A Report to the Members of the Negro State Advisory Committee,* April 27, 1940, NYA Texas RG 119 NA.

[22] Kenneth E. Hendrickson, Jr., *The NYA in South Dakota: Youth and the New Deal, 1935-1943,* **South Dakota History** (Vol. 9 No. 2, Spring, 1979), p. 146.

[23] Kellam to S. Burns Weston, November 25, 1941; Tom Mobley to Congressman Albert Thomas, December 31, 1942; Andrew J. Higgins to James E. Van Zandt, April 6, 1943; George C. Boswell to Senator Tom Connally, March 30, 1943; L.H. Hubbard to A.J. Wirtz, February 3, 1942; W.J. McConnell to Wirtz, March 7, 1942; A.J. Wirtz to Chairmen of All Local Advisory Committees, February 5, 1942; Violet Spiller to Wirtz, February 17, 1942; J.J. Backus to Wirtz, February 29, 1942; Mrs. Bob Carter to Wirtz, February 17, 1942; R.L. McConnell to Wirtz, February 26, 1942. Analysis of Local Advisory Committee Reports with Reference to the Usefulness of the National Youth Administration. During the Wartime Emergency, in **ibid.**

Public Law 146 which resulted from this debate specifically authorized the NYA to carry on a program of "construction, production, professional and clerical projects and resident centers, and a youth work defense program to furnish experience preparatory to employment in a defense occupation."[24]

After another furious debate in the Spring of 1942, Congress voted to continue the NYA for yet another year. Now, however the program was to be devoted entirely to training and production for the war effort and need was eliminated as a requirement for eligibility. The administration was also substantially modified in September when control of NYA was transferred to the War Manpower Commission. State Administrations were abolished and the program was operated henceforth through a series of regional offices. Texas was placed in Region X along with Louisiana and New Mexico and Jesse Kellam was named Regional Administrator with his headquarters in Austin. In Texas, as elsewhere, the Student Work Program was now cut drastically and the Resident Centers, now termed War Production Training Centers, went on twenty-four hour schedules to train workers in such fields on welding, sheet metal work, machine operation, and foundry work. In these centers supervision was improved and more modern equipment was provided. Most participants received from six to twelve weeks of training and then were transferred to jobs in Fort Worth, Beaumont, Houston, Victoria, Corpus Christi, or Seattle. As a result of specific recruiting efforts, about 25 per cent of the trainees in the new program were women. The employers who received these trainees, whether men or women, were virtually unanimous in applauding their efforts and encouraging the NYA to press on with its work.[25]

The NYA was unquestionably a success in its new phase of operations, but it was doomed nevertheless. Its fate was decided in Washington during the spring of 1943 when Congress considered the War Manpower Commission budget for fiscal 1944. The discussion was considerably influenced by the report of the Byrd Committee which recommended immediate termination and by the lobbying of the NEA led by the relentless Willard Givens who charged that NYA operations were too expensive and unnecessarily duplicated the programs of the public schools.[26]

After lengthy committee hearings in the spring the final debate on NYA occurred in June and July, 1943. Those who wanted liquidation argued that the New Deal relief programs had served their purpose and were now an expensive luxury. The defense industry training aspect of the program, they argued, lacked significant value, and the educational aspect could easily be absorbed by state financed vocational education programs. Indeed, many Congressmen professed to fear that continuation of NYA carried with it the danger of ever greater federal control of education in general even though there is little evidence to suggest that similar fears existed at the state level.

Those who favored NYA defended its record, attempted to demonstrate its usefulness to the war effort, reminded their colleagues that the war would not last forever whereas the need to educate the nation's youth would go on, and argued effectively that the vocational schools could not adequately administer

[24] U.S., Statutes at Large, Vol. LV.

[25] J.C. Kellam to A.J. Wirtz, October 9, 1942; in **ibid.**

[26] Willard Givens to the Presidents of all State Educational Associations, May 27, 1943, in **ibid.**

a program like that of the NYA. After three days of debate the vote was taken in the House on July 2, and in the Senate on July 3. NYA went down by a vote of 176 to 197 in the lower house and 33 to 39 in the upper. Congressmen Beckworth, L. B. Johnson, Kleberg, Patman, Poage, Thomas, and Worley voted in favor of NYA, while all other members of the Texas delegation including Senators Connally and O'Daniel voted against it.[27]

Liquidation was carried out smoothly with most NYA buildings and equipment simply turned over to educational agencies or the Army. However the programs themselves did not continue. The NYA was dead. It died not because the arguments of its backers were unsound, but because of the effective lobbying of its enemies coupled with the wartime attitudes, the inherent conservatism, and the anti-New Deal bias of a majority in Congress. Whether it should have been maintained is, of course, debatable, but a strong case can be made in favor of the proposition. With the advantage of hindsight we can see that similar programs were deemed necessary and were attempted later, but achieved only partial success. Perhaps if the sound foundation built during the period between 1935 and 1943 had still existed in the Sixties the Great Society would have been more successful. Perhaps such an agency might serve as the base for the national civilian service that many observers believe is desperately needed.

As to the general effect of the NYA on Texas between 1935 and 1943, there can be no doubt it was salutary. More than 75,000 youth were employed in the out-of-school work program during the eight year period and approximately 175,000 people received assistance which enabled them to remain in school.[28] Though the cash awards were small, they were sufficient. Further, the relief program benefitted hundreds of thousands of people in addition to the recipients of the cash payments, since the financial pressure on their families was considerably relieved. Thousands also benefitted who used the parks, playgrounds, tourist attractions, gardens, clothing, tools and implements which were constructed, manufactured, or repaired by the NYA workers.

[27] **Congressional Record,** Vol. 89, Pt. 5, 78th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 6950-6969; 7082; 7089; Report of the Educational Policies Commission, Joint Committee of the NEA and the American Association of School Administrators, *The CCC, the NYA and Public Schools,*_____, *Should NYA Training be Turned Over to the Schools?* (Unpub. MSS, 1943); Why the Schools Cannot Administer the NYA training Program: (Unpub. MSS, 1943); NYA Texas RG 119 NA.

[28] Final Report, *The NYA in Texas,* in **ibid.**

DEATH TELLING: MANAGING THE DELIVERY OF BAD NEWS

Robert E. Clark
Emily E. LaBeff

In the course of participating in society, people are constantly faced with the problem of constructing their actions in various situations so that their performances are evaluated positively, perceived as appropriate, and subsequently accepted by others. Accordingly, the analysis of any aspect of the social order at the microlevel accepts as a premise that the actors must convincingly create an image, show, or impression, in order to play their respective roles effectively.[1] Whereas some situations are routine and require very little conscious planning, others are less well defined in terms of normative expectations and thus become problematic. This study focused on an example of the latter: the delivery of the news of death.

When a death occurs, the deliverer of the news becomes a "death teller." The actual delivery of the news of death presents the receiver with an imposed rite of passage (for example, from wife to widow) that represents a liminal or transitional stage, however brief, which tends to be unstructured and problematic.[2] Glaser and Strauss have referred to status passages inherent in the death occasion and have noted specifically the transitional statuses of the dying patient and the family.[3]

Situations surrounding death and the interactions ensuing a death are particularly important areas in which to study performance construction at the microlevel because, as pointed out by Glaser and Strauss,[4] these interactions are not institutionally prescribed, death is almost always unscheduled, and the interactions of the various participants are only partially regulated. The consequent uncertainty and lack of normative support requires a greater conscious input from the principal actors than do usual interactions. It is the problematic nature of this situation that requires construction of a routine or performance in order to complete the telling of a death. Specifically, our concern is with the process of "death telling"; that is, the management of death-telling encounters by various professionals who, by virtue of their occupations, must confront friends or total strangers to deliver the news of death. We have not attempted to include in this study the process of adjustment to such news or the grieving reaction on the part of the receiver.

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[1] Ervins Goffman, **The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life,** (Garden City: Doubleday Archer Press, 1959)

[2] V.W. Turner, *Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in Rites de Passage,* in William A. Lessa and Evon Z. Vogt (eds.), **Reader in Comparative Religion: An Anthropological Approach** (New York: Harper and Ran, 1972), p. 340.

[3] Barney G. Glaser and Anseln L. Strauss, **Time for Dying** (Chicago: Aldire, 1968), p. 237.

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 247.

This study is, in part, an extension or elaboration of previous work on delivering bad news and death telling. Although there is a small, diverse body of literature in this area, much of it addresses death telling in a manner peripheral to the focus of this study. McClenahen and Lofland provided a conceptual departure by developing a continuum of bad news, ranging from the news of milder troubles of routine life to news of death or catastrophe. In their study of U.S. Deputy Marshals as bearers of bad news regarding complaints, arrests, and prison, McClenahen and Lofland dealt primarily with bad news in the "mid-range," yet they noted that the severity of the news was an important variable that determined the context and the patterns of delivering bad news. Three phases in the approach to the delivery of bad news were delineated: (1) "distancing," or increasing the social distance between bearer and receiver in order to decrease emotional involvement, (2) delivering, and (3) shoring up or using interactional tactics to mitigate the "badness" of the news, as well as to control the emotional reactions of the receivers. Thus, McClenahen and Lofland provided a preliminary framework for understanding the basic process involved in bearing bad news. The framework remains to be analyzed in the context of more severe bad news, however, and it must be determined whether or not this severity realigns the basic framework. Additionally, it is possible that professionals such as physicians and the clergy may use different approaches in their deliveries of bad news, depending on their occupational orientations.[5]

Other research dealing specifically with the process of death telling by professionals includes the work of Glaser and Strauss,[6] Sudnow,[7] and Charmaz.[8] Although the dominant theme in the first study by Glaser and Strauss[9] was a focus on hospital awareness contexts surrounding the terminally ill patient, a short discussion of transitions to awareness dealt with strategies of death telling to family members. Glaser and Strauss made a general distinction between gentle disclosure, allowing a slow realization that death was near, and harsher disclosure, which was necessary when a patient died unexpectedly.[10] Nurses were often given the task of gentle disclosure, which involved preparing the receiver with "preliminary suspicion announcements" before death occurred. In some cases, the physicians gave no disclosure when the death was obvious and required no confirmation. However, the authors noted that, in some cases, no disclosure was an avoidance strategy. Glaser and Strauss, as well as Sugnow,[11] reported that management of space and privacy was con-

5 L. McLenahen and J. Lofland, *Bearing Bad News: Tactics of the Deputy U.S. Marshal,* **Sociology of Work and Occupations** (Vol. 3, August, 1976), pp. 251-72.

6 Glaser and Strauss, **Time for Dying.** Also see: Glaser and Strauss, **Awareness of Dying** (Chicago: Aldire, 1965)

7 David Sudnow, **Passing On: The Social Organization of Dying** (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1967).

8 K.C. Charmaz, *The Coroners' Strategies for Announcing Death,* **Urban Life** (Vol. 4), pp. 296-316.

9 Glaser and Strauss, **Awareness of Dying.**

10 *Ibid.,* pp. 148-154.

11 *Ibid.* Sudnow, **Passing On.**

sidered a strategic factor in death telling in the hospital; a closed room was preferred in order to prevent disruption by emotional outbursts or other potentially problematic responses.

In their more recent work, Glaser and Strauss noted that death telling was influenced by the type of death.[12] A lingering death allowed the receivers to gradually realize that death would occur as physicians and nurses prepared them through successive preannouncements. Death telling was more difficult in cases of an unexpected or quick death, requiring more time and consolation, particularly from nurses. In cases of sudden death, according to Glaser and Strauss, doctors often engaged in "prolonged announcements," in which detailed medical explanations led up to the news of death.[13]

Sudnow also devoted a segment of his book, **Passing On,** to death telling in a hospital, but restricted his discussion to situations in which the victim was DOA or dead on arrival.[14] Sudnow observed that the physician forthrightly and directly made the announcement that death had occurred, and this was stated within the physician's first or second sentence. The announcements included medically relevant causes that were assumed to have contributed directly to the death, whether or not the physician had any basis for the assumption. In addition to medical causes, Sudnow found that, in the great majority of death announcements he witnessed, physicians discussed the matter of pain (assurances that no pain was experienced) and the matter of preventability (assurances that everything possible was done to save the life).[15]

Charmaz concentrated on the strategies of death telling used by coroners' deputies in three counties of varying population. She noted that coroners' deputies used self-protection and distancing strategies to avoid emotional involvement, much like the Deputy Marshals in the study by McClenahen and Lofland. The deputies, according to Charmaz, typically used a sincere, authoritative, but basically disinterested demeanor and attempted to treat cases routinely. They preferred not to tell the news of death to families whom they knew, and some noted that certain cases were more difficult to treat routinely. For example, one deputy intensely disliked notifying a young wife of her husband's death.

The deputies' strategies of death telling involved creating a serious context through a series of cues that led up to the death news. They believed that establishing this context was important, for unlike physicians and nurses, the coroners had neither the structural supports of the hospital nor the ability to provide space and privacy, as they typically delivered the news at the home or occasionally, in the case of the urban county, by telephone.[16]

Although each of these studies contributes significantly to an understanding of death telling, an analysis of the death telling process, **per se,** has been a secondary issue. This study focuses specifically on death telling and explores the process and strategies in greater detail through interviews with people who fulfill divergent death-telling roles, in order to make a comparison of the strategies used in transmitting news of death.

12 Glaser and Strauss, **Time for Dying,** pp. 206-212.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 209.

14 Sudnow, **Passing On,** pp. 127-152.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 133.

16 Charmaz, *The Coroners' Strategies for Announcing Death.*

METHODOLOGY

Our data are qualitative in nature, having been gathered through in-depth interviews. We focused only on those individuals who, during the course of their normal work activities are faced with delivering news of a death. The research population consisted of physicians, nurses, law enforcement personnel, and members of the clergy. We collected detailed narrative records of experiences with the actual event of delivering this form of bad news. Each informant was asked to speak openly and freely about his or her encounters. Each in-depth interview lasted approximately 2 to 3 hours, and data collection encompassed an 18-month period.

We assumed that these various professionals could report a relatively complete account of experiences on such occasions when they delivered the bad news of a death to another person. From these data, classificatory and categorical schemes were generated to compare naturally recognized features of involvement in death-telling occasions.[17] The classificatory schemes generated in this study did not necessarily coincide with those of the studies described earlier. The similarities that there were, however, emerged naturally from the data and were not the result of forcing earlier categories on the current data.

It should be noted that some of the informants were perhaps describing the delivery process in ways in which they would easily like to deliver the news, rather than how they actually did deliver it, but some of our concern was alleviated when we found that most informants were able to relate specific examples. This problem is one of the drawbacks of relying completely on informants, and emphasizes the necessity of continued research involving actual observation of the delivery process as well as interviews with receivers of bad news. In addition, the ability to generalize from any study employing anything short of a totally random and representative sample is questionable. Similarly, the reliability and validity of a subjective method such as that employed in the current study is always open to criticism. Nonetheless, we chose to use this method after considering several critical factors. First, given the exploratory nature of the study and the paucity of previous research in this specific area, in-depth interviewing is a preferred method; for instance, data collected during the initial phase provided a mechanism for the development of questions to be asked during the major data-gathering phase. In this manner, the questions were grounded in the experiential world of the informant.[18] Second, although the total number of persons interviewed (forty)[19] constituted a rather small sample, theoretical saturation, or the obvious repetition of already described patterns of behavior (methods of delivery), occurred swiftly, thus strengthening our belief that the sample was adequate.

[17] Jon J. Driessen, *The Trip.* Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation (Boulder: University of Colorado, 1968).

[18] Glaser and Strauss, **The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research** (Chicago: Aldire, 1967).

[19] The specific population interviewed included 10 nurses, 15 physicians, 9 law enforcement officers, and 6 clergy. The clergy, more than the other occupational groups, usually function in a support role in death situations; however, there are instances in which they deliver news of death. With two exceptions, all persons interviewed lived in the same community (population, approximately 100,000).

Based on information from the interviews, a loose framework for death telling emerged that consists of four stages: preparing, delivering, reacting, and wrapping-up. The framework is loose, in that the stages can exist simultaneously, are not mutually exclusive, and do not necessarily follow the order listed. These points will be more clearly illustrated in the following discussion of each phase.

PREPARING

Even though various health professionals encounter death on a regular basis, they are rarely trained to handle either the delivery of the news of death or the reactions of those receiving it.[20] Carrying their own fears and insecurities into this situation, deliverers appear to have a normative expection that they not only must deliver the news, but must manage the total situation, as well. Both of these aspects were present in the "preparing" phase that emerged from the informants' descriptions of the death-telling process.

As a part of the preparing process, most deliverers reported a concern with the setting and with situational contingencies. In general, we found that deliverers of bad news preferred a structured setting for delivery, such as an office or a quiet room, where privacy is possible.[21] The typical procedure reported was that a telephone call was made to a family, informing them of a serious problem. They were then asked to come immediately to a designated place, most often the hospital. All deliverers in the hospital setting said that, even if the family member had died before the phone call was made, they usually refused to divulge the fact until the family arrived. All agreed that the general rule appears to be to give enough information to get the family to the hospital without traumatizing them, and then to deal with the issue of death when they arrive.[22] In certain cases, some deliverers, particularly nurses, believed it was necessary to lie if questioned over the phone:

> You indicate on the phone how serious the situation is without having them fly to the hospital and be in an accident on the way. You would say, 'so and so has taken a turn for the worse and the doctor is here'...do not tell them on the phone...always in person. Even if you know they are dead...you don't tell them on the phone...you say 'so and so has taken a turn for the worse. When can you get here?'

The narrative data also indicated that situational contingencies occur that prevent deliverers from having control over the setting where the news is delivered; for example, the family may live in another city and will have to be told by telephone, or weather conditions may prevent the family from coming to the hospital. Families may be relunctant to go to the hospital late at night or

[20] L. Lasagna, *The Doctor and the Dying Patient,* **Journal of Chronic Disease** (Vol. 22), pp. 65-68.

[21] The result is similar to the findings of Glaser and Strauss in **Awareness of Dying** and Sudnow in **Passing On.**

[22] This finding is supported by Sudnow; however, Glaser and Strauss in **Awareness of Dying** reported a tendency on the part of deliverers to relay the news by telephone whenever the immediate family was not present. However, Sudnow's research took place in a large urban area, which could contribute to this difference. Charmaz noted a similar difference.

may not have transportation; in such cases, some deliverers insisted that the family member call a neighbor, minister, or friend before calling back and announcing the death. In other cases, deliverers first called a relative or friend who could be present when the news was delivered by telephone:

> I do not like to tell anyone over the phone that someone has died. Now, if we have someone here from _____, and the family has to be notified, it is kind of hard to have them come all the way up here and tell them that and turn around and go right back. But I usually ask, 'Are you alone? If you are, call your neighbor and call me back.' I just don't like to tell anyone when they are alone. I don't know what their physical condition is, they may be a coronary patient.

Police officers perhaps have the least control over setting, as they are, in most instances, sent to a family's home to deliver the traumatic and unexpected news of death. Because they are not on home turf, the officers have little if any control over the manipulation of props in the setting. Even though the presence of an officer, of itself, indicates something problematic, until the actual news is delivered, the receiver is not quite certain what has happened. Unlike deliverers in other death-telling situations, where use can be made of the setting in terms of both preparing for and delivering the news (e.g., a hospital chapel, quiet office, or the hospital with the overall seriousness of its environment), for officers, the setting itself is of no help in the conveyance of the message. Consequently, while officers typically reported taking a direct approach to death telling, they also discussed their overriding concern with their manipulation of behavior (usually maintaining an official and somewhat distant but concerned demeanor), rather than with any attempt at manipulation or use of the environment. This finding supports those of McClenahen and Lofland and Charmaz: military personnel questioned also faced the problem of delivering traumatic news of death to families at home, yet they structured the situation by sending an experienced team of deliverers, usually a commander, a doctor, and a nurse. The Red Cross structures the delivery of bad news in a similar fashion.[23]

Setting and situational contingencies, therefore, are the first issues confronting the deliverer. Such features in part determine what action will be taken in the ensuing interaction, yet the event that led to the death can make each delivery unique. The diversity of situations, in fact, makes each case a new experience for the deliverer. In all cases, however, deliverers must also prepare themselves emotionally, constructing the desired demeanor before the interaction; in addition to dealing with the situation, each has to deal with self.

It seems that each deliverer felt the need to be in control of both self and situation, to be of a calm demeanor before actually approaching the receivers of bad news. Thus, each deliverer had to come to grips with death and his or her emotions about it before the interaction. As one informant noted:

> Dealing with death...You have to be aware of your own feelings and biases because if you don't, you'll wind up dealing with yourself first and the other people secondly. This isn't the best way to do it.

[23] See: McClenahen and Lofland, *Bearing Bad News;* and Charmaz, *The Coroners' Strategies for Announcing Death.*

As expected, all deliverers emphasized that death telling was an emotion-laden task, one that no one enjoyed doing and that often required a short period of mental preparation. A physician commented:

> I just take a deep breath and say I have to do it. I think everybody has to calm themselves down, just take a deep breath...and say, 'Hey, you've got to start someplace.' I usually sit down and think about it before I do it...I don't know what I do to prepare myself mentally. I guess I just psych myself up.

In addition, certain features surrounding the death make it more difficult for the deliverer to manage his or her emotions. For example, many deliverers found that the death of a child was the most unsettling for them, realizing that they identified the dead child with their own. A nurse stated:

> ...the situation for me personally changes because I tend to identify the children with my own children and it makes it very, very hard for me. I tend to become more personally emotional...because I see my own children there when I do it and it makes it very difficult.

Other deliverers found it difficult to assess how much expression of their own emotions was appropriate; none wished to appear extremely objective about the death. Most of the deliverers felt that some display of emotion was necessary in the interactions, as long as they did not lose control. The majority of deliverers, including law officers, felt the need to display some overt concern for the receivers. For them objectivity translated to uncaring. As one physician pointed out:

> You always get to feel the loss of the kid--you get subjectively involved. It used to be embarrassing to shed a few tears and get involved but I don't feel I get unprofessional by getting involved, and I don't think the family feels it is unprofessional and thinks of me as an old softy. I think it is a plus for me.

Physicians were the only professionals who consistently talked about guilt and seemed to have particularly harrowing experiences during the "preparing process". Presumably, they constantly manage feelings of personal guilt. For them, death is failure. One physician explained that he felt a sense of guilt with every death:

> Yes, absolutely (I do feel guilty) whenever someone dies, especially if there is any element in there that could have possibly been reversed. You always wonder, 'could someone else have picked that up earlier than I did?' No way around that.

> Anybody who says they don't has got to be a fool or the most incredible person in the world. Because I don't think anybody can say I did everything. That's impossible.

Another physician commented that a "thick skin" regarding guilt was necessary; still another noted that a philosophical acceptance of one's own limitations was required.

The preparing process, no matter how short, apparently helped the deliverers overcome their feelings and construct that calm demeanor they believe necessary to accomplish the task. This was a common trait for all deliverers interviewed. The informants indicated that it was important that they remain in control of the situation. In order for them to maintain a calm demeanor, the issues of compassion, guilt, failure, identification, fear of death, and concern with presentation of self must be managed on some level. Most deliverers indicated they used the defense mechanism of "blocking out". They seemed to refuse to dwell on death; they reported seldom discussing the situations with their own families or peers, and they deliberately set thoughts of death aside.

TACTICS OF DELIVERY

Delivery tactics for death telling are shaped by various characteristcs inherent in any death situation. These situational variables include: type of death (catastrophic versus lingering), age at death, place of death, occupation, and experience of deliverer. Five distinct strategies were generated from the narrative data. These were classified under the headings of: direct, oblique, elaborate, nonverbal, and conditional deliveries. Each strategy is a unique approach to delivering the news of death. No one strategy seemed to be pervasive, and the strategy chosen seemed to depend on the personalities and the circumstances of the particular situation. This point is well-illustrated by a comment by one emergency room nurse:

> We've had people in here before...a sister (died) one week and a brother (died) the next, and each time I'll handle it a little bit differently, because of the circumstances they're going through.

Direct Delivery

In direct telling, the deliverer is not looking for any outs or giving any; the fact of a death is simply stated. There is no point in delaying the telling; in fact, some believe such stalling could be detrimental. As one law enforcement officer stated:

> There is only one way. Just tell it. There is no advantage in putting it off. It will not do any good to sit there for fifteen minutes talking about something else and then tell them. They would be mad because you had wasted their time.

The ever-present danger of a direct delivery is that it can appear to the receiver to be a cold and distant response to a very traumatic and emotional situation. This impression may be a result of a deliverer's personality, although direct delivery is often viewed as heartless. It also may be related to philosophical and situational differences in occupational areas. Several law enforcement officers, who use direct delivery almost exclusively, complained of feeling heartless or cold, themselves, when they delivered news of death. Most realized, however, that this feeling results from the fact that they typically deliver news of death to strangers.

Some professionals who have had the opportunity to observe others in the act of delivery often consider this type of delivery inappropriate. One chaplain commented:

> We'll have some doctors who have no tact at all. They are totally businesslike, matter of fact, they go out and say, 'Your mother is dead.' Nothing. That's it...

Yet, no matter how cold or heartless a direct delivery may appear, many believe the news of death must be stated directly before the receiver can actually accept its reality; and the direct deliverer will often incorporate direct terminology, like the words, "dead" and "died" because, although they may be shocking, these words leave no doubt as to the proposed message. A nurse commented:

> I went in to check on the patient and noticed that he was dying, but the family was afraid of being alone when it happened...I held the patient's hand and prayed with the family. Then, I said, 'He's dead.'

In fact, it appears that there is no substitute for the word "dead," when it comes to alleviating confusion. If such euphemisms as "expired," "passed away," "fatally injured," or "gone" are substituted for the word "death," the direct deliverer must then confirm that the receiver has understood what was meant. Such a situation was revealed by this nurse's delivery:

> ...and then later that night she died. And I had to call him. I did not say she was dead. I said she was gone. I said, 'Do you have anyone with you?' and he said, 'No, I don't need anybody.' I wouldn't say she was dead...at that time, I think I was out of school about four months. 'But, do you understand what I mean when I say she's gone?' And he says, 'Yeah, I know.' And then I said, 'You know for sure?' He said, 'You're telling me she's dead.' And that made me realize right then that my function was to tell him that she was dead, not that she was gone. Since then I always use...when I'm talking to the family...she's dead or he's dead.

A number of deliverers noted that certain situational variables can affect the actual delivery, even when a direct approach is used. The following statement exemplifies this point with special reference to the age of the deceased:

> ...but some people don't understand, even when you say dead, when they are dead. I remember one incident where a man had come in, and we had to tell him that his 3-month-old baby was no longer living. It took him an hour after we told him for him to accept it. And during part of that time, he was holding the baby.

Oblique Delivery

The oblique delivery approaches bad news from a 45-degree angle. That is to say, the oblique deliverer is not really evading the subject, but is neither attempting to meet it head-on. Rather, the oblique delivery is aimed at preparing the receiver to hear the news, as demonstrated by a Red Cross nurse, when asked, "How do you do it?"

> ...one of my first things, 'Please come in and sit down, I have some bad news.' And it depends. Talk with them just a little bit...you are aware that your father was very ill...

The oblique teller tries to provide some kind of lead-in, one that will alert the receiver to the upcoming news and perhaps soften its impact. If the person has not yet died and the family is at the hospital, it is a typical procedure to keep them posted on the patient's condition. Often, a protective strategy that informs the family of possible death is used so the family will be prepared, if necessary. This corresponds to the discussions by Glaser and Strauss on "successive preannouncements" and "preliminary suspicion announcements."[24] In this regard, several deliverers preferred to be pessimistic about the outcome in such cases:

> I tell them how bad it is when they first get here. I would rather be able to come back and say, 'Hey, listen, there was something that we did not expect to happen.' But I prefer to paint it as black as I can because it is, and if it changes then I would go back and tell them differently.

In some cases, establishing the setting through use of the physician's office or the hospital chapel serves the same function as a lead-in in an oblique delivery. Both serve the purpose of lessening the impact of the news. There is evidence that a certain amount of "presaging"[25] is being done here in hopes that the receiver, by the time the actual telling occurs, will already have a good idea of what is coming. When the oblique deliverer finally makes the statement of death, it is nothing more than a confirmation. As mentioned earlier, there appears to be a fear that telling the news directly will have an enormously detrimental effect on the receiver; thus, the preference is for a form of telling that involves a gradual unfolding of the facts. One nurse's comment:

[24] See Glaser and Strauss, **Awareness of Dying** and **Time for Dying.**

[25] McClenahen and Lofland refer to this process as an important preparatory tactic, though no empirical data were available in their study to substantiate the existence of such a tactic. The present study, however, provides ample evidence to support their contention.

> Yes, I always go out and sit by the person and I always try to have some kind of physical contact, touch their hand or just hold it. I try to approach them like I would want to be approached. I try to put myself in their place, and show them the compassion I'd want someone to show me...that's all.

The oblique approach allows "little escape routes," as one physician described it. Using escape paths helps the oblique deliverer to ease into the subject of death and provides the receiver with small bits of information from which they might seize comfort, as in the case of this physician's reported delivery:

> I usually take them somewhere where it is private and discrete. Not in the hallway. Although I might start breaking the news there. I might come out into the waiting room and say, 'You know that this was very serious, you know all the problems we've had--I'm afraid--well, why don't you come down here and talk about it.'

The attempt by a deliverer to alert the receiver as well as to provide comfort by voicing appropriate excuses can be a form of escape for the deliverer as well. The deliverer might attempt to instill a seed of belief that everything has been done that could be done and that the receiver is not responsible and should not feel guilty. This approach also leaves the impression that the professional is available, if needed. As an informant suggested:

> Say it is an elderly lady, and the family has really expected it. They are prepared, and you have told them that the outlook is bad, that the chances don't look good, and they are kind of prepared for it. I think the main thing after I have said it...'Gee, you have really done a good job, really taken care of Mama,' whoever took care of her. Try not to infer any particular person. All of them, we, they--not just the doctor--have done all that we could.. And, like the lady this morning, she was in a coma. She was in no pain, no suffering, and these little things tend to make it easier on them. But you know, really, as far as set protocol, no. Just assess the situation. But, of course, in my type of practice, I really don't have to deal with that much **per se,** such as surgery, which deals with bad accidents, say, that sort of thing. This is really a difficult thing.

It is common for the oblique deliverer not only to work up to a delivery gradually, but to withdraw gradually as well. Whatever the individual approach, most oblique deliverers try to convey to the receiver that they are emphathizing with them:

> I try to let them know that I understand how they feel. I guess I really don't know how they feel because it is not me getting the news, but I try to let them know I understand that they are feeling bad and that they should not worry about being brave. If they want to cry or show emotion, that is okay.

The oblique deliverers seem to feel a deep concern for what is considered appropriate; so much so that, even when the receiver informs the deliverer that they know, the deliverer still continues to follow the oblique delivery, rather than deviate from what he or she views as appropriate, as illustrated by this physician's statement:

> He goes in and finds his brother dead. He calls the ambulance and comes out here and even before I see the patient, I run into the brother who says, 'He's dead, doc, real dead.' Then I go see him and he has obviously been dead for quite some time. I would still, based on experience, not go in to the brother and say, 'He's dead.' 'Well, you were there and you looked at him,' etc. I just slide into it. I find that better. In that situation I might be tempted to say, 'Yeah, you were right,' but you can't do that.

The typical philosophy reported among the oblique deliverers, who are most often medical personnel, is that the receivers having advance knowledge of the possibility of a death can make the deliverer's unpleasant job a little easier, and without this well-defined structure, most oblique deliverers seem to have more difficulty informing a family about a sudden and unexpected death.

Elaborate Delivery

The elaborate deliverer relies heavily on a large repertoire of explanations and tries to reconstruct logically for the receiver the sequence of events that led to this situation. Elaborate deliverers apparently attempt to include all the details and to provide, in many cases, a blow-by-blow description of events preceding and following the situation in question. According to one physician:

> I just told her that things had taken a turn for the worse, or something like that. Then I told her the events leading up to his death just prior to the time he died, that his heart wasn't able to handle the stress that was put on it. His heart had steadily declined. We had resuscitated him several times. The last resuscitation the heart just wouldn't respond.

The typical elaborate deliverer not only describes events that led to the situation, but also explains exactly what was done in an attempt to reverse it:

> We (nurses) saw them privately and indicated that there had been some complications and that she had started bleeding. We told them what we had done for her in terms of starting an IV, giving whole blood, and everything we did in spite of all our efforts we were unable to save her. She passed away.

Occasionally, the elaborate deliverer refers to this type of telling as a game they must play. As it is described by another emergency room nurse:

> ...it is hard here because we don't have a sociology person to run back and forth so the nurses have to play that game. In my unit section, I station one nurse with the family, she stays with them, and we keep her up-to-date. She is the one who

> passes that information on to the family, but when we cannot do that, any many times we can't, then we just have to keep running out to the family and try to keep them informed that way.

Most elaborate deliverers viewed this game as an intrinsic part of preparing the family for bad news. The elaborate delivery seems based on the sole premise that the receiver need only be presented with a logical sequence of progressive events in order to accept the final conclusion. This is not always the case. Sometimes the receiver does not understand what is being said or, as a last resort, denies that death has occurred. A physician recounted an example of the former:

> Evidently, an older gentleman had had a heart attack and was found in his bathtub. I don't know how long he was not breathing, but he had turned blue. The ambulance brought him to the hospital in that condition. The time transpired was at least 40 minutes from the time he was found, transported in, until we got him...I said, 'Evidently, from what I understand, when your husband was found lifeless, he hadn't been breathing because he was blue in color. They couldn't get any oxygen into him. He essentially had brain death before he arrived.' The wife asked me, 'Is he alright, now?'

Physicians and nurses are more apt to use this form of delivery than are either clergy or law enforcement personnel, particularly when the dying trajectory has encompassed a long period of time.[26] The elaborate delivery can be a vehicle whereby health care personnel may "cover" their performances.[27] Thus, this form of delivery involves more than just the death telling.

Nonverbal Delivery

Actually conveying the message that death has occurred goes beyond the simple use of language. A deliverer's evasiveness may in itself be as direct an affirmation of a death as the actual point-blank statement of the news.

A nonverbal delivery is a form of delivery that is essentially accomplished by the receiver of the bad news, although the message originates with the deliverer. The deliverer, because of the posturing of the body or the expression on the face, is telling without really telling. The receiver has only to observe and evaluate to realize the news of death. According to one nurse:

> Most people want to know. They come to this realization usually, anyway. People are being secretive, the patient is getting worse, more things are being done, the doctor is hanging around more often, nurses around the clock, etc. So, they know what's coming down. They are watching everybody.

26 Glaser and Strauss, **Awareness of Dying.**

27 The elaborate delivery is similar to the "prolonged announcement" discussed by Glaser and Strauss, in which the physicians spent considerable time explaining what had transpired in an unexpected death. See: **Awareness of Dying.**

Often the receiver may need only to see the deliverer's face, as reported by this chaplain:

> They're reading your face, and there's no way you're going to go out with a smile on your face. They can tell by your face. A lot of them have been at it a long time or situations that have some similarity. They'll read your face and they'll say, 'O, my God, he's dead' or something like that. Then, you sometimes just have to nod your head. Once they say that, once you nod your head that way, what else is there?

Or the receiver might only be confronted with the single fact: that the deliverer cannot convey the message, as the same chaplain related:

> I had one family who had a nine-year-old son who drowned. I couldn't talk. I couldn't talk...The parents went crazy--started wailing, fell on the floor. It was a weekend when I was working the emergency room. They just fell apart.

Quite often it may be nothing more than the receiver's ability to understand what a particular request means. Nurses reported that they often ask members of a family to go to the chapel. This request is quite common when someone has died and provides the necessary message to some families without actually telling them of the death. One family may realize at once what they will be told whereas others will not. As such, nonverbal delivery is perhaps the most difficult strategy to identify from narrative data, and at times it is easily confused with other strategies. This is because a deliverer may attempt a nonverbal delivery, ascertain it has not worked, and move quickly to another mode of delivery. In contrast, a deliverer may make a request of a family as a means of preparing them for the actual delivery of death news, but the family may interpret the request as a notice of death.

This form of telling was found to be used in many death situations, regardless of the type of death. Nurses were more apt to be in a position to use this technique, not always by choice but because of circumstances. Specifically, many nurses felt uncomfortable in the role of deliverer but had to stall the receivers until the attending physician arrived. During this waiting period, they often found themselves doing the telling by their very demeanor. Although this perhaps could have been avoided by simply leaving the room, most nurses felt it to be their responsibility to stay until the physician arrived, which made them vulnerable to this form of telling.

Conditional Delivery

In a conditional delivery, the deliverer waits for the receiver to provide the appropriate cues. This may be true, to some extent, with the preceding strategies; however, in this case, the entire delivery is contingent on the receiver's actions. As explained by a nurse:

> Just go in and start to tell them. And, if they get more upset, then you...change and get more supportive. Or you change your pattern of what you're going to say, and you...you just **ad lib.** it. I don't think you can ever go out on the stage with a script. How they react to the first thing you say determines how you react.

The deliverer looks for directions from the receiver before going on with the delivery, and is involved in a complex monitoring process. This is essentially a passive strategy, since the delivery is predicated on the belief that one cannot deliver bad news to one person the same way one would to another. According to one nurse:

> You adjust to what their probable mental status is. If they're hysterical, sometimes you have to say something to them differently than to someone who's very calm, and says, 'I didn't think he would make it...is he gone?' And, you kind of adjust your tone to what they're saying.

The deliverer may use any of the strategies discussed, but the choice can be indicated only by the receiver, as revealed by this ward nurse:

> It depends on the circumstances, if it is someone that asks pointed questions and acts like they know what is going on, then you go into more detail. But, like this girl this morning, she said, 'Is he going to live or die?' Then, I said, 'I can't tell you but we are doing as much as we can.' There is no point in going into detail, because she was not comprehending it all, she would not have understood. But, like this other family, we knew that they knew what was going on, so we said, 'We are doing this and this and this.'

One emergency room nurse, when asked if she had any special approach, indicated that she did not:

> Well, I guess just waiting and letting the family set the guidelines. You have to judge each family differently. Sometimes your approach works, and sometimes is doesn't. You just have to kind of go out and let them talk if they can. Just kind of say the least amount possible; just tell them what's happened, and ask if there's anything you can do and so forth. You know, let them either verbalize or not verbalize, and go from that. Some people you have to reassure and talk and talk; and some people, it's best just not to say very much of anything.

This idea of saying as little as possible seems to be shared by those who use the conditional delivery. As a physician noted:

> Most of the time you say the least amount possible. They will ask you questions if they want to know more. If not, let them absorb that first. You'll find a lot of times when you go, and you come back with papers for them to sign, then they'll have some more questions. You just have to judge it as you go.

This inner decision by the deliverer to say as little as possible seems to be based on the assumption that they are not required to answer more than is actually asked; they apparently feel less responsible than do those who use the other delivery styles. In fact, several deliverers commented that most people

will ask appropriate questions, but if they do not, one should not attempt to ask the questions for them.

Like the previous strategy, the conditional approach is most often used by nurses who, in many cases, seem to be more concerned with the feelings and reactions of receivers.

TABLE 1. Tactics of Delivery Reported by Occupational Category*

	Occupation			
Tactics of Delivery	Law Enforcement N = 9	Physicians N = 15	Nurses N = 10	Clergy N = 6
Direct	9	3	3	2
Oblique	0	4	4	1
Elaborate	0	11	2	1
Nonverbal	0	2	3	3
Conditional	1	1	7	1

* As a number of deliverers used several strategies in the course of death telling, the column totals do not reflect the number in each occupational category.

Summary of Delivery Tactics

Table 1 provides a breakdown of the occupational informants and the tactics reportedly used. All law enforcement officers reported using a direct approach, probably as a result of the unique situational and structural conditions they are exposed to. Although nurses reported using all tactics, they showed a slight preference for either the conditional or oblique delivery, as they have the structural supports (such as the hospital setting) and resources, as well as the time, for such interactions. Perhaps too, because of occupational and sex-role stereotypes, nurses are expected to be more sympathetic, patient-oriented, and concerned for the receivers.

Physicians in our study most commonly reported using the elaborate delivery, which involves a more sophisticated and expanded performance and thereby allows the possible construction of a more professional demeanor. Conversely, members of the clergy tended to report using both nonverbal and direct forms of delivery. Not being privy to extensive medical information and being more concerned with the emotional stability of the receiver evidently results in a marginal position in the death-telling process. Apparently, clergy in our study primarily provided a "shoring up" function for the receivers; they reported waiting until medical personnel arrive and discuss in greater detail the occasions of death. This assistance role evidently casts the clergy in a nonverbal telling situation until, if pressed too long, they must tell the receiver something in either an oblique or direct fashion.

REACTING TO CUES

After delivery of the news is completed, the deliverer usually continues to wait for cues from the receiver and then reacts to them. In most cases, the deliverer does not simply deliver the news and walk away. Instead, most

deliverers reported showing concern for the receivers' comfort and welfare for a period following the news. This period is often problematic for the deliverer, as the receivers can show a variety of emotional responses, and this in turn creates a situation of uncertainty. The receivers may become hysterical (as one informant said, "some overreact terribly") or they may remain very calm, even cold. The deliverer must adjust to the differing reactions and realign his or her strategy accordingly. Some of the experienced deliverers felt more capable of predicting the reactions than when they began their career; others did not. The phrase "play it by ear" was repeated by many of the deliverers; it indicates a need for flexibility that adds to the pressure of the performance. Not only does the deliverer have to set up the other stages of the process and tell the news in an adequate manner, but he or she must also analyze the receivers' reactions and try to respond in appropriate fashion.

Most deliverers reported a need to alleviate the anxiety of the receiver and attempted to do so in various ways. Some used physical comforting and hugging to give support. Some emotional deliverers cried with the receivers and felt that this helped, while others attempted to convey emotion without crying. Nurses and clergymen are more apt to engage in comforting than are physicians or law enforcement personnel. A request by the receiver to see the body, is welcomed by some deliverers who believe that viewing the body is a way of accepting the death:

> You know...in your mind...accepting the fact that this person is dead is a way of finalizing it. And they go in and see the patient laying there and they see that they're not breathing, and they've turned blue. Sometimes, they'll touch the body, they'll put their hand on the chest to see that they're not breathing. If they see this and accept it, that you know, 'my loved one is gone.' Some of them want to see that before they will be able to accept and make finalizations for funeral home and things like that.

Most of the deliverers indicated that guilt and anger were common reactions of the receivers, who must be reassured that "everything possible was done by everyone." Parents, in particular, will often feel a strong sense of guilt in the death of their child. Sometimes the ensuing anger was directed at the deliverer, who has to be prepared for this reaction:

> It depends on what family member you are talking to. I think, in general, you have to expect a wide variety of actions, because it seems like one overriding, underlying feeling in family members you have to comfort is...they feel guilty about something. That is, either at first they can't believe it, have difficulty in accepting it, or they come on with anger, disbelief, or they just break down and cry. That is usually their response. They may turn their anger on whoever is telling them, so you have to be ready for that.

Reassurance is the most common tactic employed in dealing with receivers. Deliverers may assure them that there was no pain, it's better this way (for

example if there was brain death); in short, that everything possible was done before the death.[28] This assurance seems to be a necessary part of relating the news. Not only does it comfort the receiver, but it may also make the deliverer feel better and alleviate any sense of guilt or uncertainty. It also gives structure to the unstructured liminal period after the delivery stage.

WRAPPING UP

After the bad news has been relayed, there may be other activities that need attention. For example, after a death, the family must be approached about the signing of the death certificate, the release of the body, and, at times, an autopsy or other related issues that must be addressed shortly after the bad news is delivered. These factors tend to prolong the telling process, and leave the deliverer open for further reactions and questions from the receiver. According to one physician:

> Although it is somewhat impersonal, you have to get the paperwork done...to get them where they have to go, the morgue or whatever. They have to sign some releases so you have to approach those topics, too, which is impersonal but necessary. You can't leave the body on the ward for a day or so. They have to be put somewhere, so you have to talk about those sort of things.

The more difficult aspect, which many of the physicians and nurses termed "the ugly part" or "the distasteful part," is the request for an autopsy. Another overriding factor in some cases is the request for organ transplants. Several informants commented on how these two factors were present in their minds throughout the delivery of the bad news. As one informant said:

> I took the mother down to the room to see the body...She reacted very badly to all the tubes, you know. I said to her 'We had to leave these in because we don't know the cause of death.' And I felt like, God, she's going to know we want an autopsy but I couldn't bring myself to say, 'We want to do this.' I couldn't deal with it either. I've seen autopsies and there is no way I wanted to see a 15-year-old cut up the way they do it...

The thought of the autopsy is traumatic for the deliverer as well as the receiver of the news. The deliverer must overcome any aversion in order to alleviate that of the receiver. Many view this situation as at least as difficult as the actual delivery of the death news, particularly since they have had a preview of how the receiver will respond. One informant remarked:

> We frequently have families that get very upset when we want to do an autopsy. They will say, 'We don't want anyone cutting on that body anymore.' Most of the time if you sit down and explain to them that the law requires it...then, they will sign.

28 The reassurance tactics of "no pain" and "everything was done..." support Sudnow's observation; however, Sudnow did not report that the deliverers in this study were concerned with the receivers' guilt. See: **Passing On.**

The request for organs for transplants, although rare, is also an uncomfortable part of delivering the bad news because it has to be done immediately after death.[29] One chaplain of a large medical center acquainted us with this aspect:

> One of the other things that the doctor gave us to do, was that we needed organ transplants and we were to try and convince the family to give organs. The doctors had people waiting... There were some cases that I told the doctors, 'No.' I had the feeling that the family did not want any part of having Uncle Joe cut up.

After the bad news has been delivered, the deliverer usually attempts to transfer the care or comfort to another individual. The deliverers, particularly a law officer, is not always close to the family, and there comes a time when the deliverer must withdraw from the situation. At times, this is within minutes of the delivery:

> You know a lot of times the minister will break the news to the person and leave. It is not like they don't say, 'Do you need help?' They do that... the words are correct. As soon as that person says, 'No,' they don't wait to find out. They leave us, the nurses, and the social workers, to comfort the family.

One physician explained:

> I usually have a nurse go with me, then stay while I do the paperwork. They usually want to know what they do now. That's usually administrative stuff and I tell them the nurse will help them take care of everything.

This transfer is a chain reaction. The deliverer may have other pressing duties, so he or she transfers the comfort function to another who, in turn, transfers to yet another, possibly a family member. According to some deliverers the receiver also needs to get out of the situation. A nurse indicated:

> ...then I tell them to go home. Because the sooner they leave the sooner they can start making plans. They have decisions to make and phone calls to make.

29 Fulton et al., in a study of requests for organ transplants, noted that physicians first suggested the possibility of organ donation to the receiver before or at the time death news was given, and then withdrew to let the family discuss it among themselves. See: J.R. Fulton and R.G. Simmons, *The Cadaver Donor and the Gift of Life* in R.G. Simmons, S.D. Klein and R.L. Simmons (eds.) **Gift of Life: The Social and Psychological Impact of Organ Transplant** (New York: Wiley, 1977), pp. 338-76.

The transfer can be an abrupt withdrawal, but we found that it is usually done in two steps. The typical deliverer withdraws for a short period of time, transferring the comfort to someone else, and then returns after the initial shock has worn off of after the news has been digested by the receiver.[30] According to one physician:

> (After telling them the news) I stay with them for a few minutes. Then I usually go back and do my paperwork. I usually stay with them awhile but I just can't stand there. Then, I usually go back and talk to them again, after I do my paperwork, talk to them, console them and see if they have any questions after the initial shock.

Many of the deliverers leave the door open as they withdraw:

> You encourage them to come back and talk to you...Always leave the door open so they can come back.

Leaving the door open for future contact seems to make transferring a little smoother for the deliverer. Some deliverers also checked back with the family after a few days or, in one case, a few weeks.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This report provides generalizations and conclusions about the process of death telling as experienced and reported by professionals. The lack of well-defined, normative guidelines for such deliveries (with the exception, perhaps, of military deliveries) requires the deliverers to construct various tactics influenced by situational and structural factrs, including occupation, setting, characteristics of the deceased, and the type of death. From narrative data, a loose framework based on common themes provides a processual view of death telling.

We found that deliverers typically develop preparing and staging tactics before delivering bad news. Once prepared, the deliverers construct various "telling" strategies, ranging from direct to conditional delivery. Moreover, it seems most deliverers recognize the importance of reacting to cues provided by the receivers which, in turn, influence the direction of the delivery. Most deliverers are faced with various issues (autopsies, for example) that have to be handled after the delivery and require additional coping strategies. Finally, most deliverers feel the need to be near the receiver for at least a few moments, and eventually transfer the comforting function to someone else.

This study points to several issues surrounding the delivery of news of death. First, almost all of the respondents indicated a strong dislike for the task of delivering such news, referring to the problematic and uncertain nature of each situation. Many, particularly nurses, noted attempts by others to completely avoid these high--stress situations. Second, the issue of training for death telling, though not a part of the present study, would appear to be an important dimension of medical education. During the course of our research a

[30] This was particularly true for all deliverers except law enforcement officers, most likely because law enforcement officers are delivering the news of death on the receiver's turf, and thus have intruded into their personal environment.

number of deliverers pointed out they had had little or no training in delivering news of death; and some, particularly nurses, were uncertain about the adequacy of their deliveries. Most believed formal training would be a definite asset in terms of reducing the stress intrinsic to this situation. However, some felt that the approaches to this task could only be learned by watching others, or by being in the situation and having to do it. Moreover, if these assessments are correct, then there is a definite need for research directed at what form training in this area should take. It is hoped that the death-telling strategies discussed here will give substantial support to the development of knowledge in this area.

Our report documents five distinct strategies of death telling, each of which bears some resemblance to tactics discussed variously in the works of Sudnow, Glaser and Strauss, and Charmaz. The first stage in the death-telling process--preparing to deliver the news--includes the concern for setting and emotional control, and is similar to the preparing stage documented by McClenahen and Lofland. While this report is primarily concerned with a detailed exploration involve processes similar to those reported in Sudnow and in McClenahen and Lofland. Whle this report is primarily concerned with a detailed exploration of death telling, it also reinforces and integrates earlier material and yields some insight into the process of death telling. It has implications for not only those who are confronted with the responsibility of delivering such news, but also for those seeking to understand performance construction as it occurs in high-stress situations. It seems imperative, too, that further research into this most difficult form of interaction be conducted to increase the awareness of problems inherent in death telling situations and to increase sociological knowledge about death and dying.

PRODUCTIVITY GROWTH IN THE MANUFACTURING SECTOR IN THE U.S. AND JAPAN:
AN ORGANIZATIONAL AND MANAGERIAL PERSPECTIVE

Yoshi Fukasawa and Charles D. Ramser*

Reversing the productivity growth trend of the last twenty years is one of the major challenges facing the U.S. economy today. The concern has become so deep and widespread that the term, productivity, has almost become a household word. Yet, the concept of productivity is elusive and the causes of slower growth in the U.S. and some other industrialized countries in recent years are difficult to identify.

Among the industrialized countries, the U.S. and Japan appear to offer an interesting and intriguing contrast in productivity discussion. This paper examines productivity growth in the manufacturing sector in the U.S. and Japan. In particular, the study focuses on the importance of managerial and organizational characteristics as a factor determining the difference in productivity growth in two countries.

Productivity

Productivity quantifies the relationship between output (product) and input (resources) required to produce that output. Because labor is considered to be one of the most important resources, productivity is often measured in terms of output per labor time, i.e. output per employee hour.

There is a substantial difference in productivity growth among the sectors of our economy. For example, in the postwar period (1947-81), the rate of growth in productivity in communications averaged 5.3 percent per year while that of trade averaged 2.4 percent per year.[1]

Table 1 shows the productivity growth rates in the manufacturing sector for selected countries between 1950 and 1981. There are two major facts depicted in the table. First there is a significant difference in productivity growth rates among the selected countries. During the period, Japan had the highest growth rate of 9.2 percent per year while the U.S. experienced the lowest rate of 2.6 percent per year.

Secondly, there was a notable decline in productivity growth in the 1973-81 period over the previous period for all the countries. The slowdown may be associated with the structural change in the economies of the industrialized countries brought about by the "oil shocks" of 1973 and 1979.[2] There are, however, other considerations that must be taken into account in explaining the decline in productivity growth in the U.S.

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[1] **Productivity and the Economy: A Chartbook** (Washington, D.C.: Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, June, 1983, Bulletin 2172), p. 10.

[2] Martin N. Bailey, *The Productivity Growth Slowdown by Industry,* **Brookings Papers on Economic Activity** (Vol. II. 1982), pp. 423-54.

Table 1
Output Per Employee Hour in Manufacturing
Selected Countries, 1950-81

	1950-73	1973-81	1950-81
United States	2.7	1.7	2.6
Canada	4.3	1.4	3.9
France	5.3	4.6	5.3
Germany	5.9	4.5	5.6
Japan	9.5	6.8	9.2
United Kingdom	3.5	2.2	3.4

Note: The figures represent the average annual rate of change, in percent, in output per employee hour in manufacturing.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Productivity and the Economy: A Chartbook, Bulletin 2172, June 1983. Table 1, p. 24 and Table 13, p. 70.

Causes of the U.S. Productivity Decline

Some often-cited causes of productivity slowdown in the U.S. include:

- A declining capital/output ratio

A declining trend in the ratio of capital to output has often been cited as a major factor contributing to the slowdown in productivity in the U.S. economy. The capital formation rate of the U.S. measured in terms of net fixed investment as a percent of GDP, was the lowest at 6.6 percent among the industrialized countries in 1971-80, as compared to 19.5 percent, 11.8 percent, and 8.1 percent for Japan, Germany, and United Kingdom, respectively.[3]

More relevant in the discussion of labor productivity growth may be the capital/labor ratio, measuring the amount of machinery and equipment with which each American worker is equipped. However, available data suggests that capital/labor ratio in the manufacturing sector in the U.S. has been steadily increasing for the last 25 years although that in nonmanufacturing has been declining.[4]

- A decline in research and development expenditures

The decline in research and development (R&D) expenditure has contributed to the slowdown in productivity in the U.S. For example, the ratio of R&D to

[3] **Economic Report of the President** (1983), p. 81.

[4] Martin N. Bailey, *Productivity and the Services of Capital and Labor,* **Brookings Papers on Economic Activity** (Vol. I, 1981), pp. 7-8.

GNP in the U.S. declined from 2.8 percent in the 1960's to 2.3 percent in the 1970's, while Japan and most other industrialized countries have experienced an increasing trend.[5]

- Excessive regulations

Excessive government regulations in the areas of safety, health, environment, and labor-related issues are also considered an impediment to productivity growth in the U.S. Regulations may entail various costs including the inefficient use of resources due to reallocation, enforcement costs, litigation expenses, reduced innovation because of uncertainties of meeting standards, the costs of keeping records and filling out forms. A study reported that federal regulations cost some $100 billion in 1979.[6]

- A change in labor force composition

Another reason for the recent U.S. labor productivity decline is an increase in the proportion of young people and minorities in relation to total employment. It is argued that minorities and youths may be relatively less productive because they have on the average less market experience. However, statistical evidence is inconclusive.[7]

Organizational and Managerial (O/M) Factors

The organizational and managerial (O/M) factors are purported in this paper to account, to a significant degree, for variation in productivity growth over time. However, these factors are extremely complex. They embrace exhibited styles of managerial leadership or communication and their underlying assumptions as well as the structural variables of an organization.

All organizations can be scaled and compared on the basis of a multiplicity of factors. Recent management literature suggests various approaches to the measurement process. Pascale and Athos have presented a "Seven-S Model". Ouchi has presented "Theory Z". Earlier, the work of McGregor and Tannenbaum and Schmidt, offered relevant insight on organization structure and style. Other contributors in this area include Argyris, Herzberg, and Likert.[8]

[5] **Productivity and the Economy,** p. 80.

[6] Thomas J. Hailstone and Frank V. Mastrianna, **Contemporary Economic Problems and Issues** (Dallas: Publishing Co., 1982), p. 23.

[7] Jeffrey M. Perloff and Miahcel Wachter, *The Productivity Slowdown: A Labor Problem?* **Decline in Productivity Growth** (Federal Reserve Bank of Boston: Conference Series No. 22, 1980), pp. 115-142.

[8] See: Richard T. Pascale and Anthony G. Athos, **The Art of Japanese Management** (New York: Sims and Schultz, 1981); William G. Ouchi, **Theory Z: How American Business Can Meet the Japanese Challenge** (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1981); Edgar H. Schein and Warren G. Bennis, Leadership and Motivation: The Essays of McGregor (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1966); Robert Tannenbaum and Warren H. Schmidt, *How to Choose a Leadership Pattern,* **Harvard Business Review** (March-April, 1958), pp. 95-104; Chris Argyris, **Management and Organizational Development** (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co.); Frederick Herzberg, *One More Time: How Do You Motivate Employees?* **Harvard Business Review** (January-February, 1968); R. Libert, **The Human Organization** (New York: McGraw Hill, 1967).

An appropriate starting place is the definitional and comparative criteria suggested by Ouchi and Jaeger in their well-known work with the "Type Z" organization.[9] Figure 1 presents the suggested criteria. The eight scales cover many of the O/M dimensions of manufacturing technology.

- Employment Tenure

The first scale depicts average employment tenure. Values range from short-range (approximately 6 months) to longer-range (20 or more years).

- Decision Making

The second scale relates to organizational decision making patterns. It ranges from an individualized style to a concensual style.

- Responsibility

The third scale is the concept of responsibility as related to an individual or collective phenomenon.

- Evaluation and Promotion

The fourth scale relates to the pace at which performance evaluation and promotion occur within the organization. It may be rapid (every 6 months) or more gradual (every 10 years).

- Formal Control

The fifth scale reflects the formal control system, whether control is implicit or explicit in nature. People may be controlled through extrinsic forces or intrinsically through their own standards.

- Career Type

The sixth scale relates to the nature of the career paths of individual members of an organization. One alterntive path tends to be specialized where the individual works in a given function, stays in that function, and rises up in the organization. The nonspecialized alternative is the opposite end of the scale where a person might transfer from one function to another in a horizontal or diagonal manner.

- Managerial Perspective

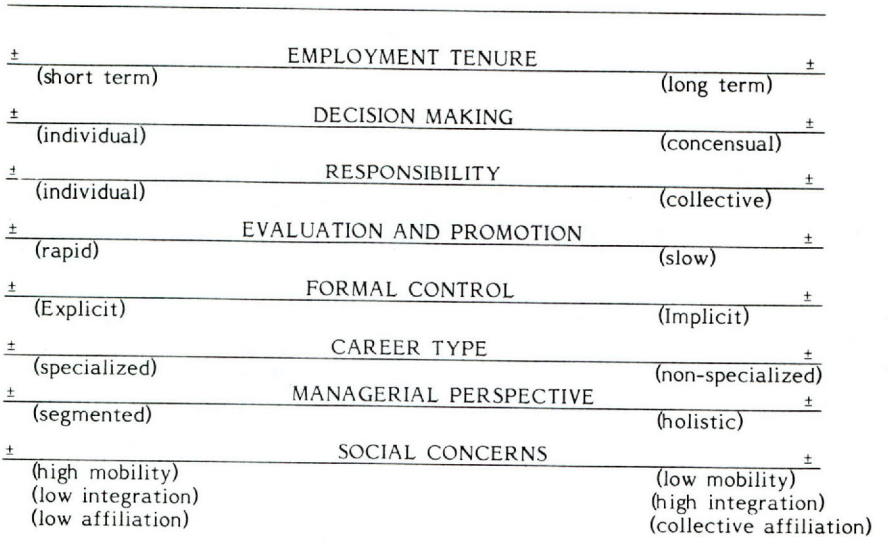
The managerial perspective is the seventh scale. The perspective of the top people of the organization can vary from being segmented to being holistic. The question relates to whether the company chief sees marketing challenges, engineering advances, production questions in a fragmented, isolated fashion.

[9] William G. Ouchi and Alfred M. Jaeger, *Type Z Organization: Stability in the Midst of Mobility,* **Academy of Management Review** (Vol. III, No. II, 1978), pp. 305-314.

- Social Concerns

The final scales are a multiplicity of social concerns: mobility of members, value integration into the organization, and affiliation of members with the organization.

Figure 1
Organizational Scales



Source: Figure 1 has been derived from:
Ouchi, William G. and Jaeger, Alfred M., "Type Z Organization: Stability in the Midst of Mobility," Academy of Management Review, Vol. 3, Number 2, 1978, pp. 305-314.

Organizational (O) Factors

It has become commonplace in literature to refer to the "American approach" and the "Japanese approach" to organizations as Type A models and Type J models, respectively. What are the profiles of the typical Type A and Type J organizations in relation to the above scales? Vertical lines superimposed over the extreme left and right ends of the scales in figure 1 summarize fairly accurately the contrasting A and J types, respectively.

Type A is depicted on the left by short-term member tenure, individual decision making and responsibility, rapid evaluation and promotion, explicit and formalized controls, specialized careers, segmented managerial perspective, high member mobility, lower value-integration and lower member-affiliation. The Type J model is characterized on the right by long-term employment, concensual decision making, collective responsibility, slower evaluation and promotion, implicit and informal controls, non-specialized career paths, holistic managerial perspective, lower mobility, higher

integration of values, and collective affiliation. This J organizational pattern is reflective of Likert's System 4 Model of the organization. These organization factors relate to the "hard" variables in Pascale's and Athos' "Seven-S Model:" structure, strategy, and systems.[10]

Management (M) Factors

The atmosphere and structure of the organization is one perspective on the M factor. Another is the type or style of management in the organization. Managers can be scaled and compared on the basis of McGregor's well-known Theory X - Theory Y dichotomy, as summarized in figure 2.[11]

Figure 2
Managerial Assumptions

Traditional Assumptions About People(X)	Assumptions About Human Potential(Y)
1. people are lazy	1. people are energetic
2. people work mostly for money	2. people work for many reasons
3. people are naturally dependent on leaders	3. people are capable of self-direction
4. people prefer to stay in old ruts	4. people enjoy new experiences
5. people must be coerced into adequate production	5. people want to do a better than adequate job
6. people want security most of all	6. people want challenge
7. people have creativity and imagination only in small measure	7. people are creative
	8. work is as natural as play and rest

Source: Leadership and Motivation: The Essays of Douglas McGregor, Bennis, Warren G. and Schein, Edgor H., editors, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1966.

It is essentially based on managerial assumptions about "people in general" and "work in general." The Theory X assumptions are now famous and suggest a passive, unmotivated person who must receive direct orders. The Theory Y assumptions suggest a much better potential of involvement and motivation for people as organization members. The latter in fact suggests that for most people work is as natural as rest or play. In terms of the "Seven-S model" factors relevant to management are the "soft" variables: skills, staff, style, and super-ordinate goals.[12]

O/M Factors Synthesized

It is necessary to put both of these perspectives--the type of organization and the style of management--together, to get a global conception of an organization. In terms of combination, several possibilities exist: The Type A Theory X blend would appear to fit as a consistent **modus operandi.** Type A - Theory Y would appear less congruous. In American manufacturing, the

[10] See: Likert, **The Human Organization;** Pascale and Athos, **The Art of Japanese Management.**

[11] See: Schein and Bennis, **Leadership and Motivation: The Essays of Douglas McGregor.**

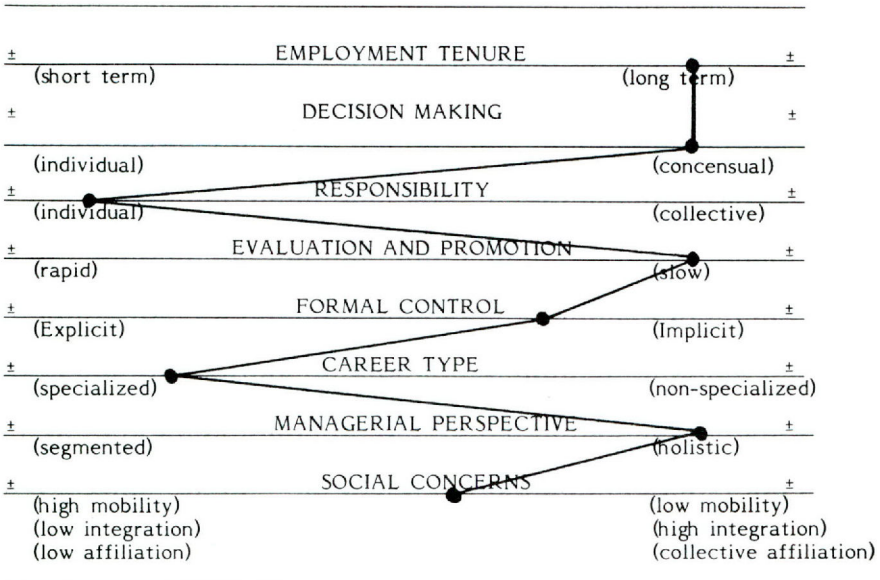
[12] See: Pascale and Athos, **The Art of Japanese Management.**

former is hypothesized in this paper as more prevalent today. Type J - Theory Y has been viewed by some as a synergestic combination and a challenging ideal to pursue. All hypothetical possibilities must be tested.

In this process of testing hypotheses, it would be fortunate if one could go directly and simplistically from global variables to productivity, but the linkage is too diffused and debulous. There is a serious problem in fact; organizations cannot be compared in abstract. They must be tied to the cultural, economic, and social context of their surroundings. The various labels--X, A, Y, and J--in and of themselves, do not suggest productivity outcomes independent of the context of a cultural base. The Type A model would appear to be a natural extension of a culture with heterogeniety, mobility, and individualism. Whereas, Type J organizations appear naturally adapted to a culture with homogeneity, stability, and lower levels of individualism.[13] Research hypotheses relating to productivity must reckon with organizational and managerial as well as cultural factors.

The Type Z organization model is an available "answer" advocated by Ouchi and Jaeger to the challenge of productivity in varied organizational and cultural setting.[14] The model is an interesting hybrid of types A and J, and is more than a theory of leadership, as theories X and Y have often been construed. Theory Z is more of a corporate framework than an individual leadership style. It has been hypothesized that the type Z organization might be more productive in American manufacturing than either type A or J. A global organizational profile that comes close to depicting the type Z organization is shown in figure 3.

Figure 3
Organizational Scales



Source: Figure 1

[13] William G. Ouchi, *Theory Z Corporation: Straddling U.S. and Japanese Models,* **Industry Week** (May 4, 1981), p. 52.

[14] Ouchi and Jaeger, *Type Z Organization,* pp. 305-314.

Type Z is characterized by long-term employment tenure, concensual decision-making, individualized responsibility, more gradual evaluation and promotion systems, formal control systems in the organization of mid-range, a career path of a specialized nature, integrated managerial perspective, and mid-range scale values on the social considerations. Its ability to face the productivity challenge in the U.S. by bridging cultural and organizational disparity deserves close examination.

Proposed Hypotheses

Discussions of the aforementioned concepts pertaining to organizational types and managerial styles are obviously broad-based. Effort should be focused directly on relevant variables--relating to the manufacturing setting--which further meld these concepts and perspectives together. Up to this point, there appears to have been a paucity of research focusing on these variables and related hypotheses.

A partial list of the O/M variables suggested to affect productivity growth in the manufacturing sector is presented in figure 4.

Figure 4
Organizational Variables

INCLUSION OF HOURLY EMPLOYEES IN SIGNIFICANT DECISION-MAKING

None — Low — Moderate — High — Concensus

JOB ENRICHMENT: HOW WIDESPREAD AMONG PRODUCTION-RELATED JOBS?

Low use — Medium use — High use

USE OF QUALITY CIRCLE PROCESSES

Low use — Medium use — High use

USE OF SELF-GENERATED QUALITY CONTROL FEEDBACK BY WORKERS

Low use — Medium use — High use

MOBILITY OF ORGANIZATION MEMBER (TYPE)

Intra-functional — Hybrid — Inter-functional

TIME FRAME BETWEEN PROMOTIONS FOR MANAGERS

Six months — One yr. — Two yr. — Five yr. — 10-15 yr.

OTHER FACTORS

In order to systematically reflect these variables a questionnaire has been derived. (See Appendix A). Each variable has a hypothesized relationship to productivity:

- An overall pattern of Type A - Theory X (left-hand vertical line values on the intervening variable scales) would be correlated with the lowest productivity growth rate.

- A pattern of Type J - Theory Y (suggested by right-hand values) would have mid-range productivity growth rate outcomes in the U.S. and the highest outcomes in Japan.

- Theory Z (central ranges on the scales) would produce the highest hypothesized productivity growth in the U.S. and a mid-range outcome in Japan.

To test these hypotheses, correlations between these scale values and productivity growth rates would be drawn. Scale values have the advantage of describing and pinpointing more specifically and clearly the relevant aspects of manufacturing technology.

Concluding Remarks

The differences between these organizational and managerial approaches and their impacts on productivity growth are now well-known, and obviously from the foregoing, not simplistic. The panacea, if it exists, is not as evident as once believed. Again the context questions of the broader cultural surrounding and its impact on the relationships must be systematically incorporated into this research.

At this point, past studies have not been adequate to measure, or even define, the O/M factors affecting productivity. Ultimate analysis of these factors will result in new knowledge. Organizational research, according to Lawler requires (1) a comprehensive set of standardized measures, (2) a multiplicity of organizational observations and (3) a longitudinal dimension.[15]

This research suggested a more standardized approach to measurement. Further analysis of American and Japanese organizations are proposed so that comparisons can be made. Suggested research can also be repeated so tht changes through time can be assessed. Research that meets these requirements is feasible and can come to meaningful conclusions about causation.

Halper has suggested that the viability and cost-effectiveness of investing in productivity-enhancing models, such as quality circles, should be carefully weighed and tested to see if there is causality.[16] This paper outlined an approach to this endeavor, small in contrast to the potential insight to be gained and its ultimate effect on labor productivity and the economic well-being of nations.

15 Edward E. Lawler III, *Adaptive Experiment: An Approach to Organizational Behavior Research,* **The Academy of Management Review** (Vol. 222, No. 4, 1977), p. 584.

16 Arnold G. Halfer, *Living with the Japanese Challenge,* **The Collegiate Forum** (Spring, 1982), pp. 16-17.

Appendix A
PRODUCTIVITY QUESTIONNAIRE

Name of Department/Division _____

Date_____

Form of **overall** organization:

A. Partnership
B. Sole Proprietorship
C. Branch
D. Corporation
E. Other _____

Annual Sales (Department/Divisional Output) in Native Currency Units:

1975	1980	1983
_____	_____	_____

Total Number of Employees in Division/Department (1983 average) _____

1. What percentage of total employees belong to a union or union-type organization in 1982?_____
2. Does your organization offer LIFETIME EMPLOYMENT? Yes_____ No_____
3. Is there a written NO-LAYOFF AGREEMENT? Yes_____ No_____
4. What is the TIME-FRAME BETWEEN PROMOTIONS for division/departmental managers? (circle one)

   6 months one year two years five years over five years

5. To what degree do you use: A. COMPRESSED WORK WEEK PLANS? (4 day, 40 hour plans, etc.)

NO USE	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH	TOTAL USE
0%	10%	50%	90%	100%

B. JOB ENRICHMENT

NO USE	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH	TOTAL USE
0%	10%	50%	90%	100%

6. Do you have formal grievance procedures?_____ An informal system?_____ No system?_____

7. Indicate how much MOBILITY on the average there is within your organization:
   A. INTER-FUNCTIONAL movement (from one function to another) (generally lateral or diagonal)

      Low 1 2 3 4 5 High

   B. INTRA-FUNCTIONAL movement (within a particular function) (generally vertical)

      Low 1 2 3 4 5 High

8. How much INCLUSION OF HOURLY OPERATIVE EMPLOYEES IN SIGNIFICANT DECISION-MAKING?

None	Low	Medium	High	Total Use
0%	10%	50%	90%	100%

9. What is your organization's (division/department) overall goal?

10. Use of QUALITY CIRCLE processes: Are they tied to financial incentives?
Low 1 2 3 4 5 High

11. Use of SELF-GENERATED OR INITIATED CONTROL DATA by workers:
Low 1 2 3 4 5 High

12. Time-frame between PERFORMANCE EVALUATIONS FOR EMPLOYEES (formal evaluations):

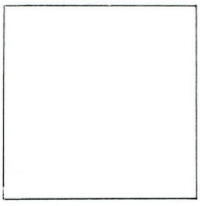
3 months six months one year 2 years longer than two years

13. What is the average age of your plant and equipment?_____

14. Do you have: A. "stock purchase plan"_____ B. "Profit-sharing plan"_____
C. another similar plan (name) _____

15. Are INCENTIVE PAY PLANS in use?_____
What type? individual_____ group_____ other _____

16. What is the perceived productivity gap of the relevant organization?



-- Maximum productivity

-- Productivity (current average)
-- Minimum productivity

17. What is the average EMPLOYEE SENIORITY?

Short term		Long term
6 months	5 years	10 or more years

18. What are the prevalent MANAGERIAL ASSUMPTIONS about people in general?

X_____Y

(people are lazy, want security, work only for money, dependent, limited creativity)	(people are energetic, want challenge, work for many reasons, self-directed, creative)