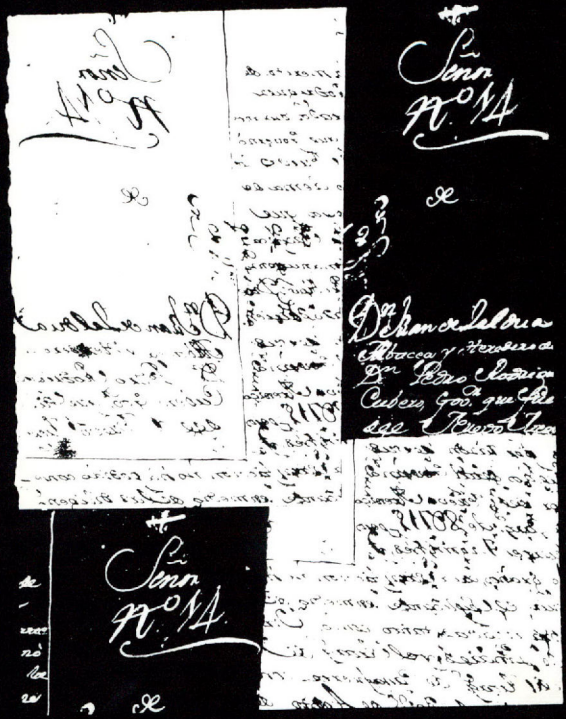


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Kenneth E. Hendrickson, Jr.
Program Coordinator

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James R. King
Editor

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INTRODUCTION

Distributed throughout the United States to colleges and university libraries, and to individual scholars, this journal, published by the faculty of Midwestern State University, has been praised as one of the finest of its type. Much of the credit, of course, must go to the faculty who have contributed their research, but equally important, have been the efforts of Dr. J. R. King who concludes his tenure as editor with this issue. Mere thanks are inadequate to express our appreciation to Dr. King for his many hours of work.

As usual, we also express our thanks to Dr. Louis J. Rodriguez, President of MSU, and Dr. Jesse W. Rogers, Vice President for Academic Affairs, for their continuing encouragement and support, and to our secretary Dianna Roberts, whose skills can always be counted upon to produce a first class manuscript.

Kenneth E. Hendrickson, Jr.
Program Coordinator

JOHN DONNE: "TO DOUBT WISELY"

Baird W. Whitlock*

Perhaps a better quotation than my title for expressing Donne's position on the proper stance for an inquiring Christian is from the same poem, *Satyre III*: "To stand inquiring right is not to stray." John Donne is a valuable person to study during any period of religious confrontation and turmoil. He not only lived during one of the most difficult times of denominational struggle in the history of the church, but his life is an example of that struggle. And he is one of our best models today for a position of understanding, compassion, and action. His attitudes towards the split in the church of his own day can help the modern reader and churchman to handle with sympathy the divisions within individual denominations (Catholicism, Anglicanism, Lutheranism, etc.) and between them that characterize the churches of the late 1970's and early 1980's.

Donne is not only a perfect example of a man caught up in the religious and political battles between the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of England, but he is also perhaps the best example of one who found a *via media* in that struggle when it was not only an unpopular position but a positively dangerous one, both in terms of vocational goals and even life itself. As we attempt to examine his position in some detail, we should keep one basic point in mind throughout. Donne was very human, like the rest of us, with extremely mixed motives (an overwhelming desire for political preferment, sexual drives that blocked that preferment and raised doubts in his own mind about his worthiness for the priesthood, a love of money that sometimes led him to somewhat questionable actions even during his priesthood, etc.)

Donne was born in 1572 into one of the most famous families of England, that of Sir Thomas More — he was four generations away from that estimable Chancellor and Saint, but his birth date was only thirty-two years after More's execution. More important for this study is the fact that both of Donne's uncles were Jesuits, one the head of the English Jesuit Mission for a number of years and childhood friend of Queen Elizabeth, and one aunt was a nun. All were effectively exiled from their native land because of their religion. Donne received his early education from Roman Catholic tutors — although they were not Jesuits as is often stated in biographies. His younger brother, Henry, died in prison — where he was sent as a result of harboring a seminary priest in his chamber — from the plague. Both brothers went to Hart Hall at Oxford, the favorite college of young Roman Catholics, and specialized, as much as that was possible, in the study of Spanish literature and thought, particularly the writings of the sixteenth-century mystics. At the same time, Donne's group of friends were overwhelmingly Church of England — or lower — and they remained together as a group throughout their lives. Donne left

*Dr. Whitlock is Professor of English Literature and Humanities at Midwestern State University.

Oxford before taking his degree in order to avoid taking the Oath of Allegiance required of all graduates and simply disappeared from the records for the next few years. Although most biographers state that he then went to Cambridge, there is no actual reason to believe that he did. If anything, the evidence points to his joining the Army for a time and serving in the Spanish wars. When he returned to London, he went directly to law school, although it appears from his own testimony that he never intended to pursue the law as a vocation. Instead, he concentrated on church law. When his patrimony came due, he left law school, apparently to travel abroad briefly, and then returned to join his friends in the service of the Earl of Essex in the two summer campaigns against Spain. During that period he became a good friend of the young Egerton brothers, and after the ill-fated Islands Campaign, he became one of Lord Egerton's secretaries. Egerton was Lord Chancellor of the Realm, and Donne's future at Court seemed assured. Instead, he became emotionally involved with Egerton's young niece, Anne More, and married her against her father's wishes. That precipitate and wrong-headed marriage closed the doors to secular preferment forever. It was during his service with Egerton that Donne made his switch from the Roman Church to the Church of England, a change which was necessary if he wished to keep his job. Following his marriage, Donne went into enforced retirement at Mitcham, and the yearly birth of a child until Anne's death in 1617 took up much of his time and added to his financial anguish. However, he kept up his association with his old group of friends, which now included leading figures like Lionel Granfield, the rising star of English finance, and Edward Phelips, Speaker of the 1603-09 Parliament. He also maintained an apartment in London and worked hard at his associations with such Court figures as Lord Hay and Sir Robert Drury, obviously hoping for a Court appointment. But he also became deeply involved in research and writing on church issues for Bishop Morton, the Bishop of Worcester. By 1610 it is safe to say that Donne was the best-read person in England on the whole subject of Roman-Church of England controversies. After writing a series of volumes connected with that controversy, Donne received word from King James that the only path of preferment open to him was the church, and he undertook a period of self-examination that issued in a manuscript volume entitled *Essays in Divinity*. It is probably worth remembering that almost all of the Holy Sonnets, which used to be looked upon as the poetry of his later life as a priest, were written at the same time as he was working with Bishop Morton and before his interview with King James. In 1615 he was ordained and quickly became recognized as one of the greatest preachers of the English Church. Church preferment came quickly, first with the awarding of the Doctorate from Cambridge (only after pressure from James), then appointment to important parishes like St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, and finally his naming as Dean of St. Paul's. He never did receive the Bishopric that he wanted or that his friends expected for him, however. It is perhaps his pursuit of the *via media* that ultimately is the reason for that failure. Meanwhile, his mother, although she remained a staunch Roman Catholic throughout her life, lived with him for the rest of his life and outlived him. No one

seems to have been bothered that such a well-known Recusant resided in the Deanery of St. Paul's Cathedral.

One of the myths which continues to live on about the period is that Roman Catholics were badly treated during Elizabeth's reign and immediately following. In spite of the laws that were promulgated, Catholics were not only tolerated but achieved positions of great power throughout these decades. Elizabeth even used Catholics as her private physicians (including Donne's first step-father, John Syminges), and Parliament had a large number of well-known Roman Catholics as members. In one section of London, the Liberty of the Clink, over 250 families refused to take communion because of their religious beliefs, and no one did anything about it except to levy a small fine occasionally (an event that occurred once to Donne's mother). Only those who actively supported or fomented political plots against the monarchy were treated harshly.

Two events that give us some insight into Donne's attitudes as a priest should be mentioned briefly as a personal insight into the man. Once, as Dean of St. Paul's, he saw a young man come in the front doors during communion, stand there for a while, and then walk out. He sent the verger to apprehend the offender and then had him sent to jail for lack of proper respect. The other is that when the churchwardens at St. Dunstan's wanted to add extra pews at the front of the church in order to provide for the numbers of people attending service there, Donne refused unless they let *him* receive the fees from one of those pews as an addition to his salary. At the same time, he usually gave his contributions, with the rest of the congregation, to orphans of former priests or to former priests who had been unable to lay aside sufficient money for retirement. It is difficult to read Donne in black and white terms. His life, like our own, was filled with shades of grey.

To follow his pilgrimage through this age of religious controversy, we must attempt to examine his poems and prose in as chronological an order as is possible with our limited knowledge of the dating of much of his work.

In his early poems, the *Elegies*, written largely during his Inns of Court days, we find that his comments on Catholics are mainly simple statements of political fact:

There we will scorne his houshold policies,
His seely plots, and pensionary spies,
As the inhabitants of Thames right side
Do Londons Major; or Germans, the Popes pride. (I, 11.31-34)

This is an interesting comment on the Catholic families living in the Liberty of the Clink. Images of nunneries and Purgatory are neutral:

Who, though seaven yeares, she in the Stews had laid,
A Nunnery durst receive, and thinke a maid . . . (II, U. 47-48)

and

Have we prov'd all these secrets of our Art,
Yea, thy pale inwards, and thy panting heart?
And, after all this passed Purgatory,
Must sad divorce make us the vulgar story? (XII, 11.53-56)

But in the *Elegies* we can also feel, from the intensity of some of the imagery, a bit of his own necessary conflict:

Though hope bred faith and love; this taught, I shall
As nations do from Rome, from thy love fall.
My hate shall outgrow thine, and utterly
I will renounce thy dalliance: and when I
Am the Recusant, in that resolute state,
What hurts it mee to be excommunicate (VI, 11. 41-46)

Slightly later, in *The Will*, he strikes out against both Roman Catholics and Puritans:

My constancie I to the planets give;
My truth to them, who at the Court doe live;
Mine ingenuity and opennesse,
To Jesuits; to Buffones my pensivenesse;
My silence to any, who abroad hath beene;
My mony to a Capuchin.

My faith I give to Roman Catholiques;
All my good works into the Schismaticks
Of Amsterdam . . .

To Schoolemen I bequeath by doubtfulness

In *The Relique*, he treats the mis-devotion of relics in Catholicism:

If this fall in a time, or land,
Where mis-devotion doth command,
Then he that digges us up, will bring
Us, to the Bishop, and the King,
To make us Reliques

And in another poem to the same person, Magdalen Herbert (mother of George), he takes a slight swipe at hermits:

Call not these wrinkles, graves; If graves they were,
They were Loves graves; for else he is no where.

Yet lies not Love dead here, but here doth sit
Vow'd to this trench, like an Anachorit. (IX, 11. 13-16)

As we move into the period of his work for Egerton, when he was about to change churches or had already done so, a slightly different tone enters. He can now sympathize more deeply with those he has left.

Though Poetry indeed be such a sinne
As I thinke that brings dearths, and Spaniards in,
Though like the Pestilence and old fashion'd love,
Ridlingly it catch men; and doth remove
Never, till it be sterv'd out; yet their state
Is poore, disarm'd, like Papists, not worth hate. (II, 11, 4-10)

In a *Satyre* in which he praises Egerton for the reformation of many inequities in the legal system, he can overtly sympathize with some Recusants who were subject to illegal treatment:

Would it not anger
A Stoicke, a coward, yea a Martyr,
To see a Pursivant come in, and call
All his cloathes, Copes; Bookes, Primers; and all
His Plate, Challices; and mistake them away,
And aske a fee for coming? (V, 11. 63-68)

And at this stage he also feels free to criticize Luther:

as in those first dayes
When Luther was profest, He did desire
Short Pater nosters, saving as a Fryer
Each day his beads, but having left those lawes,
Addes to Christs prayer, the Power and glory clause. (II, 11. 92-96)

and he can comment favorably on contemporary Catholic writers:

Whom doe you prefer,
For the best linguist? and I seelily
Said, that I thought Calepines Dictionarie;
Nay, but of men, most sweet Sir; Beza then,
Some Jesuites, and two reverend men [Andrewes & Reynolds]
Of our two Academies, I named. (III, 11. 52-57)

It was at some time during this first year with Egerton that Donne apparently felt it necessary to put into manuscript form his feelings about the split between

Rome and England and to do it in the broader framework of the general schism of the Church in the sixteenth century. It was necessary that he do something in order to clear himself of any doubt as to his break with Rome. There were still rumors at the time of his marriage that he was a Roman Catholic, but he was able to convince even his father-in-law that these were without foundation. But if we can find some less than spiritual motivation for Donne's *Satyre III*, it remains true that the poem sets forth a position that was not the customary one of the day nor one that was completely "safe" for an ex-Catholic. It represents some of the best thinking of the time on interdenominational battles. Donne opens with a nice introduction to an intellectual discussion of an emotional problem:

Kinde pittie chokes my spleene; brave scorn forbids
Those teares to issue which swell my eye-lids;
I must not laugh, nor weepe sinnes, and be wise,
Can railing then cure these worne maladies?

He then builds a bridge between contemporary attitudes and the Golden Age of Saturn, not only setting the classical satire context for the poem, but also setting a context of wide human sympathy:

Is not our Mistresse faire Religion,
As worthy of all our Soules devotion,
As vertue was to the first blinded age?
Are not heavens joyes as valiant to assuage
Lusts, as earths honour was to them? Alas,
As wee do them in meanes, shall they surpasse
Us in the end, and shall thy fathers spirit
Meete blinde Philosophers in heaven, whose merit
Of strict life may be imputed faith, and heare
Thee, whom hee taught so easie wayes and neare
To follow, damn'd?

Donne's following of Paul's "if without the Law . . ." is nicely balanced with the "easie way" of a faith in Christ, which is "as near as in your heart." So faith and works are each given their due with a James-like warning that faith without works appears to be dead. After a section in which Donne warns his "listener" against affections that can be misdirected, he turns to his real subject:

Know thy foes: The foule Devill (whom thou
Strivest to please,) for hate, not love, would allow
Thee faine, his whole Realme to be quit;

The image is clear enough. The Devil is the king of this world. As in England at

the time, you must have the King's approval to leave the country: for love — if on an embassy; for hate — if you are ejected, like Donne's Jesuit uncle.

and as

The worlds all parts wither away and passe,
So the worlds selfe, thy other lov'd foe, is
In her decrepit wayne, and thou loving this,
Dost love a withered and worne strumpet; last,
Flesh (selfes death) and joyes which flesh can taste,
Thou lovest; and thy faire goodly soule, which doth
Give this flesh power to taste joy, thou dost loath.

So Donne has brought in the usual prayer book triad of tempters: the World, the Flesh, and the Devil, as those to be avoided for the good of the soul. He then moves into the central argument of the poem:

Seeke true religion. O where? Mirreus
Thinking her unhous'd here, and fled from us,
Seekes her at Rome; there, because hee doth know
That shee was there a thousand yeares agoe,
He loves her ragges so, as wee here obey
The statecloth where the Prince sate yesterday.

What seems an easy rejection of Roman Catholicism turns out to contain a dilemma that Donne will return to later in life. He is always aware that to reject the historical past is to pose a genuine problem for anyone seeking the true Church.

Crantz to such brave Loves will not be intrall'd.
But loves her onely, who at Geneva is call'd
Religion, plaine, simple, sullen, yong,
Contemptuous, yet unhansome; As among
Lecherous humors, there is one that judges
No wenches wholsome, but course country drudges.

It would be quite simple to analyze a whole group of Donne love poems to discover that the female image here called up is one that Donne utterly rejects and uses to illustrate the person of debauched taste. Donne may well have respected Calvin, which he obviously did, but the Calvinist church had no attraction for him at all.

Graius staves still at home here, and because
Some preachers, vile ambitious bauds, and lawes
Still new like fashions, bid him thinke that shee
Which dwels with us, is onely perfect, hee

Imbraceth her, whom his Godfathers will
Tender to him, being tender, as Wards still
Take such wives as their Guardians offer, or
Pay valewes.

Donne keeps his longest treatment for the Church of England, but certainly not to give it any blessing. As a matter of fact, he uses his metaphor of clothing as false appearance to the full by implying the worthlessness of fashion. And then he shifts the metaphor to that of money and the denial of true love in order to keep one's inheritance (or job!).

Then he shifts categories and widens the issue of choice:

Carelesse Phrygius doth abhorre
All, because all cannot be good, as one
Knowing some women whores, dares marry none.
Graccus loves all as one, and thinkes that so
As women do in divers countries goe
In divers habits, yet are still one kinde,
So doth, so is Religion; and this blind-
nesse too much light breeds

So the agnostic and relativist, although condemned, come off better than those who have chosen one church. Now Donne switches from satire to a search for truth:

but unmoved thou
Of force must one, and forc'd but one allow:
And the right; aske thy father which is shee,
Let him aske his; though truth and falshood bee
Neare twins, yet truth a little elder is;
Be busie to seeke her, beleeve mee this,
Hee's not of none, nor worst, that seekes the best.
To adore, or scorne an image, or protest
May all be bad; doubt wisely; in strange way
To stand inquiring right, is not to stray;
To sleepe, or runne wrong is.

The passage is indeed a great one, but it is also important to read it carefully. Roman Catholicism, by implication, comes off on top. For Donne, as for many of his readers, "thy father" would have had a clear answer to the question: "Choose Rome." For most of his readers, the grandfather would certainly have said, "Choose Rome." The weight of evidence goes with the oldest truth rather than the most recent: "truth a little elder is." If Donne has left Rome, he has not rejected her by any means.

Donne then moves to a figure which he had seen in Thomas Drant's volume of Horace:

On a huge hill,
Cragged, and steep, Truth stands, and hee that will
Reach her, about must, and about must goe;
And what the hills suddennes resists, winnne so;
Yet strive so, that before age, deaths twilight,
Thy Soule rest, for none can worke in that night.
To will, implies delay, therefore now doe:
Hard deeds, the bodies paines; hard knowledge too
The mindes indeavours reach, and mysteries
Are like the Sunne, dazling, yet plaine to all eyes.
Keepe the truth which thou hast found; men do not stand
In so ill case here, that God hath with his hand
Sign'd Kings blanck-charters to kill whom they hate,
Nor are they Vicars, but hangmen to Fate.

There is certainly no sense of the Divine Right of monarchs in that line.

Foole and wretch, wilt thou let thy Soule be tyed
To mans lawes, by which she shall not be tryed
At the last day.

In that passage the legal position on the Oath of Allegiance is countered as strongly as in any of the Roman writings of the time. But Donne does not stay with that statement. He opens the problem up again:

Oh, will it then boot thee
To say a Philip, or a Gregory,
A Harry, or a Martin taught thee this?
Is not this excuse for mere contraries,
Equally strong? cannot both sides say so?

Donne sets the individual's sense of ultimate religious truth above that of any state:

That thou mayest rightly obey power, her bounds know;
Those past, her nature, and name is chang'd; to be
Then humble to her is idolatrie.

And he ends

So perish Soules, which more chuse mens unjust
Power from God claym'd, then God himselfe to trust:

But in the England of 1597 or 1598, the law and power that is to be countered is that of Elizabeth and the Church of England, not of Spain or Rome. There is no question of the power of the poem or its truth in putting God's claims above man's, but Donne had not moved very far from Rome when he wrote it.

It is nearly ten years later that we find Donne deeply involved in his own spiritual odyssey again. This is the period of the Holy Sonnets and his prose writings in favor of the Church of England claims against Rome. In his poem *The Litanie* we find him expressing his opinion on a number of subjects involved in contemporary polemical writing. Of the Virgin Mary he says.

For that faire blessed Mother-maid,
Whose flesh redeem'd us; That she-Cherubin,
Which unlock'd Paradise, and made
One claime for innocence, and disseiz'd sinne,
Whose wombe was a strange heav'n, for there
God cloath'd himselfe, and grew,
Our zealous thankes wee poure. As her deeds were
Our helpes, so are her prayers; nor can she sue
In vaine, who hath such titles unto you.

Donne walks a very careful borderline between what most English clergy of the time would consider heresy and the proper wording of respect. Mary receives our zealous thanks, not prayers; but *her* prayers are more than simply efficacious. Donne never did understand the Protestant tendency to de-value the mother of Christ. After similar praise for Martyrs, Confessors, and Virgins, he comes to the Doctors of the Church:

Thy sacred Academie above
Of Doctors, whose paines have unclasp'd, and taught
Both bookes of life to us (for love
To know thy Scriptures tells us, we are wrote
In thy other booke) pray for us there
That what they have misdome
Or mis-said, wee to that may not adhere;
Their zeale may be our sinne. Lord let us runne
Meane waies, and call them stars, but not the Sunne.

In those final two lines Donne has voiced the middle way, the position he was to maintain throughout the rest of his life.

In 1610, he attempted to convince Roman Catholics to take the Oath of Allegiance, in a book dedicated to King James, *Pseudo-Martyr*. He begins with a justly famous description of his own background:

And for my selfe, (because . . . some of the Romane profession, hauing onely seene the Heads and Grounds handled in this Booke, haue traduced me, as an impious and profane under-valewer of Martyrdome), I most humbly beseech him, (till the reading of the Booke, may guide his Reason) to beleue, that I haue a just and Christianly estimation, and reuerence, of that deuout and acceptable Sacrifice of our lifes, for the glory of our blessed Sauour. For, as my fortune hath neuer beene so flattering nor abundant, as should make this present life sweet and precious to me, as I am a Moral man: so, as I am a Christian I haue beene euer kept awake in a meditation of Martydome, by being deriued from such a stocke and race, as, I beleue, no family, (which is not of farre larger extent, and greater branches,) hath endured and suffered more in their persons and fortunes, for obeying the Teachers of Romane Doctrine, then it hath done. I did not therefore enter into this, as a carnall or ouer-indulgent faouurer of this life, but out of such reasons, as may arise to his knowledge, who shall be pleased to read the whole worke.

Later on he urges his readers to pay attention to his stated purpose; it is not to di-
vide Roman Catholics from their church:

. . . to maintaine and further a scisme and diuision amongst you, in the point of the Popes pretence to temporall iurisdiction: I haue no other shelter against these imputations, but an appeale to our blessed Sauior, and a protestation before his face, that my principall and direct scope and purpose herein, is the vnity and peace of his Church . . . And if we distinguish not between Articles of faith and iurisdiction, but account all those super edifications and furnitures and ornaments which God hath affoorded to his Church, for exteriour gouernment, to be equally the Foundation it selfe, there can bee no Church; as there could be no body of a man, if it were all eye.

They who haue descended so lowe, as to take knowledge of me, and to admit me into their consideration, know well that I vsed no inordinate hast, nor precipitation in binding my conscience to any locall Religion. I had a longer worke to doe then many other men; for I was first to blot out, certaine impressions of the Romane religion, and to wrestle both against the examples and against the reasons, by which

some hold was taken; and some anticipations early layde upon my conscience, both of Persons who by nature had a power and superiority ouer my will, and others who by their learning and good life, seem'd to me iustly to claime an interest for the guiding and rectifying of mine vnderstanding in these matters. And although I apprehended well enough, that this irresolution not onely retarded my fortune, but also bred some scandall, and endangered my spirituall reputation, by laying me open to many mis-interpretations; yet all these respects did not transport me to any violent and sudden determination, till I had, to the measure of my poor wit and judgement, suruayed and digested the whole body of Diuinity, controuerted betweene ours and the Romane Church

and later,

But for this poore work of mine, I need no such Aduocates, nor Apologizers; for it is not of Diuinity, but meerey of temporall matters that I write.

Donne is remarkably open in this work, perhaps more than anywhere else, about the roots of his own personal struggle. He had, after all, given up a university degree over the very question to which he addressed himself in this book – the taking of the Oath of Allegiance. Nowhere does he bring Catholic theological doctrine into question as he moves along. He simply argues that a Catholic should feel free within the political framework of England to acknowledge his allegiance to the Monarch. To do so, of course, Donne must argue against the framework of allegiance of the Church of Rome, but I think it is fair to say that to him that *was* a political rather than a religious question. He may well have felt that one could still be a good Catholic and acknowledge the position of the reigning monarch of Britain. It may be a naive position, but there is no reason to believe that it was a dishonest one.

At just about the same time he was putting together a very funny little manuscript called the *Catalogus Librorum*, or *Courtier's Library*, for his friends, and in it he is much more pointed in his criticisms of Protestants than of Roman Catholic writers:

No. 3. "The Art of copying out within the compass of a Penny all the truthfull statements made to that end by John Foxe, by Peter Bales."

No. 13. "Martin Luther, On shortening the Lord's Prayer."

No. 25. "Egerton's Spiritual Art of enticing Women; or, Petticoat Preachings."

Stephen Egerton was the Puritan divine who is usually credited with establishing the first Presbyterian church in England. Egerton sought to change the Prayer Book, abolishing the sign of the cross in baptism and the ring in marriage, among other things.

But of more interest is that in 1611, Donne published his *Ignatius His Conclave*, a free-wheeling satire on the Jesuits, which ended

Now is it time to come to the Apology for Jesuits: that is, it is time to leaue speaking of them, for hee fauours them most, which saies least of them. . . If any man haue a minde to adde anthing to this Apology, hee heath my leaue; and I haue therefore left roome for three or foure lines: which is enough for such a paradox. . . (p. 143)

Donne's tolerance and middle way almost always stopped short of saying anything good about Jesuits. But it must be remembered that there were a large number of Roman scholars who felt exactly the same way about that Society. Donne felt that they represented the excesses that he condemned within the Roman Church. It is perhaps only an example of his own human failings that he was excessive in his own condemnation of them.

Between 1611 and 1615, the latter year being that in which he took orders, Donne continued his study of Church history and polemics, but he also put together his collection of *Essays in Divinity*, which is a summation of his own thoughts and attitudes. He found that exercise necessary for him to feel free to enter the church. In the *Essays* we find his customary jibes at Roman practices such as indulgences:

when the Bishop of Rome is covetous of one treasure, and expensive of another, he gives and applies to some one of the Indulgences *Urbis et Orbis*. And alas, how many greater Kingdomes are there in the world, which know not there is such a Bishop or Emperour? (p. 35)

And miracles:

because the danger of beleeving false miracles is extreamly great, and the essentiall differences of false and true, very few, and very obscure. . . I encline to think, that God for the most part, works his miracles rather to shew his Power, then Mercy, and to terrifie enemies, rather than comfort his children. For miracles lessen the merit of faith. (pp. 83-84)

But for our purpose, there are far more important passages, those on the inherent unity of Christ's Church:

. . . God in his eternall and ever-present omniscience, fore-seeing that his universal, Christian, Catholick Church, imaged, and conceived, and begotten by him in his eternall decree. . . fore-seeing, I say, that this his dearly beloved Spouse, and Sister, and Daughter, the Church, should in her latter Age suffer any convulsions, distractions, rents, schisms, and wounds, by the severe and unrectified Zeal of many, who should impose necessity upon indifferent things, and oblige all the World to one precise forme of exterior worship, and Ecclesiastick policie. . . his Wisdome was mercifully pleas'd, that those particular Churches, devout parts of the Universall, which, in our Age, keeping still the foundation and corner stone Christ Jesus, should piously abandon the spacious and specious super-edifications which the Church of Rome had built therupon, should from this variety of Names in the Bible it selfe, be provided of an argument, That an unity and consonance in things not essentiall, is not so necessarily requisite as is imagined. . . you may see that all Christs sheep are not always in one fold, *Other sheep have I also, which are not of this fold*. So, all his sheep are of one fold, that is, under one Shepherd, Christ; yet not of one fold, that is, not in one place, nor form. . . Therefore that Church from which we are by Gods Mercy escaped, because upon the foundation, which we yet embrace together, Redemption in Christ, they had built so many stories high, as the foundation was, though not destroyed, yet hid and obscured. . . yet though we branch out East and West, that Church concurs with us in the root, and sucks her vegetation from one and the same ground, Christ Jesus. . . And of that Church which is departed from us, disunited by an opinion of a necessity that all should be united in one form, and that theirs is it, since they keep their right foot fast upon the Rock Christ, I dare not pronounce that she is not our Sister. . . So shall we best conserve the integrity of our own body, of which she is a member, if we laboriously build upon her, and not tempestuously and ruinously demolish and annull her; but rather cherish and foment her vitall and wholesome parts, then either cut, or suffer them to rot or moulder off. . . for so long that Church which despises

another Church, is it self no other then that of which the Psalm speakes, *Ecclesia Malignantium*

so Synagogue and Church is the same thing, and of the Church, Roman and Reformed, and all other distinctions of Place, Discipline, or Person, but one Church, journeying to one Hierusalem, and directed by one guide, Christ Jesus; In which, though this Unity of things not fundamentall, but not absolutely necessary, yet it were so comely and proportionall with the foundation it self, if it were at Unity in these things also, that though in my poor opinion, the form of Gods worship, established in the Church of England be more convenient and advantageous then of any other Kingdome, both to provoke and kindle devotion, and also to fix it, that it stray not into infinite expansions and Subdivisions; (into the former of which, Churches utterly despoyl'd of Ceremonies, seem to me to have fallen; and the Roman Church, by presenting innumerable objects, into the later. . . yet out of a fervent, and (I hope) not inordinate affection, even to such an Unity, I do zealously wish, that the whole catholick Church, were reduced to such Unity and agreement, in the form and profession Established, in any one of these Churches (though our were principally to be wished) which have not by any additions destroyed the foundation and possibility of salvation in Christ Jesus. . . . (pp. 48-52)

And his passage on restraint in worship is also important for us to keep in mind:

In the first constitution of the Roman Empire, by the generall corruption of all men, which is to give more to them which abound, they easily fore-saw that men would soon decline and stray into a chargeable and sumptuous worship of their Gods; And therefore they resisted it with this law, *Deo Frugi colunto*. This moderated their sacrifices, but yet withheld them not from the superfluous adorning the Temples and Images of their Gods. But in our reformed Christian Religion, which is the thriftiest and cheapest that ever was instituted, (for our Sacrifices grow within us, and are our owne creatures, prayer and praise. . .) now that we have removed the expensive dignifying of images, and relicks, what other exercise is there left for our charity, then those nearer images both of God and of ourselves, the poore. (pp. 65-66)

The *Essays* were written for himself, not for others to read. And it is to the Sermons that we must turn to see Donne's widest range of opinions and advice to other Christians. We can touch on only a few here. As always, he took potshots at Jesuits:

For, Gods eye sees, in what seat there sits, or in what corner there stands some one man that wavers in matters of Doctrine, and enclines to hearken after a Seducer, a Jesuit, or a Semi-Jesuit, a practising Papist, or a Sesqui-Jesuit, a Jesuited Lady. . . . (LXXX, Sermon, XII)

And his chief target remained excesses of any kind:

Not to speake of the services, and sacrifices of the Gentiles, and those selfe-manglings and lacerations of the Priests of Isis, and the Priests of Baal, (faintly counterfainted in the scourging and flagellations in the Roman Church. . . . (LXXX, Sermon, LXVIII)

But he also dealt strongly with what he considered the intransigence of Rome against the Church of England:

. . . the uncharitableness of the Church of Rome towards us all, is not a Torrent, nor it is not a Sea, but a generall Flood, an universall Deluge, that swallowes all the world, but that Church, and Church-yard, that Towne, and Suburbes, themselves, and those that depend upon them; and will not allowe possibilitie of Salvation to the whole Arke, the whole Christian Church, but to one Cabin in the Arke, the Church of Rome; and then denie us this Salvation, not for any Positive Errour, that ever they charged us to affirme; not because we affirme any thing, that they denie, but because wee denie some things, which they in their afternoone are come to affirme. (*The First Sermon...1625*)

At the same time he saw the importance of retaining direct contact with the historic church through the Church Fathers:

. . . as soon as our men that embraced the Reformation, had had time to reade the Fathers, they were ready enough to joyne with the Adversary in that issue: and still we protest, that we accept that evidence, the testimony of the Fathers, and refuse nothing, which the Fathers unanimously delivered, for matter of faith; and howsoever at the beginning some

men were a little ombrageous, and startling at the name of the Fathers, yet since the Fathers have been well studied, for more then threescore yeares, we have behaved our selves with more reverence towards the Fathers, and more confidence in the Fathers, then they of the Romane perswasion have done, and been lesse apt to suspect or quarrel their Books, or to reprove their Doctrines, then our Adversaries have been. (*LXXX*, Sermon. IV)

And he continued to insist on the proper veneration of Mary:

He meanes surely the same that Epiphanius doth, That in naming the Saints of God, and especially the blessed Virgin, we should always give them the best Titles that are applyable to them. . . Who ever durst utter the name of that Mary, without that addition of incomparable honour, The Virgin Mary. (*LIII*, Sermon. XVIII)

And he always supported the retention of "ceremony" in worship:

To a Circumcision of the garment, that is, to a paring, and taking away such Ceremonies, as were superstitious, or superfluous, of an ill use, or of no use, our Church came in the beginning of the Reformation. To a Circumcision we came; but those Churches that came to a Concision of the garment, to an absolute taking away of all ceremonies, neither provided so safely for the Church it self in the substance thereof, nor for the exaltation of Devotion in the Church. . . So great a care had God, of those things, which though they be not of the revenue of Religion, yet are of the subsidy of Religion, and, though they be not the soule of the Church, yet are they those Spirits that unite soule and body together. . . so. . . take heed of this concision of the garment, lest if the garment be torne off, the body wither, and perish. . . Ceremonies are nothing; but where there are no Ceremonies, order, and uniformity, and obedience, and at last, (and quickly) Religion it selfe will vanish (*L*, Sermon. XXXIX)

He remains firm in his support of the split from Rome.

They therefore. . . aske now, Where was your Church before Luther? . . .

Now, beloved, when our Adversaries cannot deny us this truth, that our Church was enwrapped, (though smothered) in theirs. . . they vex us now, with that question, Why, if the case stood so. . . why went they from us? they ought us their residence, because they had received their Baptisme from us. . . But, if I be content to stay with my friend in an aguish aire, will he take it ill, if I go when the plague comes? Or if I stay in town till 20 die of the plague, shall it be lookd that I should stay when there die 1000? The infection grew hotter and hotter in Rome. . . those things which were done before *de facto*, came at last to be articles of Faith, and *de jure*, must be beleevd and practised upon salvation. They chide us for going away, and they drove us away; If we abstained from communicating with their poysons. . . they excommunicated us; They gave us no room amongst them but the fire, and they were so forward to burne Heretiques, that they called it heresie, not to stay to be burnt. (*L*, Serm. XXV)

He is outspoken in his defence of the validity of Orders within the Church of England:

When our adversaries do so violently, so impetuously cry out, that we have no Church, no Sacrament, no Priesthood, because none are sent, that is, none have a right calling, for Internall calling, who are called by the Spirit of God, they can be no Judges, and for Externall calling, we admit them for Judges, and are content to be tried by their own Canons, and their own evidences. . . If they require a necessity of lawfull Ministers to the constitution of a Church, we require it with as much earnestnesse as they. . . It is no Church that hath no Priest. If they require, that his spirituall power be received from them, who have the same power in themselves, we professe it to. . . no man can confer other power, upon another, then he hath himself. If they require Imposition of hands, in conferring Orders, we joyn hands with them. If they will have it a Sacrament, men may be content to let us be as liberall of that name of Sacrament, as Calvin is. . . Whatsoever their own authors, their own Schools, their own Canons doe require to be essentially and necessarily requisite in this Mission in this function, we, for our parts, and as much as concerns our Church of England, admit it too, and professe to have it. (*L*, Serm. XXXX)

But Donne is more liberal than most in his attitude towards Apostolic Succession, for although he claims it for the Church of England, he does not consider it essential for other denominations:

This I speak of this Church, in which God hath planted us, That God hath afforded us all that might serve, even for the stopping of the Adversaries mouth, and to confound them in their own way: which I speak, onely to excite us to a Thankfulnesse to God, for his abundant grace in affording us so much, and not disparge, or draw in question any other of our neighbour Churches, who, perchance, cannot derive, as we can, their power, and their Mission, by the ways required, and practised in the Romane Church, nor have had from the beginning a continuance of Consecration by Bishops, and such other concurrences, as those Canons require, and as our Church hath enjoyed. They, no doubt, can justly plead for themselves, that Ecclesiasticall positive Laws admit dispensation in cases of necessity; They may justly challenge a Dispensation, but we need none; They did what was lawfull in a case of Necessity, but Almighty God preserved us from this necessity. (*L*, Sermon. XXXX)

Although Donne distinguishes rather sharply between Old Rome and New Rome, especially in their treatment of the Church Fathers, yet he still seeks to find the common bond with Rome of his day. And on the other hand, he claims the same bond with the Puritans:

Beloved, there are some things in which all Religions agree; The worship of God, the holinesse of life; and therefore, if when I study his holinesse of life, and fast, and pray, and submit my selfe to discreet, and medicinall mortifications, for the subduing of my body, any man will say, this is Papisticall, Papists doe this, it is a blessed Protestation, and no man is the lesse a Protestant, nor the worse a Protestant for making it, Men and brethren, I am a Papist, that is, I will fast and pray as much as any Papist, and enable my selfe for the service of my God, as seriously, as sedulously, as laboriously as any Papist. So, if when I startle and am affected at a blasphemous oath, as at a wound upon my Saviour, if when I voyd the conversation of those men, that prophane the Lords day, any other will say to me, This is Puritanicall, Puritans do this, It is a blessed Protestation, and no man is the lesse a Protestant, nor the worse a Protestant for making it, Men and Brethren,

I am a Puritan, that is, I wil endeavour to be pure, as my Father in heaven is pure, as far as any Puritan. (LXXX, Ser. XLIX)

Above all, Donne keeps his attitude towards and his definition of the Church open – even to the Heathen:

S. Dionyse, the Areopagite sayes, That from the beginning of the world, God hath called some men of all Nations, and of all sorts, by the ministry of Angels, though not by the ministry of the Church. To me, to whom God hath revealed his Son, in a Gospel, by a Church, there can be no way of salvation, but by applying that Son of God, by that Gospel, in that Church. Nor is there any other foundation for any, nor other name by which they can be saved, but the name of Jesus. But how this foundation is presented, and how this name of Jesus is notified to them, amongst whom there is no Gospel preached, no Church established, I am not curious in inquiring. I know God can be as mercifull as those tender Fathers present him to be; and I would be as Charitable as they are. And therefore humbly imbracing that manifestation of his Son, which he hath afforded me, I leave God, to his unsearchable ways of working upon others, without farther inquisition. (LXXX, Ser. XXVI)

And he insists on corporate worship without further necessary definition:

The Key of David openeth and no man shutteth; The Spirit of Comfort shineth upon us, and would not be blown out. Monasterie, and Ermitage, and Anchorate, and such words of singularitie are not Synonyma with thos plurall words, *Concio, Coetus, Ecclesia, Synagoga & Congregatio*, in which words God delivereth himselfe to us. A Church is a Company, Religion is Religation, a binding of men together in one manner of Worship; and Worship is an exterior service; and that exterior service is the *Venite exultemus*, to come and rejoyce in the presence of God. (L, Ser. L)

Within the Church, the individual church of our choice, the best act is to avoid division:

“let my tongue cling to the roof of my mouth, if I prefer not Jerusalem before my chiefest joy.”

Our chiefest joy, is, for the most part, our own opinions, especially when they concur with other learned and good men too. But then, Jerusalem is our love of the peace of the Church; and in such things as do not violate foundations, let us prefer Jerusalem before our chiefest Joy, love of peace before our own opinions, though concurrent with others. . . And when a Church hath declared her self so, in all things necessary and sufficient, let us possess our souls in peace, and not say that that Church hath, or presse that that Church would proceed to further declarations in lesse necessary particulars. . . And let our right hand forget her cunning, (let us never set pen to paper to write) Let our tongue cleave to the roofe of our mouth, (let us never open our mouth to speake) of those things in which Silence was an Act of Discretion, and Charity before, but now is also an Act of Obedience, and of Allegiance and Loyaltie. But that which David said to the Lord, Let us also accommodate to the Lords anointed, *Tibi laus silentium*, our best sacrifice to both, is to be silent in those things. (*L*, Sermon. XXXIX)

Donne's stand on issues of church organization, worship, relationships between denominations, and so on, remained remarkably constant throughout the sixteen years of his priesthood. But to bring this study of his attitudes to a close, we must return to his poetry. At a date which we cannot discover, but certainly towards the end of his life and ministry, he returned to the main questions raised in the body of *Satyre III*. And he hadn't moved an inch, in spite of the strength of many of his polemics and arguments within his sermons.

Show me deare Christ, thy spouse, so bright and clear.
 What! is it She, which on the other shore
 Goes richly painted? or which rob'd and tore
 Laments and mournes in Germany and here?
 Sleepes she a thousand, then peepes up on yeare?
 Is she selfe truth and errs? now new, now outwore?
 Doth she, and did she, and shall she evermore
 On one, on seaven, or on no hill appeare?
 Dwells she with us, or like adventuring knights
 First travaile we to seeke and then make Love?
 Betray kind husband thy spouse to our sights,
 And let myne amorous soule court thy mild Dove,
 Who is most trew, and pleasing to thee, then
 When she's embrac'd and open to most men.

Once again, the tone is all on Rome's side. History raises its head as it always did for Donne, and the final statement can just as easily be taken for support of the Church which remained far more universal than all of the protestant denominations of the time, as it can for a statement that all denominations are simply the branches of the universal Church.

There is no reason to doubt the honesty of Donne's tolerance of different branches of Christ's church, but in the long run, that tolerance seems to have been rooted deeply in the affection that he felt for the branch from which he himself sprang. Whatever the reason, he represents the best in the Elizabethan compromise, the *via media* that made the Church of England seem to him the model that would allow both Rome and Puritanism to come together in a church that might in the end be open to most men and to the glory of God.

AFTER CHRISTIANITY WHAT? JOHN UPDIKE'S CRITIQUE OF CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN CULTURE

*Jeff H. Campbell

Although *Marry Me* (1976) was not published until eight years after *Couples* (1968), the two novels share so many common elements that they virtually insist on being considered together. In *Marry Me* the men of Greenwood, Connecticut, commute to New York, while in *Couples* the men of Tarbox, Massachusetts, commute to Boston, but their lives are much the same. The ostensible subject of both novels is the adulterous sex lives of young couples in their thirties, and both protagonists, Jerry Conant of *Marry Me* and Piet Hanema of *Couples*, believe in God, fear death, and seek release in sex. The action of *Marry Me* occupies the year from the spring of 1962 to the spring of 1963, while the events of *Couples* fill the months from the spring of 1963 to the spring of 1964, almost as if one story picks up where the other leaves off. Finally, although the adulterous affairs of *Marry Me* are limited to two, *Couples* outlines the complex involvements of ten couples, again almost as if one book were preparing the way for the other.

The eight-year gap between the publication dates of the two novels would seem to make ludicrous the suggestion that *Marry Me* is the forerunner to *Couples*, but such is indeed the case. Updike told me in 1976 that *Marry Me* was "an old manuscript taken out after a dozen years." "The heart of it," he said, "comes from between *The Centaur* and *Of the Farm*."¹ That would mean that most of it was actually written in 1964. Updike took up the *Marry Me* manuscript again after completing his second collection of essays, *Picked-Up Pieces*, in 1975. He revised the manuscript, seeking to impose "some order upon its plot and decency upon its style."²

MARRY ME

Since the "heart" of *Marry Me* was written before *Couples*, and since the events it describes transpire the year before those in *Couples*, we shall analyze *Marry Me* first. Jerry Conant, the protagonist, is thirty years old in the second year of the Kennedy presidency. An animator of television commercials for a New York advertising firm, Jerry is married to Ruth, a Unitarian minister's daughter whom he met in art school. In the spring of 1962, Jerry, a Lutheran, undergoes a spiritual crisis in which his fear of death aggravates his asthma attacks. He turns to religion and

*Dr. Campbell is Professor of English at Midwestern State University.

¹Letter from John Updike to Jeff Campbell, November 8, 1976.

²*Ibid.*

church-going for help, and he reads Barth, Marcel, and Berdyaev, but with no measurable relief. When he begins an affair with Sally Mathias, however, his breathing improves. After a mid-June tryst in Washington, he and Sally are almost caught because of delays caused by an airline strike, and Jerry decides to tell Ruth of the affair. What Jerry does not know – and never finds out – is that Ruth has recently had an affair with Richard Mathias, Sally's husband. Ruth has ended the relationship sensibly, with her marriage still intact, and she thinks that Jerry and Sally will do the same. She gets Jerry to promise not to see Sally again until the end of the summer.

Jerry does not keep his promise, although Ruth thinks he does. Sally goes to Florida in August, hoping Jerry will come to her. When he stays with Ruth because of the children, Sally returns home and tells Richard about the affair. Richard, an atheist with one blind eye, insists on divorce and helps Ruth find a lawyer to begin proceedings herself. Jerry, however, cannot make up his mind to marry Sally, so the divorces do not proceed. He fantasizes running away with Sally to Wyoming, but actually takes a six-months' leave of absence so the Conants can fly to Nice to paint. The weather is not good and neither is the painting, so they return to Greenwood in February. In March, Jerry flies to the Virgin Islands alone, still dreaming that there may be some place and some time where he might go up to Sally and say, "Marry me."³

ROMANCE

A bare plot summary suggests that the book is superficial, trivial, or even silly. Indeed, these are very ordinary people, and nothing much happens – nobody really changes. And Jerry *is* sometimes silly, with his affected "hip" teenage talk to Sally, his obsessive listening to Ray Charles on the radio, and his running back to get his Medihaler after he has packed up to move out on Ruth. But these are the dots of experience that emerge in the lives of ordinary people, and these are the precise details that can assume a pattern if viewed from proper distance and perspective. In giving his novel the subtitle "A Romance," Updike has suggested the perspective from which to view *Marry Me*. In recent listings of Updike's works, each title is carefully labeled as to its genre. *Marry Me*, however, is not called a novel, but "a romance." Clearly Updike intends *Marry Me* to be considered in a light somewhat different from his other novels. In a television interview in December 1978, for instance, Updike accepted the description of *The Coup* as his eighth novel, whereas if *Marry Me* were considered a novel, *The Coup* would be the ninth.

What is the significance of the label "romance"? How does it differentiate *Marry Me* from the "novels"? In its common modern usage in reference to fiction, the term "romance" is generally accepted to mean a story that draws largely on the author's imagination and makes very little effort to re-create details of the active

³John Updike, *Marry Me* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), p. 303. Subsequent references to *Marry Me* are to this edition and are indicated in parentheses in the text.

world, in contrast to the realistic novel. Some critics seek to apply the term "romance" to *Marry Me* in just this sense. For example, Edmund Fuller implies that 1962 is long enough ago that it is almost an Edenic past,⁴ while Richard Todd sees Jerry as "an ultimate romantic," "a domesticated Gatsby."⁵ Therefore, both these critics view the book primarily as an imaginative, fanciful, and unreal work. *Marry Me* is too full of lovingly rendered details, however, too full of the daily textures of suburban life in 1962 for this meaning of "romance" to offer convincing entree into the book's intent. Rather, a somewhat older, longer established meaning of the word seems more fruitful. Romance has for centuries been associated with medieval stories of knights, kings, and damsels in distress. In contrast to the sterner epics which preceded them, medieval romances were full of fantasy and light-hearted, sometimes aimless, adventures. Above all, love, missing or at least of only minor interest in epics, was supreme in the romances, which reflected the artificial ideals of chivalry.⁶ This medieval tradition of romance provides the best handle for grasping the intentions of *Marry Me*.

Images from medieval romantic tradition recur in the novel. For example, as Jerry thinks to himself about Sally, he said: "You were a territory where I went on tip-toe to steal a magic mirror. You were a princess married to an ogre. I would go to meet you as a knight, to rescue you. . . ." (p. 33) Actually, he has gone only to a sandy beach with a bottle of warm wine or to a hotel room in Washington, but the chivalric artifice is there. Nor is Jerry the only one to indulge in such medieval imagery. Ruth also employs it as she reflects on her situation after finding out about Sally and Jerry; "There were rules in this mystery, like stairways in a castle; she had mistakenly knocked on the door of the chamber where the lord and lady made love. Before this door she felt small, appalled and ashamed, rebuked and fascinated: a child." (pp. 139-140) The unanswered riddle, the mysterious castle stairs, and the locked chamber lead the reader once again to literary motifs of the middle ages.

The appearance of this imagery is not accidental. The whole plot of the novel revolves around Jerry's idealized love for Sally who is portrayed much like the "Unattainable Lady" of courtly love. Jerry tells Sally: "I want you and I can't have you. You're like a set of golden stairs I can never finish climbing. I look down, and the earth is a little blue mist. I look up, and there's this radiance I can never reach. It gives you your incredible beauty, and if I marry you I'll destroy it. . . ."

⁴Edmund Fuller, "Updike at the Top of His Form," *The Wall Street Journal*, 7 December 1976, p. 22.

⁵Richard Todd, "A Ladies' Man," *Atlantic*, November 1976, p. 116.

⁶C. Hugh Holman, *A Handbook to Literature* (Indianapolis, Indiana: Odyssey Press, 1972), p. 309.

What we have, sweet Sally, is an ideal love. It's ideal because it can't be realized." (p. 46) The recurring images and Jerry's references to Sally as his ideal but illicit, unattainable love suggest parallels to one of the most popular of medieval romances, that of Tristan and Iseult, a story which was attracting much of Updike's attention while he was working on the first version of *Marry Me* in 1964.

In that year Updike published a long essay-review⁷ in which he analyzed two works by Denis de Rougemont: *Love Declared*, a 1963 collection of essays, and an earlier monumental study of the Tristan myth, *Love in the Western World*. Updike is obviously fascinated with de Rougemont's locating the explanation of "the inescapable conflict in the West between passion and marriage" in the Tristan myth. De Rougemont sees that in Tristan and Iseult, Eros and Thanatos are combined, and he goes on to affirm: "Passionate love, the longing for what sears us and annihilates us in its triumph — there is the secret which Europe has never allowed to be given away; a secret it has always repressed — and preserved!"⁸ Updike finds de Rougemont's book elegant and "provocative," filled with "aphoristic crackle" and "literary high adventure,"⁹ but he also admits that it is "imperfectly convincing."¹⁰ He proceeds to list eight cogent objections to de Rougemont's argument, but in the preface to *Assorted Prose*, in which the essay was reprinted in 1965, he says: "My expressed doubts about de Rougemont's theories of Occidental love have faded in importance for me. His overriding thesis seems increasingly beautiful and pertinent."¹¹ We shall more carefully examine evidence of Updike's acceptance or rejection of de Rougemont's theories as we turn to a closer analysis of the thematic concerns of *Marry Me*. The point to be made now is that at the time of the novel's composition, Updike was working with at least one medieval romance and its symbolic significance in the development of Western thought. The fact that he would juxtapose elements of medieval romance with the ordinary trivia of daily suburbia should come as no surprise in light of his imposing Olympian gods on Olinger High in *The Centaur*, which he had recently completed when he began writing *Marry Me*.

⁷ John Updike, "More Love in the Western World," *Assorted Prose* (Greenwich, Connecticut: Fawcett Publications, Inc., 1966), pp. 220-233.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

¹¹ John Updike, "Foreword," *Assorted Prose* (Greenwich, Connecticut: Fawcett Publications, Inc., 1966), p. ix.

TRISTAN DEMYTHOLOGIZED

According to Updike, de Rougemont finds in the story of Tristan and Iseult that the two lovers are not so much in love with each other as with love itself. Updike summarizes de Rougemont's central point: the essence of the love-myth "is *passion itself*; its concern is not with the possession, through love, of another person but with the prolongation of the lover's state of mind. Eros is allied with Thanatos, rather than Agape; love becomes not a way of accepting and entering the world but a way of defying and escaping it. . . . Passion love feeds upon denial."¹² De Rougemont believes that the "sword of chastity" placed between Tristan and Iseult as they sleep in their love grotto foreshadows the recurring obstructions that inhibit the joining of lovers in most Western plays, novels, and poems. He also finds that this literary tradition encourages attitudes "inimicable to marriage, social stability, and international peace" since its "theory of suffering. . . encourages or obscurely justifies in the recesses of the Western mind a liking for war."¹³

While finding de Rougemont's theory suggestive, Updike is not fully convinced. For example, he suggests that one needs no deep-seated myth of a love-death combination to explain the frequency of unhappy love affairs in literature. "The essence of a story is conflict," Updike says. On the other hand, "happy love, unobstructed love, is the possibility that animates all romances; their plots turn on obstruction because they are plots."¹⁴ The *possibility* of happy, fulfilled love holds the reader's interest, but without obstruction and conflict, there is no story; therefore, the frustration of love is merely a plot device used by skillful story-tellers. Updike thus suggests that de Rougemont confuses literature and life. Of course literature and life interact, but Updike thinks de Rougemont claims too much for literature because "his thesis at bottom grants 'myths' a ghostly vitality independent of the men who create them, and ascribes to the mirror a magical shaping power."¹⁵

Concluding his essay on de Rougemont, Updike begins the last paragraph with his characteristic phrase: "Yes, but . . ."¹⁶ Whatever objections he may have to de Rougemont's sweeping application of his insight, Updike says yes, de Rougemont is "dreadfully right in asserting that love in the Western world has by some means acquired a force far out of proportion to its presumed procreative aim."¹⁷ It is apparently this aspect of de Rougemont's thought that Updike had in mind when he wrote in the foreword to *Assorted Prose* that his doubts about de Rougemont seemed less important and that he now found the "overriding thesis. . . increasingly beautiful and pertinent." Updike's skepticism, however, which is always suspicious of any "flawless formulas," expresses itself in the "but." Updike insists that we do

¹² Updike, "More Love. . .," p. 222.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 225.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

not need a heresy or a myth to explain the force of sexual love in our society. Instead, he suggests: "Might it not simply be that sex has become involved in the Promethean protest forced upon Man by his paradoxical position in the Universe as a self-conscious animal? Our fundamental anxiety is that we do not exist — or will cease to exist. Only in being loved do we find external corroboration of the supremely high valuation each ego secretly assigns itself. . . . The heart *prefers* to move against the grain of circumstance; perversity is the soul's very life. Therefore the enforced and approved bonds of marriage, restricting freedom, weaken love."¹⁸

Marry Me illustrates this "yes, but" approach to the Tristan myth. On one level, it makes generous use of the devices of the quest for the Unattainable Lady. These devices dominate the first half of the novel, and are generally presented from Jerry's point of view. As Jerry goes to meet Sally on the beach in the book's first scene, he is listening to Ray Charles on the radio. The song is "Born to Lose" — "Every dream has only brought me pain. . . ." (p. 3) and for Jerry seems filled with Sally. As they meet, the search among the dunes for the "exact place, the perfect place," (p. 4) where they had met before is like seeking Tristan's love grotto; and although they can never find that exact place, whatever place they find becomes "instantly perfect." (p. 6) Since he has idealized Sally, Jerry feels his lovemaking with her is "wonderfully virginal." (p. 15) He even finds "something comic and inappropriate in their living now, in this century," (p. 29) preferring to think of himself as a knight, going to Sally's rescue or climbing the set of golden stairs which will lead to his ideal love which cannot be realized. As the summer wears on, Ruth proves to him that in the realm of the real she is a better wife than Sally, but Jerry's heart perversely streams "away from her, toward the impossible woman." (p. 155) Even after Sally has returned from Florida and the affair is apparently over, Jerry is "still in love; though Sally had been lost she lived within him more than ever." (p. 182)

Jerry's romantic pretensions are generally dismissed by insights and comments from Ruth, from whose point of view most of the book is narrated. Ruth has not turned Richard into a Tristan; rather, in reflecting on their relationship, she discovers that one "can sleep with a person, and have him still be a person, no more." (p. 92) For her there are no golden stairs, no dreams of pain, no perfect place. She has had her affair and there has been no thunderbolt: "Instead her marriage had stood with the stupid solidity of an unattended church, . . . when she returned to it." (p. 96) She knows from experience that one does get over an affair, and she sees no mythic significance in what Jerry and Sally are doing. "An innocent man and a greedy woman had fornicated and Ruth could not endorse the illusions that made it seem more than that." (p. 143) Ruth sees both Jerry and Sally as exaggerators, and although she recognizes that beauty may be a province of exaggeration, she believes she is standing by the truth. "The truth was," she thinks, "that Sally and Jerry were probably better married to Richard and her than they would be to each other." (p. 143) Although one must always be careful in deciding which — if

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 233.

any — of Updike's characters is speaking for the author, the balance of the novel supports the contention that Updike agrees with Ruth's view of the truth in this instance.

In chapter four, for example, even Jerry seems to move toward rejection of the romantic myth, toward giving up his pursuit of forbidden fruit for its own sake. After the confrontation with Richard during which it was agreed that divorces were in order so that Jerry could marry Sally, Ruth and Jerry drive home. Jerry stops the car to relieve a burning desire to urinate, and as he looks into the night he tries "to make himself conscious, as if of the rotation of the earth, of the huge and mournful turn his life had taken." (p. 231) He would like to feel the high tragic dimensions of his fateful love affair. He is unable to do so, however. Instead, there is only the grass around him, Ruth waiting in the car, and the "diminishing arc of relief" signalled by his emptying bladder. (p. 232) When Jerry meets Sally later the next day, he recognizes that his passion was not so great as he had sought to believe. Now he finds that "their love, their affair, had become a great awkward shape, jagged, fallen between them" (p. 257) As he talks to Ruth later, he puzzles: "I don't understand what quite happened. As an actual wife or whatever, she stopped being an *idea*, and for the first time I *saw* her." (p. 284)

As chapter four ends, it would seem that Jerry's Tristan romance has been demythologized for Ruth, for the reader, and even for himself. Yes—but—no, not quite. In chapter five, Jerry fantasizes running away to Wyoming with Sally and her children. The unsuspecting reader first thinks the scene of the new family descending from the plane at Cheyenne is intended to be real, but five pages later is told that "the desert around them, and they with it, evaporated, vanished, never had been." (p. 292) Tristan is settled with his wife Iseult of the White Hand in Brittany, but his dreams still fly to Iseult the Fair in Cornwall. Jerry has come to see that Sally is not a golden stair to climb, but he has not yet accepted the reality of his ongoing marriage to Ruth. Virtually unable to choose either Sally or Ruth as true wife, preferring to seek the unattainable, he rides the proverbial fence of indecision. When he lands in the Virgin Islands and climbs into a taxi, he cannot even decide whether he wants to go east or west. The taxi driver tells him he must make a decision, but Jerry, at this point predictably, leaves it up to the driver. In the last paragraph of the book, he inhales the Caribbean air and believes that finally he has found the perfect place, away from the mundane, and that perhaps there is still a dimension in which he can ask Sally, with her "downcast eyes" and "gracious, sorrowing face" to marry him. (p. 303)

The sensible Ruth and her "truth" dominate the major portion of the book, but the romance opens and closes it. Romance may not be adequate, but neither can it be easily dismissed. One may argue that giving the opening and closing of the book to Jerry, the spokesman for the Tristan/romance idea, indicates that Updike intends the balance to fall in Jerry's favor. All the commonsense dismissal of romantic claptrap in the middle of the book may be interpreted as the kind of good hedonistic advice Updike gave himself in his earlier autobiographical poem *Midpoint*, only to

reject it in favor of his "otherworldly stand." Jerry, too, has taken an otherworldly stand. He believes in God, fears death, and is very aware of the dualism between body and soul. Ruth, unlike Jerry, is not afraid of death, which Jerry explains means that she has no imagination — no soul. (p. 88) Ruth herself feels that as a Unitarian "her soul is one unit removed from not being there at all." (p. 96) Richard, the other male in the quadrangle, is an avowed atheist, and his inability to see the supernatural dimension in life is symbolized by his one blind eye. Jerry tries closing one eye just to see what it would be like to see as Richard does: "Things were just so flat, with nothing further to be said about them; it was the world, he realized, as seen without the idea of God lending each thing a roundness of significance. It was terrible." (p. 225)

There is a pattern of imagery, however, involving not just Jerry or Ruth, but all four of the characters, that swings the final balance of the novel back toward the reality of Ruth, suggesting that however beautiful and pertinent a thesis may be, it cannot adequately fit or explain the world of actual existence. After a long telephone conversation with Jerry, Ruth realizes that she has been doodling, drawing squares interlocking with other squares and shading the overlaps, balancing the areas of light and dark. (p. 140) The alternating pattern of light and dark squares, literally originating with Ruth's doodling, recurs more significantly and figuratively in four subsequent passages that utilize elements of chess. The reader learns that Jerry and Richard had often played chess until Jerry began to evade invitations because of his fear of losing. When Richard learns of Jerry's affair with Sally and calls to insist on a meeting, Jerry thinks back to those games and realizes that Richard has caught him in a "knight fork," a two-pronged attack in which whatever move he makes, a piece must be lost. (p. 204) In this case, of course, the word "piece" refers to Ruth or Sally, one of which Jerry must lose, and it carries a rather inelegant and unromantic connotation, even though chess is played with knights, kings, queens, bishops, and castles. Later Richard thinks of the real-life moves the two men have been making as being played out on an "invisible chessboard," and finds that Jerry, by his adroit implication that Richard may violently harm Sally, has "daringly . . . castled." (p. 272) Significantly, the castling move in chess is one which protects the *king* by moving him out of the main cross fire of the board, so it would seem that Jerry is more interested in preserving himself than in risking the golden stairs to rescue his lady. In a third reference to chess, Jerry finds Richard applying the knight fork against him once more after he has decided not to marry Sally: Richard calls and makes Jerry say point blank that he will *not* marry Sally even if Richard goes ahead and divorces her. The knight fork is applied; Jerry knows he must lose one woman or the other; and although he recognizes that "life unlike a chessboard is never black or white," (p. 285) he refuses to argue the point and says what Richard wants to hear, thus acknowledging the loss of Sally. Although Jerry comes to know that life is more like Ruth's doodled squares with their interlocking shadings which acknowledge the intersections of two dimensions, he refuses to admit the implications of this insight. In his fantasy of the flight to

Wyoming, he sees the "heartland states" unfold below him like a "checkerboard." (p. 289) Even when that vision of Wyoming evaporates, vanishes because it never had been (p. 276), he still holds on to the hope that there is a realm where kings, queens, and knights move on neat black and white squares according to long established rules. He has not fully accepted the ambiguous middle of human life, but his creator/mentor, Updike, has. As we shall see in the following analysis, however, the relatively light-hearted ironic comparison of Jerry Conant to Tristan prepares the way for a much more serious probing of Eros as Thanatos in the lives of Piet Hanema and his friends in *Couples*.

COUPLES

Couples begins as Piet and Angela Hanema return from a party in Tarbox, Massachusetts, on the Saturday night before Palm Sunday in April, 1963 – just one month after *Marry Me* had left Jerry Conant still imagining a dimension where his ideal romantic love might be realized. The Hanemas are one of ten couples who gather regularly for parties, word games, basketball, and ski weekends. We are told: "The men had stopped having careers and the women had stopped having babies. Liquor and love were left."¹⁹ For these couples, "Duty and work yielded as ideals to truth and fun." (p. 106)

The Applebys and the Smiths are the first to carry the ideas of liquor and love, truth and fun, to their logical conclusions. In May of 1962, Frank Appleby and Marcia Smith had begun an affair, and Harold Smith and Janet Appleby followed suit. By the time the book opens, the four are already called "the Applesmiths" by the other couples. Eddie and Irene Constantine and Ben and Irene Saltz work out a similar arrangement, and they become "the Saltines."

Although Piet, raised a Dutch Calvinist, attends the Congregational Church and takes the concept of sin seriously, the Monday after Easter finds him with his mistress Georgene, wife of dentist Freddy Thorne. As spring moves on, Ken and Foxy Whitman, the newest couple in the group, hire Piet, a contractor, to remodel the house they recently bought. Although Foxy is pregnant, she and Piet enter into an affair which lasts until shortly before Foxy's baby is born in October. Both assume the baby's birth has ended their affair, but two months later Piet visits Foxy, supposedly for the last time, and although each thinks this is the end of anything between them, Foxy becomes pregnant. They arrange an abortion through Freddy Thorne, who demands – and gets – as his fee the privilege of spending one night with Angela, primarily as a way to get even with Piet for his affair with Freddy's wife, Georgene. Foxy eventually tells Ken the whole story in April. Ken straightway demands a divorce; then Angela decides to divorce Piet, and he finds himself ostracized by the group of couples. Shortly thereafter, Piet and Foxy spend a sexually exhausting weekend together in Piet's bachelor quarters in the third floor of

¹⁹ John Updike, *Couples* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968), p. 12. Subsequent references to *Couples* in this chapter are to this edition and are indicated by parentheses in the text.

a remodeled office building, and Foxy then leaves for the Virgin Islands to wait out her divorce.

The important action of the book ends with a spectacular lightning-caused fire that destroys the Congregational Church, although the rooster weathervane from its steeple is saved. A final paragraph supplies the information that Angela went to Juarez in July to receive a one-day divorce, and that Piet and Foxy, who were married in September, now live in Lexington, where Piet has an inspector's job arranged by Foxy's naval-officer father, and they "have been accepted, as another couple." (p. 408)

As the foregoing plot summary indicates, in many ways *Couples* may be seen as an inversion of *Marry Me*. The adultery that could seem romantic in one man and one woman becomes boring when turned into the way of life practiced by a whole group. The myth of illicit love that was comically demythologized through Jerry is brutally destroyed in the story of Piet. Jerry maintains something of his idealism, but Piet loses his as he actually gets the woman he sought. *Marry Me*'s Greenwood, identified as a kind of paradise (p. 125), becomes Tarbox, identified as a kind of hell. (p. 353) Furthermore, although both books have five chapters, *Marry Me* is much more static than *Couples*. *Marry Me* opens with an idyllic meeting between Jerry and Sally on the beach and ends with Jerry's idyllic dream in the West Indies. The reader must assume that the marriages of both the Conants and the Mathiases are technically still intact and will remain that way. The five chapters in *Couples*, however, trace a distinct change. When asked about a "shape" for *Couples*, Updike said, "The shape is the turn that occurs between the first and last paragraphs, even the first and last sentences, where the Hanemas become a different pair of people. In other words, a couple changes — one couple replaces another. . . . I saw each chapter as steps, in a way. The turn, the revolution that turns Piet and Angela into Piet and Foxy was the shape."²⁰

Couples, then, is *Marry Me* turned inside out, a light-hearted examination of individual human foibles turned into a serious evaluation of social trends. Instead of comic overtones, there are tragic undertones, for the outward change of one couple being replaced by another — which, as Updike has pointed out, "occurs within the social network and does not harm it. . . the couples — the group — remain intact"²¹ — is accompanied by an equally important inner change in the protagonist, Piet Hanema.

AFTER CHRISTIANITY, WHAT?

Despite the notoriety attained by *Couples* because of its explicit sexual scenes, Updike clearly had something more significant in mind than merely "an intellectual

²⁰ Interview with John Updike conducted by Jeff Campbell in Georgetown, Massachusetts, 9 August, 1976, pp. 197-198. Subsequently cited as Interview.

²¹ Interview, p. 198.

Peyton Place.” The seriousness of his intent was indicated in his talk with Lewis Nichols in April of 1968, when he said, “As in *The Poorhouse Fair*, in the novel [*Couples*] I was asking the question, After Christianity, what?”²² The first of the two epigraphs for *Couples* is from Paul Tillich’s *The Future of Religions* and describes the sense of helplessness felt by many individuals. Tillich says the tendency is to consider most decisions as a matter of fate, and points out that this helpless feeling was common in the time of the Roman empire. Such a mood, he suggests, is favorable for the resurgence of religion, but unfavorable for preserving a living democracy.

Updike has said that in the 1960’s he felt a new kind of religion might be emerging, “a religion of human interplay including sexual interplay.”²³ In fact, he said, “To some extent, in the years since I’ve written *Couples*, that has happened. There are more formalized ways now of getting together, of touching — T groups, and so on — and all this is foreshadowed in the book. The generation after mine seems to be attempting to find religious values in each other rather than in looking toward any supernatural or transcendental entity.”²⁴

In probing the question, then, of what might come after Christianity, *Couples* portrays the lives of the inhabitants of a “post-pill paradise.” (p. 52) That these couples see themselves as developing a substitute for outmoded Christianity is made clear when Angela tells Piet that Freddy Thorne “thinks we’re a circle. A magic circle of heads to keep the night out. . . . He thinks we’ve made a church of each other.” (p. 7) Freddy, the self-proclaimed and willingly accepted “high priest” of this church, says that the couples are “a subversive cell. . . . Like in the catacombs.” “Only, he says, “they were trying to break out of hedonism. We’re trying to break back into it. It’s not easy.” (p. 148) Later he explains to Angela that it is their fate to be “suspended in . . . one of those dark ages that visits mankind between millennia, between the death and rebirth of gods, when there is nothing to steer by but sex and stoicism and the stars.” (p. 372)

The emptiness of the kind of life lived by the “believers” in Freddy’s “Church” indicates that Updike is not endorsing their attempts to break back into hedonism. For example, after a basketball game, Freddy is dominating the post-game party activities; the couples are described as “courtiers,” while Freddy is their “king.” But if Freddy is king, he is “the king of chaos,” (p. 71) and in a discussion a few paragraphs later, Ken Whitman points out that “Matter isn’t chaos. . . . It has laws, legislated by what can’t happen.” (p. 72) The couples are hesitant to separate on this particular occasion as they are each time they gather, because they “saw an

²²Lewis Nichols, “Talk With John Updike,” *The New York Times Book Review*, 7 April 1968, p. 34.

²³Interview, p. 194.

²⁴Interview, p. 194.

evening weighing upon them, an evening without a game, an evening spent among flickering lamps and cranky children and leftover food and the nagging half-read newspaper with its weary portents and atrocities, an evening when marriages closed in upon themselves like flowers from which the sun is withdrawn, an evening giving like a smeared window on Monday and the long week when they must perform again their impersonations of working men, of stockbrokers and dentists and engineers, of mothers and housekeepers, of adults who are not the world's guests but its hosts." (pp. 73-74) — an Updikean portrayal of dismal dailyness.

On occasion they themselves recognize the emptiness of their lives, with all the childish games, neat impersonations, and superficial rituals. For example, the Applesmiths find that "much of what they took to be morality proved to be merely consciousness of the other couples watching them." (p. 158) Or, consider the Thorne's decision to go ahead with their dinner party even though it is on the night of Kennedy's assassination. All the couples come, even with their uneasiness about the impropriety of such an occasion on the heels of national tragedy. When Freddy begins to carve the ham with the words, "Take, eat, . . . This is his body, given for thee," (p. 319) Marcia Smith voices disgust and Bea Guerin wistfully suggests that perhaps they should all be fasting. (p. 319) But they don't fast; they all eat, and they drink the burgundy wine, "black as tar in the candlelight." (p. 319)

Earlier Piet has told Foxy that he has only one serious opinion, that "America now is like an unloved child smothered in candy. Like a middle-aged wife whose husband brings home a present after every trip because he's been unfaithful to her. When they were newly married he never had to give presents." (p. 200) When Foxy asks who the husband is, Piet replies: "God. Obviously. God doesn't love us anymore. He loves Russia. He loves Uganda. We're fat and full of pimples and always whining for more candy. We've fallen from grace." (p. 200) Christianity has been replaced by a childish hedonism, which Piet sees graphically symbolized as Foxy drives away with Freddy after the successful abortion. Piet looks down and sees "a condom and candy wrapper. . . paired in the exposed gutter." (p. 378)

The second epigraph for *Couples*, a little quatrain by Alexander Blok, gives further clues to Updike's opinion of the "new religion." It reads:

We love the flesh: its taste, its tone,
Its charnel odor, breathed through Death's jaws. . . .
Are we to blame if your fragile bones
Should crack beneath our heavy, gentle paws?

Although Updike explained that he and his wife had just come back from a trip to Russia and the use of a Russian poet was in part meant to be a personal touch, he said in 1976 that "the main thing was the sense of sex as something brutal, crushing, barbaric, even."²⁵ What starts out as fun and games in a magic circle to keep

²⁵ Interview, p. 195.

out the night through the love of the flesh soon leads to a charnel odor and the cracking of fragile bones.

Updike does not suggest, either, that the modern love of the flesh might be tempered or improved by the revival of the romantic love-myth of Tristan and Iseult. In *Marry Me* there was at least a playful suggestion that the pursuit of love might add an extra dimension to a mundane life, but in *Couples* the only "yes" given to the myth is the recognition that it has come to dominate American society in a polluted, perverted way. The ultimate identification of Eros with Thanatos, of the pursuit of sex for its own sake with the death-wish, is openly shown. Tristan is thoroughly demythologized in the life of Piet Hanema.

Angela, whom Piet calls Angel, is always associated with the stars, the heavenly. She should, in terms of the myth, be the "Unattainable Lady." In fact, however, she is Piet's wife, not the woman whom he must seek to obtain against the obstacles set by society and convention. Foxy, on the other hand, is the illicit love, the one whom society's rules would deny to Piet. Foxy's animal name suggests her earthiness, however, and she hardly makes a good representative of the ideal. In truth, Piet does not idealize her. He simply enjoys her — and finally marries her, in direct contradiction to the myth. The Tristan myth that was clear behind the modern dress of *Marry Me* has undergone radical alteration.

As the summer of Piet's affair with Foxy comes to a close and the approaching birth of her baby brings an end to their meetings, Piet feels the urge to confess his "fornication with Foxy" (p. 273) to Angela. Instead, he goes outside, looks at the stars, and goes back inside satisfied that "a crisis in his love for Foxy had passed, that henceforth he would love her less." (p. 273) In the dentist's chair "beneath the red blanket of her closed eyelids Foxy saw that she must soon break with Piet, and felt no pain." (p. 293) Certainly neither Tristan nor Iseult nor Jerry nor Sally would have so easily given up their loves. The myth has degenerated and lost force.

In fact, of course, Piet and Foxy do still feel something for each other, and in an often-remarked-upon scene at the Thorne's party on the night of the Kennedy assassination, they enact an outrageous parody of one (or two) of the Tristan-myth's most vivid incidents. During the party, while Foxy is in the upstairs bathroom, Piet joins her there and asks her to nurse him. Foxy reluctantly agrees, but they are interrupted by Angela's knocks on the door. The only escape Piet sees is to jump from the window, which he does, much to the amusement of Ben Saltz and Bea Guerin, who are outside looking for a satellite that Ben helped produce (not stars of nature). Later Foxy tells Piet that it was silly to jump, that even if they had been discovered it would not have been the end of the world, for she could have made up some explanation. She observes that he was "clearly in love with the idea of jumping." (p. 316) Whereas Tristan was, as de Rougemont says, in love with love itself and Jerry Conant was in love with the *idea* of Sally, Piet is in love with neither love nor Foxy, but with the idea of jumping — and out of a bathroom window, at that. The jump, of course, suggests Tristan's leap from his bed to Iseult's in King Mark's castle, necessitated by the suspicious king's having

spread flour on the floor so that footprints would provide evidence of Tristan's guilt. The jump may also suggest Tristan's leap from the chapel on the coast of Cornwall when he was cornered there with no apparent way out. Both of these leaps, however, are dignified by passion, athleticism, and genuine danger, whereas Piet's leap is neither really dangerous nor really necessary. Piet himself sees his act less in terms of an heroic leap than as simply a fall. (p. 314) The credibility of the Tristan myth has also fallen, far below the level to which one may be expected to maintain the suspension of disbelief necessary to accept its viability in modern dress.

When Piet visits Foxy in her home after the birth of her baby, he feels that they must not see each other any more. What they had together had been good, but now it would be evil. He thinks: "They had been let into God's playroom, and been happy together on the floor all afternoon, but the time had come to return the toys to their boxes, and put the chairs back against the wall." (p. 323) He has not sought Foxy in a castle with golden stairs; rather, they have been children with toys that should now be put away. Although Piet does go to see Foxy again – the fateful visit that produces her pregnancy – he finds the experience "disappointing" (p. 331) and tells her he thinks they should stop seeing each other; she agrees that he is right. (p. 334) He feels that in another hour he will be free of her, "in good conscience." (p. 334) Glad that this final sex together was not really satisfying, (p. 335) he leaves with no emotion except exhilaration "once again at having not been caught." (p. 335)

Actually, of course, they *have* been "caught." Foxy becomes pregnant (as Iseult conveniently never did), and Freddy Throne arranges the abortion. It is through Freddy that the identification of love and death suggested by de Rougemont is made most explicit in the novel. Freddy, clearly the most anti-romantic figure in the book, the high priest of "sex, stoicism, and the stars," has no room for any mythic idealism. He is the foil for Piet, who believes in the supernatural. Piet tells Angela that he is afraid of Freddy because, he says, "he threatens my primitive faith." (p. 304) Freddy talks at length with Angela during their night together, which was his price for arranging the abortion, to avoid facing the fact of his impotence. Angela tells Freddy that he really would like to be a teacher, and Freddy admits that he used to want to teach, but "then I learned the final thing to teach and I didn't want to learn any more." (p. 370) The final thing that he has learned is that "We die. We don't die for one second out there in the future, we die all the time, in every direction. . . . Death excites me. Death is being screwed by God. It'll be delicious." (p. 370) When Angela objects that he doesn't believe in God, Freddy replies, "I believe in that one. Big Man Death." (p. 370) For Freddy, de Rougemont's secret has become apparent. Worship of sex is really worship of death. In this case the seeking of sex for its own sake leads to the very death of sex itself, since Freddy's impotence prevents his realizing either his desire for Angela or the achievement of his revenge on Piet through her.

Piet's expression of fear of Freddy is justified, for Piet gradually loses his own

belief and succumbs to Freddy's teaching. Talking to Foxy from a phone booth after the abortion, Piet feels that he is "a droll corpse upright in a bright aluminum coffin." (p. 380) Despite earlier resolutions that their affair was over, Piet feels that "of course he must go to her" now. "Death," he reasons, "once invited in, leaves his muddy bootprints everywhere." (p. 380) He goes not out of idealism or even passion, but simply in recognition that in choosing to abort the unborn child they have not only accepted death but also invited it in.

Georgene Thorne's discovery of Piet with Foxy leads to Ken's finding out about the whole affair, and when the Hanemas and the Whitmans face each other Ken suggests that Freddy's arranging the abortion was a criminal act. Piet defends Freddy, saying he did it out of love for his friends. As Piet says these words, he feels "his heart vibrate with the nervousness of love, as if he and Freddy, the partition between them destroyed, at last comprehended each other with the fullness long desired." (p. 398) After Piet has moved out of his house and is living alone in the converted office building, he feels that "he has been redeemed from Freddy Thorne's spell; the old loathing and fascination were gone. Freddy's atheism, his evangelical humanism, no longer threatened Piet." (p. 407) The underlying reason Freddy no longer threatens Piet is that Piet has accepted Freddy's gospel. After he and Foxy spend a weekend of almost constant sex together, Foxy says, "It's good to have enough, isn't it?" Piet replies: "Sex is like money; only too much is enough." When Foxy points out that that sounds like Freddy Thorne, he replies, "My mentor and savior." (p. 437) Piet is no longer a questing knight in even a marginal sense.

Although the above examples are more than adequate to show that the Tristan myth has been effectively shown to be inadequate as an alternative, Updike adds a few more touches. During the conversation with Ken Whitman, "Piet's itch was to clown" (p. 395) rather than to indulge in the high-sounding tragic posturings of Tristan or even of Jerry Conant. He thinks also of Foxy, who in the myth should be the ideal love, "that her underwear was not always clean." (p. 396) He tells Angela later that he is "scared to death of that woman." [Foxy] (p. 404) If Tristan had been frightened of Iseult, he certainly would never had said so. The weekend Foxy and Piet spend together might at first glance be likened to Tristan and Iseult's idyllic days in their hidden love grotto. Unlike the scene in the grotto where Tristan and Iseult sleep peacefully, however, Foxy "snuffled, and restlessly crowded him toward the edge of the bed, and sometimes struggled against nightmares." (p. 434) The sating of his sexual appetite leads Piet to groans which seem "to be emptying his chest, creating an inner hollowness answering the hollowness beneath the stars." (p. 437) Piet realizes that the world has gone its way during their love tryst, not caring as much about lovers as he had imagined. (p. 438) Love becomes, for Piet, "real and leaden," (p. 438) rather than light and airy like Jerry Conant's bodily ascension. Piet has no illusions of a romantic dimension where his idea love may be realized. He doesn't *dream* of asking Foxy to marry him; he marries her. She is not and never was Iseult. Piet was the best candidate for a modern Tristan that Tar-

box had to offer. Before the book ends, however, he has resigned all claims to the title, and it is clear that a romantic idealization of love is not a viable contemporary alternative.

If neither the religion of human sexual interplay nor a revival of medieval myth provides a viable successor to Christianity, then, one might suppose that Updike is advocating a return to traditional Christianity itself. The church is presented in *Couples*, however, hardly offers more promise than Freddy's substitute or the failed Tristan. Pedrick, the pastor of the Congregational Church that Piet attends, is much less interesting than Freddy, and poorly articulates his faith. For example, in his Palm Sunday sermon, "the palms spread across Jesus's path . . . become greenbacks and the theft of the colt a troubled disquisition on property rights." (p. 22) After the church has burned, Pedrick sees Piet and is interested only in the contractor's opinion as to how much in dollars and cents it will take to replace the building. (p. 444) When Piet first began attending the church, he was impressed by the quality of its workmanship. Like Hook in *The Poorhouse Fair*, he thinks the old carpenters were the best and "that none of their quality had been born to replace them." (p. 18) The church is thus presented as a solid institution, but representative of the past. After the church has burned, Piet again comments that "the carpentry in there can never be duplicated." (p. 444) Actually, however, when the building is inspected, it is discovered that "the old church is not only badly gutted but structurally unsound: a miracle it had not collapsed of itself a decade ago." (p. 457) Thus not only does the church represent a dead past, but it has also been merely a facade of false solidity for a long time — like the apparently solid wall in *The Poorhouse Fair* which collapsed to reveal the rubble inside.

Perhaps the most telling comment on institutional Christianity, however, is found in the image of the rooster weather vane that tops the church steeple and dominates every view of the town. Although the church has been rebuilt three times since the colonial era, the old gilded weathercock has been salvaged each time. It serves as a landmark for fishermen and is the single most important symbol associated with the church. In fact, "children in the town grew up with the sense that the bird was God. That is, if God were physically present in Tarbox, it was in the form of his unreachable weathercock, visible from everywhere." (p. 71) The eye of the rooster is an old English penny, "and if its penny could see, it saw everything." (p. 17) When the church burns, the weathercock is saved once more. Updike scholars Alice and Kenneth Hamilton believe that the rooster suggests God with his all-seeing eye, and find in the rooster/God association a "link with St. Peter and the cock who announced the disciple's denial of his Master. Piet is a Peter who does not repent of his denial."²⁶ If we accept the Piet-Peter-rooster-denial association, however, we also have to admit that when the bird is examined, it is found that "his eye was tiny," (p. 457) and that there is no resurrection appearance to Piet, to

²⁶Alice and Kenneth Hamilton, *The Elements of John Updike* (Grand Rapids: Eerdaman, 1970), p. 238.

whose ears the cheering at the rescuing of the cock seems "a jubilant jeering."
(p. 457)

It is even more difficult to see the weathercock symbol as a positive endorsement of institutional Christianity when one considers two other associations it strongly suggests. Although Updike uses the word "cock" sparingly, turning instead more often to "rooster" or "gilded bird," the phallic suggestions of the word are inescapable, considering the numerous sexual exploits and constant sexual concerns of the ten couples. The tiny-eyed cock seems to suggest that the God of Christianity has been replaced by the god of sex. The church is gone, but the cock remains. In addition, it is the very nature of a weathervane to point in a different direction with each shift of the wind. It is hard to see how such an easily-turned "god" could provide a valid alternative to the admittedly unsatisfactory emerging religion of human sexual interplay or the exhausted Tristan myth. The answer to the question "After Christianity, what?" seems to be "Nothing."

THE GOODNESS OF REALITY

Nihilism and despair do not set the dominant tone of the novel, however. Even these hedonistic couples have not completely lost their capacity to marvel at something beyond self and sex, as evidenced by the pleasure they take in a new game Freddy proposes: "Wonderful." Each participant is to name the most wonderful thing he or she can think of. Carol Constantine suggests a baby's fingernails, explaining that "a lot of *work*, somehow, ingenuity, *love* even, goes into making each one of us, no matter what a lousy job we make of it afterwards." (p. 238) Piet thinks of a sleeping woman, "because when she is sleeping, . . . she becomes all women." (p. 239) Terry Gallagher proposes the works of J. S. Bach, explaining that what made Bach so wonderful was that "he didn't know how great he was. He was just trying to support his seventeen children with an honest day's work." (p. 240) Foxy finds the Eucharist her most wonderful thing, although she can't offer an explanation. For Angela the stars are wonderful because "they're so fixed. So above it all . . . I know they move but not relative to us, we're too small." (p. 241) Freddy imposes his usual cynical point of view on the game by insisting that the most wonderful thing he knows "is the human capacity for self-deception." He sees this capacity as the thing that "keeps everything else going." (p. 240) Despite the somewhat sour note Freddy inserts, all of the "wonderful" things proposed move beyond a simplistic view of man as an animal and suggest an added dimension to human life. Even these adherents of the religion of human sexual interplay have not completely surrendered to nihilism.

Piet is often the spokesman for this positive urge toward a life-giving force beyond the self. He responds, for instance, to the pain caused by his mouth cankers at the Thorne's party by feeling that "a maze of membranes never could have evolved from algae unassisted. God gave us a boost." (p. 311) Further, although he insists that Foxy abort their baby, he finds "amid the terror pleasure that she had proved doubly fertile, that she had shown him capable of bringing more life to bud upon the earth." (p. 340) While he waits for Foxy to have the abortion, even reali-

zing that he has literally invited death in, he finds as he watches the passersby in the part that "all people seem . . . miraculous." (p. 376) In his isolation after leaving Angela, Piet finds that "in loneliness he was regaining something, an elemental sense of surprise at everything, that he had lost with childhood." (p. 423) As he walks alone on the beach after visiting his dying friend John Ong in the hospital, he finds that "nothing is too ordinary . . . to notice." (p. 429) He feels the power of the waves beating on the shore "with energies that could power cities." Somehow he finds that "the great syllable around him seemed his own note, sustained since his birth, elicited from him now, and given to the air." (p. 429) He finds a "companionship in the motion of the waves," and decides that "the world was more Platonic than he had suspected." (p. 429) He does not receive nearly so clear a word as Caldwell did in *The Centaur*, but he at least finds "one great syllable" that seems to be his own, and his recognition that the world is more Platonic than he had suspected suggests an acceptance of a life of polar interaction.

Piet may have urges toward another dimension, and he may recognize the existence of an ideal reality beyond himself, but he does not successfully develop his "one great syllable" into a meaningful word. During his last weekend with Foxy, he tells her he doubts that he is a Christian any more, (p. 454) and as he watches the rooster being salvaged from the top of the turned church, he recognizes that "his life in a sense had ended." (p. 457) He is glad that he will marry Foxy; he has what he wants. As Updike has pointed out in his *Paris Review* interview, Piet "divorces the supernatural to marry the natural." He is "relieved of morality, can move out of the paralysis of guilt into what after all is a kind of freedom."²⁷ On one level, then, there seems to be a happy ending to the novel.

If, however, the ending is indeed a happy one, the reader might assume that Updike is advocating the hedonistic advice that was labelled "all wrong" in *Midpoint*. Therefore, the reader must look past the surface and see that the happiness of the ending is also, in a sense, "all wrong." Piet may be happy — or better yet, not unhappy — but as Updike has pointed out, he has become "insignificant. He becomes merely a name in the last paragraph: he becomes a satisfied person and in a sense dies. In other words, a person who has what he wants, a satisfied person, a content person, ceases to be a person. Unfallen Adam is an ape. . . . I feel that to be a person is to be in a situation of tension, to be in a dialectical situation. A truly adjusted person is not a person at all — just an animal with clothes on. So . . . it's a happy ending, with this 'but' at the end."²⁸

The "but" suggests that although there is no endorsement of a dogmatic traditional Christianity, Updike affirms the mystery of life by exposing the multi-

²⁷ John Updike, "One Big Interview," *Picked-Up Pieces*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975), p. 504.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

plicity of patterns formed by the dots of daily existence. After Christianity, what? *Couples* offer no more definitive answer. It does, however, provide an example of Updike's faith, which, he has said, "urges me to tell the truth, however painful and inconvenient, and holds out the hope that the truth — reality — is good. Good or not, only the truth is useful."²⁹

²⁹Interview, p. 216.



IRAN: PROBLEMS OF THE PAST AND PROSPECTS OF THE FUTURE

J. David Martin*

The alienation of man from his government is a subject of concern for all nations. There is no nation on earth in which individuals, minorities and interests remain totally free from the feeling that they lack a fair share in the decision making process which distributes goods and services in the society. This is particularly true in nations which are experiencing rapid social and economic change such as many of the nations of the Middle East. Those nations are experiencing the benefits and the problems of the most pronounced transfer of wealth in history and, as is the case in Iran, that transfer of wealth can cause great political disintegration. On the other hand, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and the Trucial states have not, or at least have not yet, undergone significant change resulting from a similar increase in wealth. What then can provide an explanation for the events in Iran over these past two years? Furthermore, can an analysis of events during that period enable us to predict the future during this period of great instability?

When the opportunity arose to present a paper in this series I considered one derived from an empirical study of the German philosopher Feuerbach and his role in bridging the gap between Hegel and Marx. Feuerbach's influence led Marx to develop his conclusions about the alienation of man in society as it relates to class warfare, i.e. class revolution. That study is, as yet, unfinished but it did lead to a search in the literature on the theories of revolutions. That search ended with the rediscovery of an article by James C. Davies published in the *American Sociological Review* in 1962 entitled "Toward a Theory of Revolution."¹

It is our task in most research endeavors, this one not excepted, to attempt to describe, discover or explain phenomena and their interrelationships. This leads to generalizations, in this case relating to events in Iran, which might provide supporting evidence either to help prove or disprove a general theory. The Iranian revolution provides an opportunity to deal with an ongoing social movement in light of Professor Davies' theory. If his theory is supported by events, the findings can be used to predict future developments in Iran.

The Davies theory which is often termed the "J" Curve of revolutions, is an attempt to describe the progressive alienation of man from his economic and political system. Unlike Marx who, but for one exception, postulates ". . .that progressive degradation of the working class would finally reach the point of

*Dr. Martin is Associate Professor of Political Science at Midwestern State University.

¹James C. Davies. "Toward a Theory of Revolution." *The American Sociological Review*. Vol. XXVII, No. 1. February, 1962. p. 7.

despair and inevitable revolt . . .”² Davies combines Marx with De Tocqueville who came to the conclusion that prior to the French revolution there was progressive improvement in French society but that the bourgeoisie found these conditions were, nevertheless, unsupportable in proportion to its improvement. The revolution came about not in a period of long decline but during a period of gradual improvement in conditions. Davies combined the two theories showing how revolutions occur in a period of gradual improvement in conditions. Davies combined the two theories showing how revolutions occur in a period of long term gain and short reversal. His theory is best summarized in the following paragraph from his article:

Revolutions are most likely to occur when a prolonged period of objective economic and social development is followed by a short period of sharp reversal. The all important effect on the minds of people in a particular society is to produce, during the former period, an expectation of continued ability to satisfy needs which continue to rise and during the latter a mental state of anxiety and frustration when manifest reality breaks away from anticipated reality. The actual state of socio-economic development is less significant than the expectation that past progress, now blocked, can and must continue in the future.³

It is not the material well-being, therefore, which relates to revolution but rather the state of mind of various elements within the society. A society in an absolutely depressed state will be pre-occupied with staying alive. A society in which diverse segments feel that they share equally in the allocative process has no alienated mass base upon which to found a revolution. It is necessary, therefore, for large, although not necessarily majoritarian, elements of society to believe that the resources which they are receiving and the process of allocation is not equal to expectations. Further, it is necessary for those elements of the society to feel that their position is threatened to the point that the risks of revolution outweigh the benefits of compliance with the status quo.

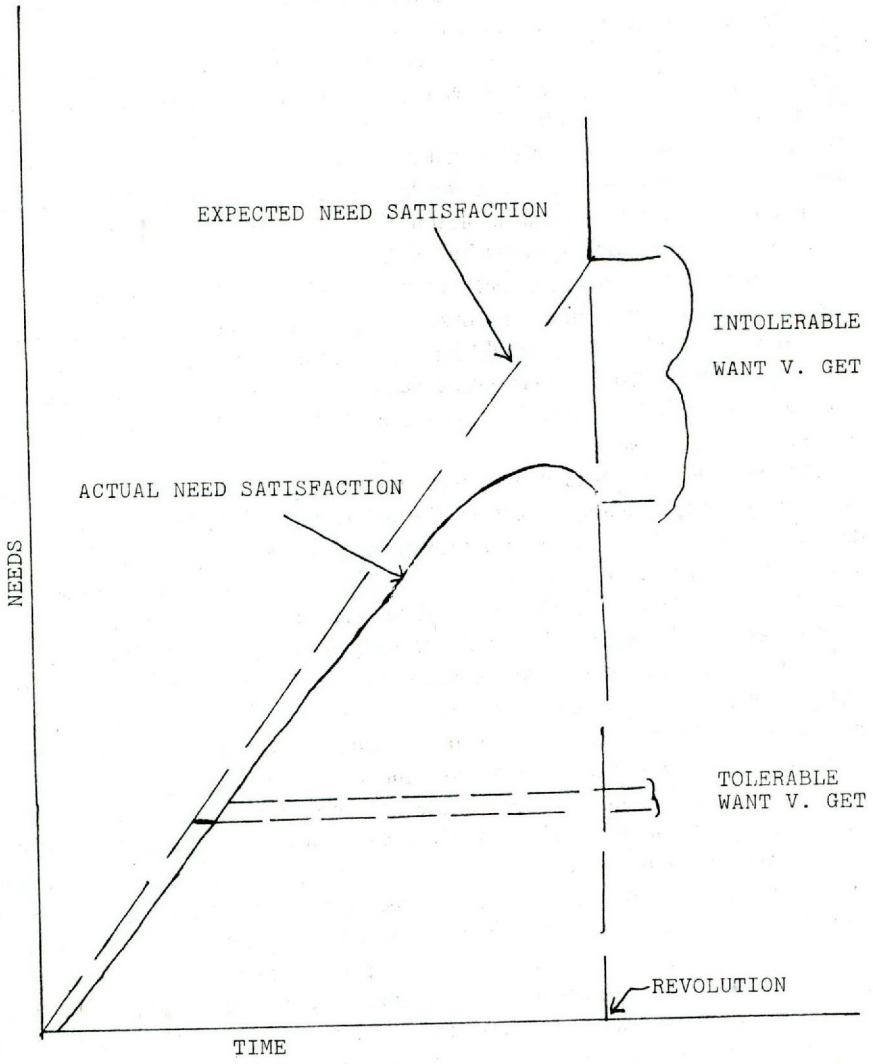
It is important to point out here that the term “believe” means just that and that there may be a difference between belief and actuality. Like Robin Hood and Jessie James, bad may be a matter of relativity, actuality or belief. Revolutions therefore can occur in any society if the necessary conditions depicted in table I exist and if there are certain prerequisites which are sufficient to bring the revolution to fruition.

Professor Davies cites the factors which Crane Brinton described in his *Anatomy*

²*Ibid.* p. 8.

³*Ibid.* p. 9.

NEED SATISFACTION AND REVOLUTION*



Adapted from: * James G. Davies. "Toward a Theory of Revolution. *The American Sociological Review*. Vol. XXVII, No. 1 (February, 1962), p. 7

*of a Revolution*⁴ in his analysis of the American, French and Russian revolutions. Some of those factors need to be present in order for there to be sufficient cause for the revolution to occur. The factors were: an economically advancing society, class antagonism, desertion of intellectuals, inefficient government, a ruling class that has lost self-confidence, financial failure of government and the inept use of force against rebels. In many cases it is also helpful to have a foreign presence to react against even though that foreign presence may be a modernizing influence. These elements may be called the prerequisites for revolutions and can be used for the analysis of the two Iranian revolutions which occurred in 1906 and in 1979. The second of these revolutions is continuing and will probably result in a secondary and perhaps a more violent revolution than is currently in progress if the Davies' Theory is correct as applied to the Iranian Experience.

The modern Iranian experience began in 1587 when Shah Abbas came to the throne. He hired Englishmen to organize the army thus bringing the European modernizing contact which would later provide an object for nationalist resentment. In addition, Shah Abbas built roads and canals beginning the modern commercial era which from that time until the present included commercial alliances signed with the British.

The next two centuries in Iran were marked by tribal warfare and successive invasions until the Kajars brought relative stability to Iran between 1794 and 1925. During the Kajar Dynasty, British fear of Russian ambitions in the Persian Gulf led to the eventual division of the country into spheres of influence under Britain and Russia by 1907. Iran, the buffer state, was developed by foreign investment encouraged by the Kajars. Railroads, telegraphs and even banks began to bring Iran into the modern era while the Kajars became wealthy, over-extending themselves in what was perceived by Iranians to be a corrupt headlong dash to ally the heritage of the Turkish regime with the Russians and British. The development of schools and transportation systems into and out of the country brought intellectuals, students, merchants and religious leaders into contact with western concepts such as self-government, equality and the rights of man. In addition, Shiite Mullahs and Tehran bazaar merchants became disenchanted with corruption and with the Shah's confiscation of church land. Intellectuals, clerics and merchants became intellectually aware of the class conflict between themselves and their wealthy rulers. When foreign pressures led to the collapse of central authority in the years 1905 and 1906, protests began to be common occurrences. Protests grew to the extent that the Shah had to use troops to put down demonstrations. Reaction was violent but British power was sufficient to mediate the dispute, a mediation which resulted in the 1906 constitution which established a bicameral National Consultative Assembly. Had it not been for the British presence, the revolution in all probability would have been prolonged and violent. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that all seven of Crane Britton's prerequisites for a revolution were present in 1906

⁴Crane Britton. *Anatomy of a Revolution*. (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1952).

as well as the necessary requisite of a crisis in rising expectations.⁵

In actuality the revolution of 1906 was never completed and was nearly blunted by British intervention. The Majlis, a Lower House, and the Senate which were created under the 1906 constitution became a place of sanctuary where under the protection of parliamentary immunity wealthy merchants, nobility, religious leaders and intellectuals who were not allies of the Kajars, openly criticized the corruption of the Shah and his court. By 1908 the Shah suppressed the parliament, an act which led to revolt among Bakhtiari tribesmen and other nationalists. The Russians, attempting to maintain a divided Iran, were unable to save the Shah who was deposed in favor of his young son thus leaving the royal leadership in a weakened condition.

World War I led to total occupation of Iran by the Russians and British, but the Bolshevik revolution left a vacuum in Iran and left British interests in complete control. Moreover, the British did not sympathize with the corruption of the Kajars.

British indifference toward the Kajars provided the opportunity for a second uprising in Tehran. The leaders were Sayyid Zia Ed-Din Tabatabay, an intellectual and a newspaper editor who sided with Reza Khan, the commander of the Iranian, Russian trained Cossack Brigade. Reza Khan, an army officer who had risen through the ranks and then turned on his compatriotes, rid himself of rural nationalists, and forced the Shah to name him prime minister in 1923. Two years later he arranged for the Majlis to depose the Shah who had been forced to leave the country. By the end of 1925, Reza Khan had consolidated his power sufficiently to name himself Reza Shah Pahlavi and the era of national modernization began.

Before proceeding with a brief analysis of Reza Khan's influence in the modernization of Iran, it is important to point out that the population of Iran is heterogeneous ranging from Persians who speak Farsi, to Turks, Kurds, Lurs, Bakhtiaris, Baluchies, Arabs and others. The only major united factor within the country is religion since with the exception of the Turkist minority, ninety percent of the country is Shiite Islam. This would be significant if it were not for the fact that conflict between Shiite religious leaders and the Shah provided the major revolutionary impetus for the overthrow of the Shah in 1979.

The Shiites like their rivals, the Sunnis, believe that Mohammed was the last prophet. The Shiites believe that the custodians of the secret of the emissary of God rest with twelve Imans and the hidden Iman who is to return at the end of time. They are descended from Mohammed's son-in-law Ali, killed in A.D. 661 for the cause, and his sons Hassan and Hussain who also gave their lives for the cause setting the precedence for the current religious fanaticism among the Shiites. Today there are eighty thousand or so mosques in Iran served by 180,000 religious leaders called Mullahs and seven Ayatollahs who are the elevated Mullahs. They receive their training at various religious schools throughout the country and

⁵For a discussion of the 1906 revolution see: Richard Cottam, *Nationalism in Iran*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1979), pp. 14-15, 167-168 and 244-247.

particularly at the religious centers in Qum. It was the Mullahs who led the passive resistance to a British and Kajar scheme to turn Iran's tobacco industry over to British capitalists. That success and the religious support for the 1906 constitution demonstrated the political power of the religious leaders.

Reza Shah failed to co-opt that support as was done later in Egypt by Sadat. Instead he created an anti-clerical reputation for the Pahlavi dynasty which was not forgotten in the 1970's. Reza Kahn ordered Dervishes (Muslim monks) from the streets in Iran. He banned flagellation and occasionally used force to institute western dress even for the clergy. In addition, Reza Shah confiscated the funds of pious foundations, established government religious and sector schools, and subsequently adopted the French legal system thereby establishing dual religious and secular courts. His disregard of Iranian religious tradition was further demonstrated by his arrogant approval of the marriage of the crown prince, later the Shah, to the Sunni sister of Egypt's King Farouk.⁶

Reza Shah was much more interested in modernization and westernization for Iran than with its impact on a traditional society. He emphasized pre-Islamic glories, established schools and universities such as the University of Tehran. He built modern government buildings, roads, railroads, a telegraph system and state-owned industries. He established banks to improve the financial infrastructure of the country in addition to hospitals to improve the nation's health. He abolished the wearing of the traditional Chadar (veil) and alienated a portion of the traditional landed elite by seizing their fortunes, villages and lands which were added as prizes to his own fortune. Toward the end of his reign he became obsessed with his power and developed a great admiration for a potential ally, Hitler. That was his downfall for Great Britain and Russia occupied Iran in 1941 forcing Reza Shah to abdicate in favor of his son, Shah Mohammed Reza.

Political life between 1918 and 1939 had been dominated by Reza Shah and his army. There were no organized political parties during the period and although there was no steady economic growth, there was some economic progress which existed side by side with the alienation of various segments of the society. Perhaps it can be said that the revolution was simply postponed by the events of World War II because the events of the period did demonstrate the existence of opposition to the Pahlavi family.

In 1941 the young Shah was not the major political power in Iran. Opposition groups developed immediately, such as the Communist supported Tudah party and the National Will Party headed by Zia Ed-Din. Other than the Tudah, most new parties were short lived except for the National Front Party which was led by the socialist, Dr. Mohammed Mossadeq who became Prime Minister in 1951 and led the nationalists in opposition to the Shah over the control of Iran's new source of wealth, oil.

Although oil had been produced in Iran in commercial quantities since 1908, it

⁶*Ibid.* pp. 146-150.

did not become a major factor in British energy imports until the end of World War II. Iran, however, received a very small share of the profits from the British Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC). Before the war the share was reduced from sixteen percent of net profits to four shillings per ton. In spite of that reduction, by 1950 revenue had increased four-fold and nationalists like Massad saw the important role which Iranian oil was beginning to play in the post-war industrial economies. Also, freedom of self determination was a popular theme even with America's Franklin Delano Roosevelt, a theme which fit well with nationalist desires to nationalize oil.⁷

From 1944 until 1951, Mossadeq called for support of his anti-foreign program directed against the AIOC. Eventually as a parliamentary deputy and cabinet minister, Massadeq pushed forward a bill to nationalize the AIOC. It passed when Mossadeq was made prime minister and as a political rival of the Shah, he became the hero of the masses. At the same time, Britain boycotted Iranian oil while Mossadeq successfully argued before the U.N. and the World Court.

The boycott hurt the Iranian economy and eroded Massadeq's political base. Sensing that weakness and feeling pressure from foreign sources, the young Shah tried to dismiss Massadeq in 1953. Demonstrations resulted which forced the Shah to flee the country. For his part, however, Mossadeq failed to gain the support of the army which, with the help of Kermit Roosevelt and the American CIA, overthrew Mossadeq and organized pro-Shah demonstrations after the subsequent return of the young ruler. Mossadeq was tried and spent the remainder of his life under house arrest. More important, however, was that from that point U.S. influence grew in Iran on which the young Shah became determined to build his political power base and to support his dreams of restoring the great Iranian civilization.⁸

The realization of the young Shah's dreams depended upon revenues from Iranian oil and yet the eventual success of Iranian oil policy was probably the major factor which contributed to the revolution and the downfall of the Shah in the late 1970's. During the period from 1951 to 1954, the Iranian oil operations were nearly shut down. Under an agreement signed in August 1954 with the AIOC, Iran received half of the profits and a new consortium of seven oil companies which included U.S. companies replaced the AIOC. Unknown to the Iranians, however, the "Seven Sisters" as they were called, limited production to balance demand and production in other parts of the world thus limiting the revenue available to the Iranian government. Nevertheless the Iranian standard of living rose and the Shah

⁷For a discussion of oil revenues see: *Iran Under the Pahlavis*. George Lenczowski ed. (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1978) and Zuyhayr Mikdashi. *A Financial Analysis of Middle Eastern Concessions. 1901-1965* (New York: Praeger, 1966), pp. 42-52.

⁸Fereydoun Hoveyda. *The Fall of the Shah* (New York: Wyndham Books. 1980), pp. 128-129.

was able to embark on an ambitious plan to industrialize and modernize his country.⁹

The consortium controlled a great share of Iranian income until two events, one domestic and one worldwide, took place which led to a great change. The first event was the development of the National Oil Company which signed agreements in 1957 with other foreign firms to explore in Iran and to train Iranians in the oil industry. The NIOC as it was called was not overly successful, but it did set precedents within OPEC for future contracts. The second event was the growth of modern industrial economies which was so great that the oil market changed from a buyer's market during the 1940's, when British Petroleum suppressed the production of oil in many areas of the Persian Gulf, to a seller's market in the late 1960's when exploration had to be expanded in order to meet increased demands. Demand for oil was such in the early 1970's that production in Iran increased. From 1970 to 1972, it went from 3.82 million barrels a day and an income of 1.12 billion dollars to 5.02 million barrels a day with revenues of 2.39 billion dollars. It did not take long for the Shah to assess the world political situation in the early 1970's and the change in demand for oil and thus come to the conclusion that he could play the oil card to Iranian advantage.¹⁰ The Shah's advantage was reinforced by the Nixon visit to Iran in 1972. It was designed to implement the Nixon doctrine of "Peace through Partnership" in Iran. It was also designed to gain new markets for American arms and thereby shore up the slumping U.S. Arms Industry. In Iran, the Shah was given *carte blanche* to purchase American arms in order to build up his state as the protector of the Middle East. The Shah saw that increased revenues would result in greater advancement of the plan. President Nixon and Henry Kissinger, the Secretary of State, encouraged and even supported the Shah's authoritarianism against the students of the universities since President Nixon had little use for the liberal ideas expressed in American universities anyway.¹¹

Less than a year passed between the Nixon visit and the implementation of Mossadeq's dream by the Shah. The Shah forced the nationalization of Iranian oil in a special agreement giving the "Seven Sisters" a discount on oil marketed in return for the training of Iranians. A forty percent interest in production and a responsibility by the consortium for marketing Iranian oil was also included. Overnight Iranian income changed and the GNP jumped from 1.2 billion reals in 1972 to 1.8 billion reals in 1973 and 3.1 billion in 1974. By 1977, the GNP had reached 5.4 billion reals and with the continued increases in prices by OPEC and the con-

⁹Lenczowski. pp. 208-210.

¹⁰*Ibid.* pp. 220-236.

¹¹Hoveda. pp. 76-78.

tinual increases in world demand, the GNP was destined to rise.¹²

The new found wealth did not lead to stability in Iran as we have witnessed. In 1973, the Shah set about revising plans for industrialization and investment ignoring warnings that rapid investment coupled with hasty planning could lead to disaster. It did.

Rapid industrialization led to an influx of foreigners since Iran was short in technology and technicians. In turn there was wage disparity with higher wages paid to foreigners. Money did trickle down in society, however, and with it the rising middle class was able to send their children overseas in ever increasing numbers to gain education primarily in Europe and the United States. The new found wealth also led to rapid importation of durable consumer goods which threatened some industrial production, but more importantly threatened the bazaar merchants and particularly those who felt the competition in domestic markets.

Foreign competition, even though it was a modernizing influence in the country, alienated many of the lower middle class. Land speculation, particularly in the cities, resulted in high inflation rates which alienated the middle class even further. Students abroad returned or joined anti-Shah groups abroad. They asked embarrassing questions about why Iranians who were promised greater shares in industrial ownership rarely realized those promises which were supposedly to lead to the consumer oriented life which they had experienced abroad, especially in the United States. The alienation of the bazaar merchants eroded a valuable political base for the Shah, a group which turned to support the revolution as it had when alienated merchants supported the 1906 revolution.

An advancing and yet inflationary economy with foreign competition was not the only thing which alienated the middle and lower middle classes. It became increasingly evident during the 1970's that there was a double standard of justice between the Shah's favorites and the masses. Corruption, the drug traffic and the loss of power by those outside the royal favorites increased with economic success. The press and the rumor mill in the bazaar increasingly suggested that a great share of the wealth was being dominated by the Shah's family and friends. The Shah met the problem by clamping down on the press and failing to clean up his own house. In many respects this aspect of alienation in Iran led to revolution against the corruption of the royal family as it had in Vietnam under Ngo Dien Diem.

Suppression of the press and other opposition was carried out by the Savak which was the Shah's secret police. That organization had grown since 1954 when General Taymur Bakhtiar exposed a Soviet spy plot among Iranian army personnel. The general was dismissed in 1961 but the organization, which was loosely tied to the office of the prime minister, developed its own independent status and whether guilty or not, was accused by nationalists outside the Shah's inner circles of atrocities perpetrated upon the public. Amnesty International and Nationalist groups

¹²*International Financial Statistics*. February, 1979. (Washington: International Monetary Fund, 1979), p. 204.

claim that several hundred political prisoners were detained during the last twenty years of the Shah's rule and that over 30,000 were killed including the son of the Ayatollah Khomeini. Not only did Savak operate within the country but it kept track of anti-Shah organizations among Iranian students and intellectuals as far away as the United States. It might be argued that these organizations were a threat to the Shah's dream of a great Iranian civilization and needed to be watched, but the subsequent arrest and treatment of dissidents without due process only served to alienate further the masses who traditionally distrusted government and the Shah's government in particular.

The reasons for distrust of government were rooted in more than the dislike for the Shah's secret police. As the economy progressed more intellectuals were exposed to post-World War II liberal ideas of self government rooted in Franklin Roosevelt's pre-war policies. The Majlis and the Senate, particularly after 1975 when all parties but the Rostakhiz were outlawed, were not exemplary models of the ideals of self-determination. Through manipulation of elections, of party membership, and of patronage over appointments the Shah developed a base in parliament which was slanted in favor of a few wealthy landowners and friends of the royal family. This was opposed by intellectuals, particularly Ali Shariati, who before his mysterious death in London in 1977 developed the theories of the relationship between Islam and the religious republic.¹³

As was pointed out earlier in this paper there was no love lost between the Islamic leaders and the Pahlavia. This was particularly true of the relationship between the Shah and the Indian-born Ruhollah Khomeini who had been raised by the people from Mullah to Grand Ayatollah because of his religious scholarship and popularity, a popularity which the jealous Shah could not stand.

Conflict between the Shah and the Ayatollah was rooted in the dislike of the Mullahs for the Pahlavia but it took on a more intense flavor when the Shah jailed the Ayatollah in 1963 for his part in leading demonstrations against the John Kennedy inspired "White Revolution" of 1962.

The "White Revolution" was a plan which was offered by the Shah. It was designed to revolutionize the country in an attempt to achieve more rapid modernization. It included:

- (a) A land reform program.
- (b) Sale of government factories to finance the land program.
- (c) A new election law aimed at preventing rigged elections.

¹³Hoveda, pp. 22-26 and Bigan M. Saliiani and Jan Kraepelien, *Iran Inside the Islamic Republic*. Public Broadcasting System. December, 1978. (This is an excellent film on the revolution prior to the taking of the American Embassy.)

- (d) The nationalization of forests.
- (e) The formation of a 50,000-man teacher core for rural education (like the Peace Corps.)
- (f) A plan to give workers twenty percent of the net profits from government owned factories.¹⁴

Most of the plan was never implemented because of lack of cooperation on the part of government officials and anti-Shah nationalists. Of particular irritation to the Mullahs was the fact that more land belonging to religious institutions and their wealthy supporters was redistributed than lands which belonged to the Shah and, particularly, to the landed elite who were friends of the Shah.

Nationalist and Mullahs alike pointed out the inequities of the "White Revolutionary" in the spring of 1963 and on June 5, riots broke out in several Iranian cities. Those demonstrations were led by Ayatollah Khomeini who was jailed by the Shah for his efforts.

It should be noted here that the Mullahs were not the only organization which opposed the Shah's reform. There were many. Perhaps the best financed was the Tudeh party which was clearly allied to the U.S.S.R. with offices in Paris today. Others were the left-wing Feddayin which is still powerful today and the religious Moujaheddin.¹⁵

It also needs to be noted that the 1963 riots followed three years of economic downturns in the Iranian domestic economy. However, the bazaar merchants were not in a position to finance a full scale revolution and the Shah, with the support of the Savak and the military, was not in the sort of weakened position which might allow a revolution to succeed.

In spite of the power of the police and the military, the Mullahs' opposition to the Shah continued. Religious agitation caused the Shah to exile Khomeini rather than keep him in jail and from Najaf in Iraq, Khomeini continued to point out the errors of the Shah.

During the early 1970's two things stand in stark contrast. On the one hand the opposition to the Shah continued from within and without. Ayatollah Khomeini, caring very little for the material things of the world, teamed up against the Shah with Dr. Abdual Hassan Bani-Sadr, the economist, when the latter went to the Shiite city of Najaf to bury Bani-Sadr's father, another Ayatollah. On the other hand the Shah used oil money to build some of the world's most advanced steel mills, car production plants, petro-chemical plants and many of the other plants which he considered necessary for Iran's economy after oil played out. In addition, the Shah began to build the most modern military forces which drew the greatest focus of nationalists' attention when they were used to support a series of Iranian

¹⁴Lenczowski, pp. 104 and 105-124 and Cottam, p. 328.

¹⁵Hoveyda, pp. 16, 173 and Cottam, pp. 151-153 and 196-199.

adventures such as the involvement in Oman, the seizure of the islands in the straits of Hormuz or to back up claims made in 1975 for the division of the Shatt El-Arab. That claim resulted in Saddam Hussain, then vice president of Iraq, signing the treaty granting the territory to Iran, an agreement for which Hussain felt the Iranians should later pay in blood.¹⁶

It was not the power of the military forces, however, which grated most with nationalists like Bani-Sadr. It was the investment in the purchase of arms instead of domestic improvements which could have been made with oil revenues. In 1970 Iran spent \$128 million for arms. In 1972, expenditures climbed \$519 million and after the Nixon visit they jumped to 2 billion in 1973, 4 billion in 1974 and \$5.4 billion in 1977. It can be granted that the training which went with the arms provided technical training for Iranian society which could be transferred to domestic purposes but the massive purchases only led nationalists, both within and without, to consider the Shah's policy to be an example of meglomania and a waste of precious resources.¹⁷

Perhaps the beginning of the end came on Sunday, December 31, 1977 when President and Mrs. Carter stopped in Tehran to visit the Shah. The American president pledged support for the Shah but also pressured him to open his society towards more democratization. The Shah responded, but by this time it was too late to co-opt the opposition to the monarchy. The Ayatollah Khomeini's cassette ministry inflamed the nationalists and when the Shah personally attacked the Ayatollah in the press, demonstrations broke out at Qum on Monday, January 9, 1978. Demonstrators were fired upon by police and by military supporters of the Shah who had little use for democratization. This event provided martyrs for the cause who were mourned according to Shiite tradition after forty days had passed. The mourners included more than religious demonstrators for they were joined by merchants and students. Again troops of the Shah opened fire and demonstrators were killed which began a forty-day cycle for demonstrations and killings which continued until September 8, when the Shah declared martial law in Tehran. The declaration was ignored and, on what was become known as Black Friday, hundreds of demonstrators were killed by government troops. Two days later President Carter pledged continued U.S. support for the regime.¹⁸

At that point the Shah tried to retrace his steps by declaring amnesty for 1,400 exiles, an act which freed the Ayatollah Khomeini who instead of returning to Iran went to Paris to meet with Bani-Sadr. At that point the Shah felt he was rid of

¹⁶Ray Cleveland. *The Middle East and South Asia*, (Washington: Stryker-Post, 1981), pp. 45-49.

¹⁷Saliani. *Iran, Inside the Islamic Republic*. Also, Fred Halliday, *Iran: Dictatorship and Development* (New York: Penguin, 1979), pp. 94-96.

¹⁸Hoveyda. pp. 165-172.

Khomeini, but quite to the contrary the world press in Paris covered Khomeini's story which the Shah, in turn, tried to censor in Tehran. Censorship caused strikes so in reaction, once again the Shah tried to retrace his steps by lifting the newspaper controls and freeing 1,126 political prisoners. All this only served to confuse the Shah's own supporters as he vacillated in his policy. Clearly the ruling class was losing control in the midst of an inept use of force by the Shah.

By late 1978, the Iranian economy was breaking down and strike after strike paralyzed production. In an effort to save the nation and himself the Shah turned to an old enemy leader in the National Front, Shahpur Bakhtiar who agreed to form a new government while the Shah went on a "vacation" abroad.¹⁹

On January 16, the Shah left Iran but nationalists would not cooperate with Bakhtiar. Even the military leadership became divided and all organization began to break down. Demonstrators rejoiced at the exile of the Shah. Iran was in a state of anarchy virtually leaderless while nationalist demonstrators continued to follow orders from the exiled Khomeini in France.²⁰

In February of 1979, a series of events took place which altered the course of the revolution. On February 1, the exiled Ayatollah Khomeini returned to Tehran calling for the overthrow of Bakhtiar. That was accomplished on February 11, and two days later leftist guerillas stormed the U.S. Embassy to seize American hostages who were later released. On February 16, the Ayatollah Khomeini claiming to be the chosen leader and taking the "right" named Nehdi Barzagan Premier. Before the month was over the Khomeini-backed regime began executing officials who had served under the Shah.²¹

Even though the revolutionary government had been planned before Khomeini's return in January 1979, it became evident that there was internal conflict both inside the government and among outside nationalist factions. In July, following the nationalization of banks and industry which was coupled with bans on western music and films, government supporters were assassinated and Iranian pipelines were sabotaged. Khomeini replaced the Savak with his own secret police and "Komitehs" which clashed with citizens who protested the suppression of the news media. Prime Minister Barzagan tried to resign in August and on September 16, Khomeini supporters called for his removal. In October, Kurdish rebels revolted and on November 4, a mob outside the government stormed the U.S. Embassy taking hostages who would later be offered in trade for arms to be used to fight Iraq. Two days after the takeover of the embassy, Prime Minister Barzagan succeeded in resigning and his government was replaced by a fifteen member Revolutionary Council answerable to Khomeini. The council then named Abolhassan Bani-

¹⁹*Ibid.* pp. 196-199.

²⁰*Ibid.* pp. 202-217 and *New York Times*. January 17, 1979 1:4.

²¹*New York Times*. February 17, 1979. 1:5.

Sadr as Foreign Minister. That lasted until November 28, when they fired Bani-Sadr and replaced him with Sadegh Ghotbzadeh. It was unclear just what power Khomeini was expressing, but it was clear that there was a lack of control and consensus within the country.²²

The lack of control led to additional violence. On December 14, Iranian and Iraqi troops began a conflict with a brief border clash as Iraq's Hussain began his plan to punish Iran. On December 18, an associate of Khomeini was assassinated and by December 28, violence had erupted in Tabriz in Azerbaijan only one day after the Soviet coup in Afghanistan.²³

In 1980, Iran began to reorganize under the direction of the Revolutionary Council. Bani-Sadr who had taken over the job of Finance Minister after his conflict with conservatives, was elected President of Iran and was given command of the armed forces. Shortly afterwards the Americans failed in their attempt to rescue the hostages while plans were being developed for the election of a parliament. That parliament, elected later in April, was very conservative. Instead of directing its attention to foreign policy and the state of the economy, it became preoccupied with the war in Iraq. The war which began in April together with demonstrations among leftist university students again posed problems for the Iranian government.

Internal political unrest and the Iraqi war has led to economic chaos since oil revenue has been exhausted and the oil industry has essentially been shut down. Still there is conflict between the modernizing elements and leftists who compete with the Mullahs for power while Khomeini, who rules on personality and hate remains the symbol of unity. That symbol is very fragile in a land where rapid political and economic change is a tradition.

It would seem that these Iranian revolutions would fit the Davies model. There is no doubt that the society in Iran was making economic advancement interrupted only by occasional downturns until the Shah began to lose control. He began to lose control in a system which he himself established. He alienated the bazaar merchants, the Mullahs and many intellectuals. His extravagance led to claims of financial mismanagement and these claims were supported by the corruption of the ruling class. Amid the chaos, the Savak and the military leadership reinforced distrust of government and were weakened by vacillation of decision making by the Shah. The American presence did not cause the revolution, but it provided a cause against which the class antagonisms could be voiced, a cause which was provided for leftist and anti-communist nationalists alike. They turned to religion rather than an economic philosophy because it was rooted in the culture. It provided the forty-

²²*New York Times*. April 24, 1979. 1:4. *New York Times*. July 9, 1979. 1:2 and *New York Times*. August 13, 1979. 1:6.

²³*New York Times*. December 18, 1979. 4:1.

day cycle of disturbances and it provided an almost mystical hope for the alienated as it usually does.

It must be recognized that the 1906 revolution and the revolution of the late 1970's have much in common. Both were financed by the bazaar merchants. Both resulted from alienation of the masses from the ruling dynasty. Both were marked by the particular alienation of the Mullahs. Both had outside forces which were modernizing influences and yet provided a symbol for hatred. Both were symbolized by inept use of force and corruption within the ruling elite. It is strange that the Shah did not see or chose to ignore the parallels which led to his downfall.

But what of the future? The revolution is not over. Russian advances in Afghanistan, the hostages and the war with Iraq have provided a brief respite for they have turned attention away from internal chaos. The war and the hatred toward the west and the U.S. in particular, has hurt the economy even further. Sooner or later conflict will arise between the modernizing forces represented by Bani-Sadr and the conservative Mullahs backing Khomeini. When that time comes there will be a dangerous reckoning for the left is waiting, the Soviet Union is in Afghanistan, and the Fadagien continues to plan a takeover.

Iran on the whole likes the Soviet Union less than the U.S. although it does not appear so at this time. Iran needs the west if the modernizing elements are to survive. The west needs Iran also and, particularly, needs her oil. A second revolution therefore is almost bound to bring western and left wing elements into conflict as the Soviet Union moves from an oil producing nation to a consumer and as the Iranian economy continues to disintegrate as a result of the Iraqi war. That day of conflict should not be long in coming to Iran.

AN ALTERNATIVE TESTING TECHNIQUE: RELATEDNESS JUDGEMENTS AND MULTIDIMENSIONAL SCALING

George M. Diekhoff*

The research reported in this paper has been guided by a model describing how information is organized in long-term memory and by a related model which describes the processes and events that occur during education¹. Because of the guiding influence these models have had, it may be helpful to begin by examining each of them in turn.

The multidimensional space model of long-term memory organization seeks to describe how information which we possess about the world is organized or structured. It consists of several propositions which may be considered valid to the extent that they yield useful results or applications. First, it is proposed that the mind is like a space, sometimes called a "cognitive space." One can picture this cognitive space as an open, three-dimensional cube. Second, ideas or concepts about which one has some knowledge are represented as points within an individual's cognitive space. Third, the locations of these concept-points are determined by the individual's understanding both of the individual concepts and by his understanding of the structural interrelationships that exist between the concepts. Finally, concepts which are highly related or similar will be represented by points which are close together in cognitive space, while concepts which are unrelated or dissimilar will be represented by points which are located further apart in space.

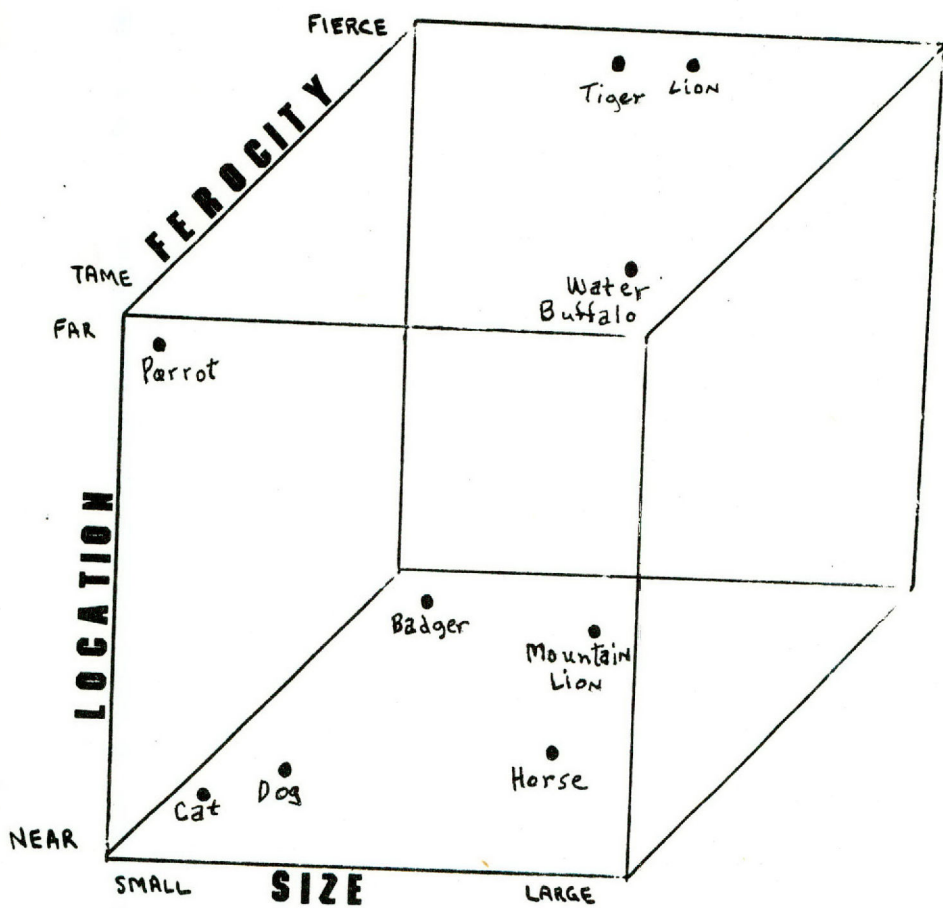
As an example, consider the "cognitive map" illustrated in Figure 1. This map represents one person's understanding of various animals. Notice first that the person's mind has been represented as a cube or space. Next, notice that animals about which this individual has some knowledge have been represented as points in that space. Third, note that the locations of these animal-points is a function of how the individual understands each of the animals as well as the interrelationships that exist between them. Finally, it can be seen that animals which this person views as highly similar or related are located close together in space (e.g., dog & cat) while animals which are unrelated are further apart (e.g., parrot & mountain lion).

The multidimensional space model suggests that when people judge the strength of relationships existing between various concepts or ideas, their judgments reflect distances in cognitive space between the concepts being judged. Thus, in Figure 1, the concept-pair CAT-DOG would be expected to be judged as more highly related than would the concept-pair PARROT-MOUNTAIN LION. It follows that if we can obtain such a set of numerical strength-of-relationship judgments, these judgments can be used as estimates of distances between points in space, and it should

* Dr. Diekhoff is Assistant Professor of Psychology at Midwestern State University.

¹The research reported here was made possible by a two-year faculty research grant from Midwestern State University.

FIGURE 1



SAMPLE COGNITIVE MAP

be possible to reconstruct a cognitive map for the individual who made the judgments.

As a simple example of how this might be accomplished, consider Figure 2. Here we have numerical relatedness judgments for three concept-pairs. Large values reflect large distances, and thus, weak relationships; small values reflect small distances, and thus, strong relationships. We will begin constructing this individual's cognitive map by locating the concept TABLE as a point in space. We know that CAT must be located seven units away from TABLE and it is positioned accordingly. We know that CHAIR must be located three units of distance away from TABLE, but CHAIR could be anywhere along the dotted circle drawn three units out from TABLE. In order to decide where along this circle CHAIR should be placed, we must consider the final concept-pair. We find that CHAIR must be six units from CAT. In order for CHAIR to be six units distance from CAT *and* three units distant from TABLE, CHAIR must be located in the position indicated in Figure 2.

The cognitive map constructed from this individual's numerical relatedness judgments provides us with a description of his understanding of both the individual concepts involved, as well as his understanding of how they are structurally interrelated. A different individual, with a different understanding would have generated different relatedness judgments and a different cognitive map would have resulted. Finally, it should be noted that the cognitive map generated in Figure 2 might be rotated in space in any fashion, yet the arrangement of concept-points relative to each other will remain constant.

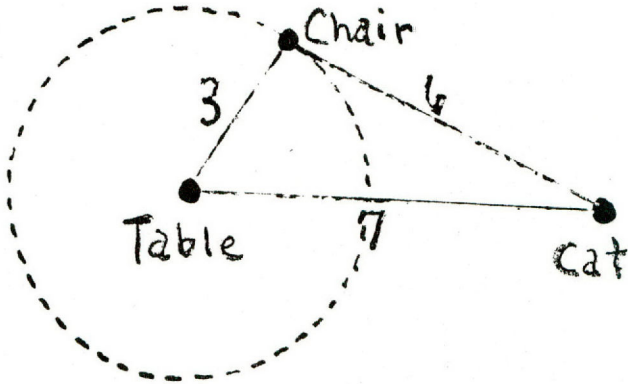
The second model of importance in guiding the research reported seeks to provide a description of the educational process. This model is depicted in Figure 3. The sequence begins with a teacher or author who possesses a sound understanding of some domain. This knowledge is represented by the cognitive map in the instructor's head. The instructor's goal is to transmit this cognitive structure to the student. In accomplishing this goal, the traditional approach has been for the instructor to translate his cognitive structure into prose form (lecture or text) which can act as a carrier of information. The student's task then is to use this prose in inferring the nature of the instructor's cognitive map.

During testing, the student's task is much like that of the instructor's, he must translate his newly acquired cognitive structure into a prose essay response. The instructor uses this prose in inferring the characteristics of the student's cognitive structure. The student's inferred cognitive structure is then compared with the instructor's structure and a grade is assigned on the basis of some reasonable degree of similarity.

We have now examined the two models which have guided my research during the past two years. The research has addressed two problems in particular. First, it is clear that we need to assess students' structural understanding. This is true both because we would like to know whether or not students have mastered understanding at this level and because testing structural understanding encourages students to learn at that level by providing them with grade incentives. The traditional

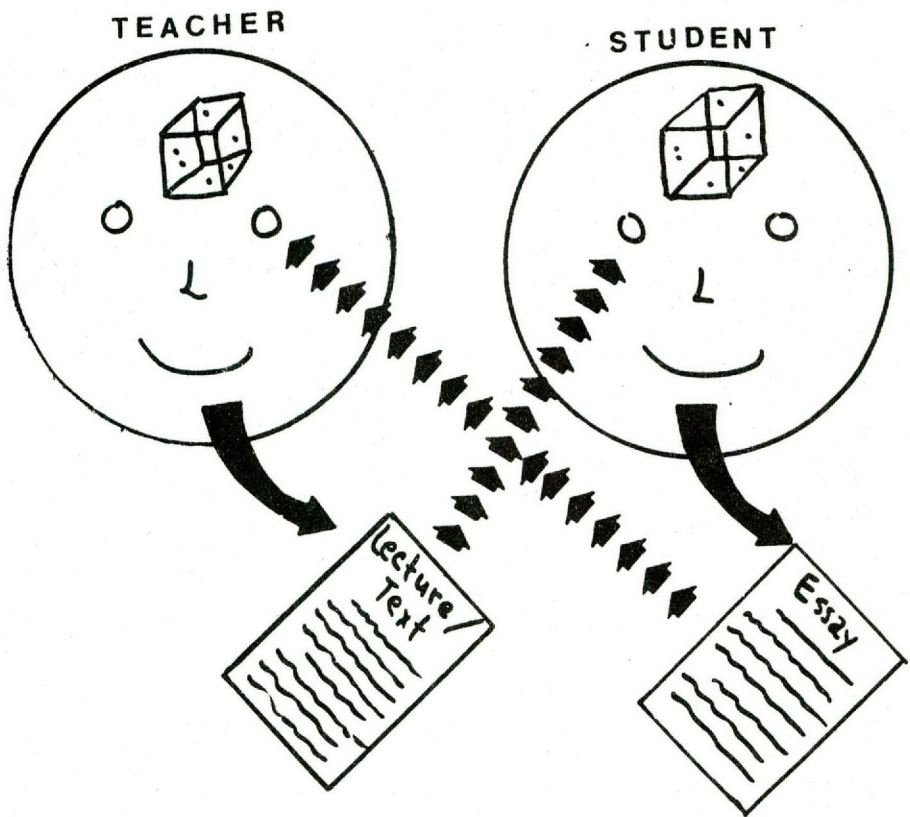
FIGURE 2

TABLE — CAT	7
TABLE — CHAIR	3
CHAIR — CAT	6



CONSTRUCTING MAPS

FIGURE 3



EDUCATIONAL MODEL

approach to assessing structural understanding has been essay testing of the "compare-and-contrast" variety. While this form of essay testing may be very useful in both evaluating and promoting structural understanding, it is simply not possible to use essay tests in some situations, particularly in large introductory classes, because of the enormous amount of time that is required to adequately grade essay responses. The problem then becomes this: do the models discussed previously provide any insights into alternative means through which we can more quickly *evaluate* and *promote* students' structural understanding? This problem is the focus of the first experiment discussed below.

The second problem addressed by my research has to do with finding ways of facilitating the *communication* of structural knowledge from the instructor to students. The traditional approach has been the use of lecture and texts. Do the models discussed provide any hints as to additional means through which we may better communicate structural information to students? This problem is the focus of the second experiment.

Experiment I

The first experiment was conducted over the course of several semesters and involved over 100 students enrolled in several sections of introductory psychology. Students in this course were required to complete three unit exams, each of which consisted of four parts as follows.

Students first completed a fifty-item multiple choice test which focussed on their understanding of individual concepts ("definitional level understanding"). This test was scored on a 0-100 percent scale.

Administered next was a relationship judgments test in which students were instructed to use a numerical scale of 1-9 in rating the strength-of-relationship within each of forty-five concept-pairs selected by the instructor. These judgments were used in constructing cognitive maps for each student and their maps were in turn compared to the instructor's map for overall similarity. The degree of similarity between students' maps and the instructor's map was indexed on a 0-100 scale, with 0 indicating no systematic similarity and 100 indicating strong similarity. It is important to consider at this point why similarity between a student's cognitive map and that of the instructor was considered a potential measure of the student's structural understanding. When a student generates a series of relationship judgments which produce a cognitive map like that of the instructor, it seems safe to assume that the student possesses fairly good structural understanding. When a student generates a set of relationship judgments which yields a cognitive map very different from the instructor's, one is forced to choose between two alternative explanations. First, the difference may reflect an informed difference of opinion between the student and instructor. Second the difference may reflect an absence of or inadequate level of structural understanding on the part of the student. The second of these alternative explanations has been adopted for the following reasons. Students who produce cognitive maps substantially unlike that of the instructor

have uniformly been found to be incapable of explaining the rationale behind their relationship judgments. In addition, those who can be assumed to be experts in a given field nearly always produce cognitive maps which are quite similar.

The third portion of each unit examination was a relationship judgment reliability test. In this test, students were given several of the same concept-pairs which they had just finished rating and were asked to rate them again. The consistency between the two sets of judgments was evaluated on a 0-100 scale, with 0 indicating no systematic relationship between the two sets of judgments and 100 indicating perfect consistency. This consistency or reliability measure was obtained from students on the assumption that students who base their relationship judgments on a thorough understanding of the structural interrelationships within a domain will make basically the same judgments on two occasions which are separated by no more than a few minutes. On the other hand, students who lack structural understanding will base their judgments on guesswork and can therefore be expected to show considerably less consistency when the judgments are made on a second occasion.

The last section of each unit examination was an essay test. Students were given three pairs of concepts and instructed to discuss the ways in which concepts in each pair are related. These essay responses were scored on a 0-5 scale, with 0 assigned in the case of no response and 5 representing a very complete response.

The data collected through these three examinations were analyzed first by computing correlation coefficients between scores associated with essay tests and measures derived from students' relationship judgments. These correlations are shown in Table 1. Inspection of this table shows that measures derived from students' relationship judgments ("similarity" and "reliability") were moderately, but significantly, correlated to scores obtained on essay tests. These results suggest that testing through relationship judgments does indeed capture the same sort of understanding that is measured by essay tests.

The next step in analyzing the data was to use students' relationship judgment-based measures in predicting (actually, postdicting) their essay test scores. Multiple regression analysis was used to accomplish this. Prediction errors (i.e., the difference between predicted essay scores and obtained essay scores) varied from one student to the next, but the average absolute errors made in predicting students' first, second, and third essay test scores are presented in Table 2. It can be seen that prediction errors were uniformly less than one point.

In further evaluating these prediction errors, essay tests were scored on two separate occasions, separated by one week. Students' first assigned essay scores were then used in predicting the essay scores assigned on the second scoring occasion. Average absolute errors made in these predictions are also shown in Table 2. In comparing the error rates shown in Table 2, we see that although measures based on relationship judgments are incapable of perfectly predicting students' essay test scores, essay test scores assigned on one occasion are also incapable of perfectly predicting essay test scores assigned on a second occasion. Some of the

TABLE 1

CORRELATIONS: ESSAYS & RELATIONSHIP JUDGMENTS

		Essay
EXAM 1	Similarity	.51
	Reliability	.22
		Essay
EXAM 2	Similarity	.34
	Reliability	.50
		Essay
EXAM 3	Similarity	.39
	Reliability	.45

TABLE 2

ERRORS IN PREDICTING ESSAY SCORES

FROM RELATIONSHIP JUDGMENTS

Test 1	.86 points
Test 2	.91 points
Test 3	.73 points

FROM ESSAY SCORES

Test 1	.57 points
Test 2	.71 points
Test 3	.42 points

error in predicting essay scores from measures derived from relationship judgments is due to the inherent unpredictability of the essay scores.

Another point to remember when evaluating errors in predicting essay scores from relationship judgments is that the two types of tests covered considerably different domains. Essay tests each consisted of three pairs of concepts. Relationship judgment tests each consisted of forty-five pairs of concepts. It is unreasonable to expect that performance on a test covering three pairs of concepts could be perfectly predicted by a test involving forty-five pairs. Thus, some of the error in predicting essay scores from measures derived from relationship judgments comes from the differences in material being tested through the two methods.

Finally, students were told that their course grades would be based seventy-five percent on multiple choice test performance and twenty-five percent on essay performance. Performance on relationship judgments would be considered only in the case of borderline grades. Under these conditions, students were probably not highly motivated to put a lot of thought into their relationship judgments. Under better motivational conditions, relationship judgments might prove to be more predictive of essay test scores.

In conclusion, it was shown in Experiment I that relationship judgments and cognitive maps generated from these judgments are useful in measuring and describing students' structural understanding. It may be argued that testing through relationship judgments, using measures like similarity-to-the instructor and judgment reliability, provides a means of evaluating structural understanding in those situations in which more traditional forms of testing are not feasible. Indeed, testing through relationship judgments may even have some advantages over essay testing. First, in a limited amount of time, students can respond to far more relationship judgment items than essay items. Thus, a much wider domain can be tested through relationship judgments. Second, scoring of relationship judgments is not influenced by such extraneous factors as penmanship, physical attractiveness of the student, grammar, punctuation, spelling, etc., all of which have been shown to influence the assignment of grades to essay responses. Granted, there may be circumstances under which we wish to evaluate a student's ability to spell and write grammatically, but when we do not wish these and other extraneous factors to enter into the determination of grades, testing through relationship judgments may be superior to testing through essays.

Experiment II

It was suggested earlier that the multidimensional space model of long-term memory structure might be used not only in evaluating students' knowledge, but also in developing better methods of communicating structural knowledge to students. Many times it seems to be the case that ideas or concepts which were presented during the first part of a long lecture series never become connected in students' minds with ideas presented towards the end of the lectures, not because of any lack of relationship between the ideas, but simply because instructors lack a

systematic means through which they can bring together ideas which were so separated in time. Under these circumstances, the sequential nature of language tends to isolate concepts in students' minds which should be connected.

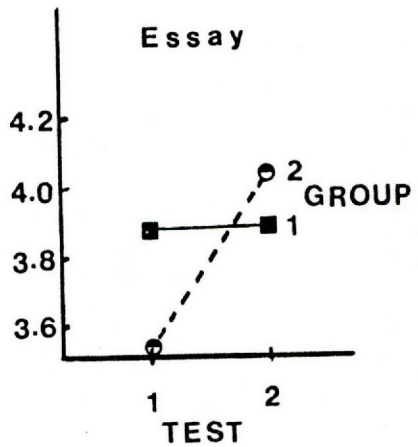
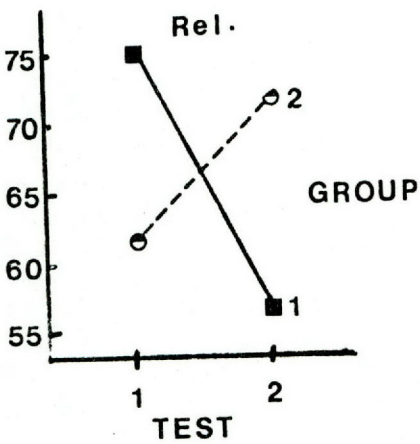
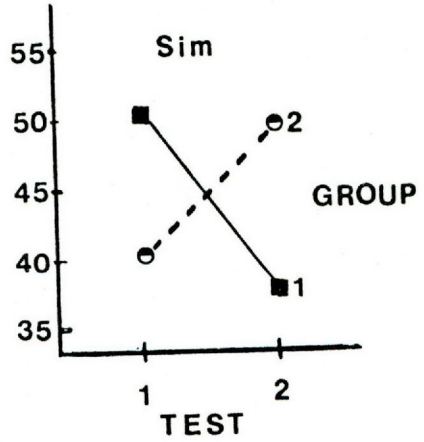
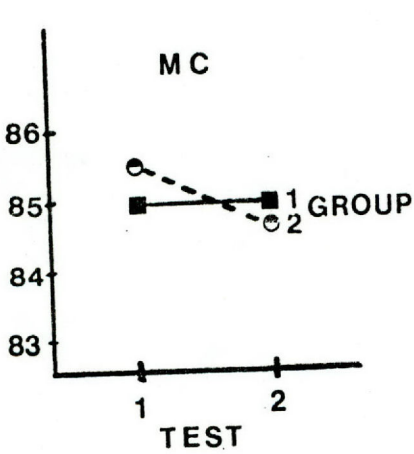
It was seen in Experiment I that students' structural understanding could be communicated to the instructor through their cognitive maps. It follows that the instructor's cognitive map might prove useful in communicating his structural understanding of a domain to students. The purpose of Experiment II was to determine whether or not discussions of the instructor's cognitive map as part of a unit review would enhance students' subsequent performance on measures of structural understanding.

Students enrolled in two sections of introductory psychology were involved in the second experiment. These two sections (referred to as "Group 1" and "Group 2") contained thirty-three and thirty-six students respectively. The procedure followed in Experiment II is depicted in Figure 4. Both groups received a series of lectures and text assignments in connection with Unit 1. These lectures and reading assignments were identical for both groups. At the end of the first unit, both groups participated in review sessions. Group 1 students discussed definitions of twenty key concepts selected from the unit by the instructor, and next had an opportunity to examine and discuss the instructor's cognitive map for these twenty key concepts. This discussion centered on such topics as why certain concepts clustered together in the instructor's cognitive space, why certain concepts were far removed from each other in space, and why different clusters occupied different locations in space. Group 2 students also participated in a review session, but their review consisted only of discussing definitions of the twenty key concepts. Rather than seeing and discussing the instructor's cognitive map, they viewed a film relevant to the first unit. Both groups were next tested over unit 1 using the same sort of four-part examination described in connection with Experiment I. Both groups next received instruction in Unit 2. This was followed by a review session in which treatments received by the two groups were reversed; i.e., Group 2 students discussed definitions of key concepts and also had an opportunity to examine and discuss the instructor's cognitive map. This review session was followed by the second examination. The results of Experiment II are summarized in Figure 5. Shown are mean scores for the two groups for each portion of each of the two exams.

Looking first at multiple-choice performance, we see that the two groups showed less than a one percentage point difference on either of the two exams. These differences are far below those required for statistical significance, and it can be concluded that discussions of the instructor's cognitive maps had no influence on students' subsequent multiple-choice performance. This finding, however, is not unexpected. Remember that discussions of the instructor's cognitive maps were intended to promote structural understanding. Multiple-choice tests, in contrast, were focused on students' structural understanding. Thus, it is not surprising that discussions of the instructor's cognitive maps had no influence on multiple-choice test performance.

FIGURE 5

RESULTS



Looking next at the index of similarity between students' cognitive maps and those of the instructor, we find that students who were given an opportunity to discuss the instructor's cognitive maps prior to testing produced relationship judgments, and thus, cognitive maps, considerably more like that of the instructor than did students who did not discuss the instructor's maps.

The reliability with which students' generated relationship judgments was similarly influenced by discussions of the instructor's cognitive maps. We find again that students who were exposed to the instructor's maps showed significantly greater reliability in making their own judgments than did students who did not have such an opportunity.

Finally, essay test results also showed a significant difference in favor of students who discussed the instructor's cognitive maps. This is particularly apparent in the large difference between Group 1 and 2 students on Exam 1 and in the large improvement in performance found among Group 2 students from Exam 1 to Exam 2.

It may be argued that the positive results obtained from exposing students to the instructor's cognitive maps was nothing more than what would be expected from "teaching to the test." However, we always "teach to our tests" when we test students over what we have taught them. Experiment II demonstrates that in-class discussions of the instructor's cognitive maps were an effective tool in teaching students at a structural level.

Future Directions

In concluding, I would like to outline briefly some of the directions this research will take in the future. First, an attempt is being made to extend both the testing and instructional aspects into new domains. For example, testing based on relationship judgments has proven successful in a course covering the history of psychology. In that course, students judged the degree to which various important individuals in the history of psychology were related or similar. Characteristics of maps produced from these judgments were found to be significantly correlated to students' scores on other, more traditional forms of tests. Discussions of the instructor's cognitive maps for names has also been met with enthusiasm by students in the course. It appears that many other courses could similarly benefit from inclusion of cognitive mapping used in testing or as an instructional tool.

A second direction for future work involves identifying the basic cognitive processes required of students in making relationship judgments. It may be possible, once these processes have been identified, to train students in ways that will build these processes and better enable them to acquire and communicate structural information.

Finally, the use of cognitive maps as a means of testing students was investigated in the first place because scoring of large numbers of essay tests is prohibitively time-consuming. Yet the time taken to enter manually students' relationship judgments into the computer and direct the flow of processing is even more time con-

suming. Having established that students' cognitive maps and relationship judgments do reflect their levels of structural understanding, the entry and processing of these judgments is now being automated.

HOW FLEXIBLE EXCHANGE RATES ARE WORKING: 1973-1980 EXPERIENCE

Yoshikazu Fukasawa*

Introduction

In March 1973, the international monetary system which had been in existence since the end of World War II was replaced by new international currency relations. Today most industrialized countries have floating currencies, albeit with some degree of official foreign exchange management.

The paper examines the performance of floating exchange rates between the U.S. and nine industrialized countries for the period 1973-1980. These ten countries comprise the so-called "Group of Ten", that accounted for approximately sixty-eight percent of the total world trade during the period.¹ In this study, performance of exchange rates is evaluated by the degree of their responsiveness to changes in the underlying economic conditions of countries involved. Optimal international trade and capital flows would take place when they are guided by exchange rates consistent with underlying economic conditions. Changes in economic conditions are reflected mainly on variations in price levels, income levels, and interest rates of the countries.

Models

The exchange rate is a price, and like all prices in economics, if left to market forces, is determined by the interaction of demand and supply. Demand for and supply of foreign exchanges are affected by changes in underlying economic conditions of countries involved. Those conditions are measured mainly by variations in price levels, income levels, and interest rates of the countries.

Consider equation (1) of the following form which will be used as an estimating model for the determinants of exchange rates in this study:²

$$R(i) = a_0 + a_1 P(i) + a_2 Y(i) + a_3 I(i) + e \quad (1)$$

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

¹The membership of the Group of Ten includes Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Sweden, the U.K., and the U.S. The figure represents the ratio of the value of imports and exports of the Group of Ten to that of the total world imports and exports during March 1973 to March 1980. The data is collected from various issues of IMF *International Financial Statistics*.

²A similar specification of the model was used in an earlier study by the author. See Krishna R. Akkina and Yoshikazu Fukasawa, "Determinants of Exchange Rates: Evidence from 1973-1977," *The Journal of Economics*, Vol. IV, (1978), 248-250.

where $R(i)$ represents the exchange rate, the price of one unit of the currency of country i under consideration expressed in terms of U.S. cents. $P(i)$ denotes the ratio of the price level index of the U.S. to that of country i . $Y(i)$ represents the ratio of the level of U.S. income to that of country i .³ $I(i)$ denotes the ratio of the U.S. treasury bill rates to the "representative" short-term interest rates of country i .⁴ All the variables are in natural logarithm.

The coefficient of relative prices, a_1 , is expected to be positive. A more rapid increase in the price level in the U.S. than in country i would make goods and services produced in country i more attractive to Americans as well as to the residents of country i than those produced in the U.S., assuming other things being equal. Demand for foreign exchange denominated in the currency of country i thus increases while supply decreases. The result of the shifts in demand and supply is an increase in the exchange rate. A rise in the U.S. prices relative to those in country i causes the U.S. dollar to depreciate, other things being the same. Exchange rates and relative prices are thus positively related.

The coefficient of relative income, a_2 , is also expected to be positive. If income in the U.S. increases more rapidly than that in country i , Americans would be able to buy more of domestic as well as foreign (including country i) products than would the residents of country i , *ceteris paribus*. This would generate a greater demand for foreign exchange in the currency of country i than supply, causing the exchange rate to rise. An increase in the U.S. income relative to that in country i leads to a depreciation of the U.S. dollar, *ceteris paribus*. Thus a positive relation exists between exchange rates and relative income.

The expected sign of relative interest rates, a_3 , is negative. Investors in international financial markets are searching for the market in which they can earn the highest rate of interest. If the U.S. interest rates rise relative to those in country i , interest-yielding financial instruments denominated in U.S. dollars become more attractive to both American and foreign (including country i) investors than those in the currency of country i , *ceteris paribus*.⁵ Demand for foreign exchange denominated in the U.S. dollar rises and supply declines, causing the U.S. dollar to appreciate.

³The index of industrial production is used as a proxy for real income, since the data on real income for most nations are not available on a monthly basis.

⁴There is no short-term interest rate common to all the countries involved in the study. The representative interest rates include short-term government bond yield for the Netherlands, France, Belgium, Italy, Sweden; call money rate for Japan and Germany; and treasury bill rate for the U.K. and Canada.

⁵To be more precise, capital flows are determined by the expected future exchange rate at the time of retransaction as well as interest rate differentials. In particular, investors would consider the interest rate advantage net of any capital gain or loss from the foreign exchange transaction. For a detailed discussion of the topic, see Douglas R. Mudd, "Do Rising Interest Rates Imply a Stronger Dollar?" *Review*, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis (June, 1979), 12-23.

ciate. Exchange rates and relative interest rates are thus negatively related.

A major argument against the floating exchange rate system is the existence of foreign exchange speculation.⁶ It is argued that the behavior of exchange rates in the floating system tends to be excessively volatile because of speculation.⁷

Speculation in foreign exchange markets involves an open position taken deliberately by speculators who hope to make a profit from fluctuations in exchange rates. It involves the sale or purchase of foreign exchange with the expectation that the current rate of exchange is temporarily out of tune with underlying economic conditions.

Speculation may be stabilizing or destabilizing. Stabilizing speculation dampens fluctuations of exchange rate. For example, when demand for foreign exchange is falling, *ceteris paribus*, speculators may help stabilize the exchange rate by buying foreign exchange. Conversely, when a foreign exchange rate is rising, stabilizing speculation, by going short on the foreign exchange, tends to prevent the exchange rate from over-reacting to the change in underlying economic conditions.

It is the destabilizing speculation that adversely affects proper working of the floating exchange rate system. Speculation is destabilizing if actions of speculators tend to magnify fluctuations of exchange rates more than that justified by the change in underlying economic conditions. Once the exchange rate begins to rise, for example, as a result of deterioration of the country's balance-of-payments, expectation can develop that a further increase in the rate is warranted.⁸ Such expectation may be strengthened by knowledge that the former rate of exchange was supported by government. Speculation provokes a depreciation of a currency and this, in turn, encourages expectation of a further depreciation. Destabilizing speculation thus produces the cumulative and magnifying movements of foreign exchange rates.

The nature of foreign exchange speculation may be examined by use of a_1 , the partial elasticity of exchange rates with respect to relative prices. Purchasing-Power-Parity Doctrine states that an equilibrium exchange rate is the ratio of the purchasing powers of foreign exchanges traded.⁹ Therefore, if the U.S. price level in-

⁶A summary of various arguments against the floating system and be found in Thomas D. Willet, *Floating Exchange Rates and International Monetary Reform* (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1977), 27-68.

⁷See, for example, Jacques R. Artus and John H. Young, "Fixed and Flexible Exchange Rates: A Renewal of the Debate," *Staff Papers*, Vol. 26, No. 4, International Monetary Fund (December, 1979), 654-698.

⁸Note that because of the definition of the exchange rate in the study, a rise in the rate means a depreciation of the U.S. dollar relative to the currency of country i under consideration.

⁹For a discussion of this topic, See Lawrence H. Officer, "The Purchasing Power-Parity Theory of Exchange Rates: A Review Article," *Staff Papers*, Vol. 23, No. 1, International Monetary Fund (March, 1976), 1-60.

creases twice as fast as that in country i , the exchange rate in equilibrium must double, tending the coefficient of relative prices, a_1 , toward 1 in absolute value, *ceteris paribus*. A deviation from 1 implies the existence of speculation.¹⁰ Speculation may be considered to be stabilizing if the value of a_1 is less than 1 in absolute value. This implies that the exchange rate fluctuated by a magnitude less than that warranted by the change in relative prices. Conversely, if a_1 is greater than 1 in absolute value, the extent of the exchange rate movements is more than that accounted for by changes in underlying economic conditions. This implies the existence of destabilizing speculation in the foreign exchange market. A similar concept may be used to examine speculation caused by income and interest rate variations.

For an effective performance, exchange rates must react immediately to changes in underlying economic conditions of the countries involved. However, it is suggested that some amount of time will lapse before a change in relative prices, relative incomes, and relative interest rates produces a resultant impact on the exchange rate. To estimate such an impact-time lag, consider the following Koyck-type distributed lag model:¹¹

$$R(i, t) = b_0 + b_1 P(i, t) + b_2 Y(i, t) + b_3 I(i, t) + b_4 R(i, t-1) + b_5 R(i, t-2) + e^* \quad (2)$$

where $R(i, t-1)$ and $R(i, t-2)$ represent the exchange rates at $t-1$ and $t-2$, respectively. All the other variables were defined earlier.

The average lag of the peak impact can be calculated by the use of the coefficient estimates of the lagged dependent variables, $R(i, t-1)$ $R(i, t-2)$.¹² The lag measures the average amount of time having lapsed before the exchange rate receives the peak impact of the change in economic conditions. The shorter the average lag, the closer is the relationship between the exchange rate and the variables representing underlying economic conditions. Thus, effective exchange rates would reflect immediately the economic conditions of countries involved.

¹⁰A similar approach was used to test speculation by others. See, for example, Lloyd B. Thomas, "Behavior of Flexible Exchange Rates: Additional Test from the Post-World War I Episode," *Southern Economic Journal* (October, 1973), 167-182.

¹¹Hodgson and Phelps used a similar model to examine the distributed impact of price level change on exchange rates. See John S. Hodgson and Patricia Phelps, "The Distributed Impact of Price-Level Variation on Floating Exchange Rates," *The Review of Economics and Statistics* (February, 1975), 58-64.

¹²Equation (2) is in the form of the Koyck-type second-order distributed lag model with geometrically declining lag weights. The estimated average lag, $\hat{\theta}$, is given by:

$$\hat{\theta} = (\hat{b}_4 + 2\hat{b}_5) (1 - \hat{b}_4 - \hat{b}_5)^{-1}$$

See, for details, Zvi Griliches, "Distributed Lags: A Survey," *Econometrica* Vol. 35, No. 1 (January, 1967), pp. 17-49.

Results

The results of estimating equations (1) and (2) with the use of an ordinary-least-squares method are presented in tables 1 and 2, respectively. Monthly data from March 1973 to March 1980 inclusive are used. Indices of both industrial production and consumer prices are based on 1970=100. Exchange rates were collected from various issues of *Federal Reserve Bulletin*. All other data were from *International Financial Statistics*.

The explanatory power of the model in the form of equation (1) is reasonable, R^2 ranging from 0.36 to 0.88, as shown in table 1. The model is, however, plagued by the presence of serial correlation, as indicated by the Durbin-Watson statistics.¹³

The coefficient estimates of relative prices, a_1 , show the expected sign for all the countries, indicating that an increase in relative prices tends, *ceteris paribus*, to increase an exchange rate. If, for example, U.S. prices increase faster than those of Germany by one percent, the exchange rate rises by approximately 0.8 percent, as shown in table 1.

The estimates of the coefficient a_2 , relative incomes, show the expected positive sign for all cases, except the United Kingdom and Italy.¹⁴ The estimates indicate that an increase in relative incomes causes a fall in U.S. dollar price of foreign exchange, *ceteris paribus*. A one-percent increase in U.S. income over that in Japan would cause, for example, a depreciation of the U.S. dollar against the Japanese yen by about 0.6 percent, as indicated in table 1.

The estimated coefficients of relative interest rates, a_3 , exhibit the expected sign in five countries, including France, Canada, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Sweden. For example, a rise in U.S. interest rates over Canadian rates by one percent would result in an appreciation of the U.S. dollar by approximately 0.12 percent, *ceteris paribus*.

Destabilizing price speculation appears to be present in two cases, Italy and the Netherlands. Italy has the estimated value of the partial price elasticity of exchange rate significantly exceeding 1 in absolute value, as shown in table 1. Destabilizing speculation in the lira in early 1970s was encouraged mainly by Italy's political and economic uncertainties and frequent interventions into foreign exchange mar-

¹³The model with the problem of serial correlation may be reestimated by the use of the Cochrane-Orcutt procedure. However, the presence of serial correlation in the model does not invalidate the discussions to follow regarding the coefficient estimates. The serial correlation does not introduce any bias in the regression estimates although the estimates may not be efficient. See Potluri Rao and Roger L. Miller, *Applied Econometrics* (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1971), 67-77.

¹⁴The use of the index of industrial production as a proxy for income level may have produced bias in the coefficient estimates. See G. S. Maddala, *Econometrics* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1977), 158-161.

kets by the government.¹⁵ During 1973-1979, variability of exchange rate of the Italian lira was the highest at 1.98 percent per month among the countries of the Group of Ten.¹⁶ Volatile fluctuations of the lira can thus be attributed to destabilizing foreign exchange speculation.

The coefficient estimates of a_2 and a_3 are less than 1 in absolute value for all ten countries, as shown in table 1. Thus destabilizing speculation based on relative incomes and relative interest rates seems to be absent in all cases.

Average lags, presented in table 3, are calculated with the use of the coefficient estimates of equation (2), shown in table 2. On the basis of the h-statistic, the hypothesis that serial correlation is absent cannot be rejected at the 0.01 level, except for the Netherlands.¹⁷

All the countries have an estimated lag period less than 8 months, as shown in table 3. The three largest trade partners of the U.S., Canada, Japan, and West Germany have an estimated lag of less than five months. The results indicate that exchange rates react in a relatively short period of time to the economic changes of the countries involved.

Concluding Remarks

Performance of the floating exchange rates system in 1970's has been effective in that exchange rates were adequately responsive to changes in underlying economic conditions of the ten countries included in the study. Results of the study show that:

¹⁵Leland B. Yeager, *International Monetary Relations*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1977), 535-542.

¹⁶Variability is defined as the standard deviation of monthly percentage changes in the effective exchange rate about the average percentage change during each year. The average monthly variabilities of the effective exchange rates are 0.74 percent for the U.S., 0.87 percent for Canada, 1.36 percent for Japan, 1.45 percent for the U.K., and 1.82 percent for Germany. See *Annual Report* (Washington, D.C.: International Monetary Fund, 1979), 37.

¹⁷The Durbin-Watson test used for serial correlation in table 1 is valid for the regression equations without the lagged dependent variables. When these are present, h-statistic must be calculated for the test of serial correlation. With the use of the coefficient estimates of equation (2), the test statistic, \hat{h} , is defined as:

$$\hat{h} = (1 - 1/2 \hat{D}) (N)^{1/2} (1 - N \hat{V}(\hat{b}_4))^{-1/2}$$

where \hat{D} is the estimated value of the D-W statistic, N is the sample size, and $\hat{V}(\hat{b}_4)$ is the estimate of the variance of \hat{b}_4 . The h-statistic is distributed as standard normal with mean zero and variance unity. See Potluri Rao and Roger L. Miller, *Applied Econometrics* (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1971), pp. 121-126.

1. The coefficient estimates of relative prices show the expected positive sign of all nine countries. The estimates of relative incomes and relative interest rates exhibit the expected sign in most cases.
2. Destabilizing speculation in foreign exchange markets seems to be mostly absent under the floating system. Fluctuations of the currencies of the countries studied, except Italy, are within the range justified by changes in the economic conditions of the countries involved.
3. Exchange rates respond to economic changes in a relatively short period of time. Estimated impact-time lags are less than five months for the three largest trade partners of the U.S.; Canada, Japan, and West Germany.

Table 1

Regression Results:

$$R(i) = a_0 + a_1 P(i) + a_2 Y(i) + a_3 I(i) + e$$

Country	a ₁	a ₂	a ₃	R ²	D.W.	S.E. ^a
Belgium	0.959 (0.274) ^b	0.398 (0.525)	0.128 (0.079)	0.47	0.433	0.078
U.K.	0.327 (0.106)	-0.769 (0.214)	0.201 (0.214)	0.68	0.162	0.074
France	0.121 (0.299)	0.035 (0.264)	-0.145 (0.037)	0.36	0.247	0.054
Canada	0.716 (0.047)	0.102 (0.188)	-0.119 (0.026)	0.57	0.123	0.048
Germany	0.821 (0.107)	1.005 (0.183)	0.011 (0.023)	0.80	0.941	0.063
Netherlands	1.204 (0.285)	1.001 (0.134)	-0.012 (0.043)	0.75	0.582	0.061
Japan	0.168 (0.165)	0.574 (0.240)	0.285 (0.014)	0.86	0.395	0.056
Italy	2.698 (0.357)	-0.116 (0.112)	0.140 (0.017)	0.88	0.659	0.054
Sweden	0.670 (0.287)	0.060 (0.106)	-0.029 (0.024)	0.41	0.311	0.042

^aS.E. = standard error of regression.

^bStandard error of coefficient estimates in parentheses.

Table 2

Regression Results:

$$R(i,t) - b_0 + b_1 P(i,t) + b_2 Y(i,t) + b_3 I(i,t) \\ + b_4 R(i,t-1) + b_5 R(i,t-2) + e^*$$

Country	b_1	b_2	b_3	b_4	b_5	R^2	D.W.	h	S.E. ^a
Belgium	0.117 ^b (0.213)	0.133 (0.084)	-0.015 (0.032)	0.797 (0.111)	0.083 (0.121)	0.92	1.323	n.d. ^c	0.031
U.K.	0.011 (0.029)	-0.042 (0.061)	0.015 (0.010)	1.402	-0.463	0.98	1.925	1.705	0.020
France	0.069 (0.134)	0.074 (0.112)	0.004 (0.006)	1.148 (0.107)	-0.267 (0.110)	0.88	2.058	-1.579	0.024
Canada	0.112 (0.099)	-0.012 (0.040)	-0.002 (0.019)	1.126 (0.116)	-0.254 (0.114)	0.98	1.946	n.d.	0.010
Germany	0.095 (0.059)	0.263 (0.093)	-0.009 (0.010)	1.070 (0.106)	-0.219 (0.104)	0.97	1.895	2.385	0.027
Netherlands	0.169 (0.152)	0.136 (0.086)	-0.003 (0.019)	0.938 (0.105)	-0.063 (0.104)	0.95	1.823	3.367	0.027
Japan	-0.042 (0.067)	0.120 (0.099)	0.024 (0.014)	1.361 (0.107)	-0.455 (0.108)	0.98	1.984	0.418	0.020
Italy	0.068 (0.038)	0.021 (0.043)	0.010 (0.009)	1.228 (0.104)	-0.315 (0.095)	0.98	2.115	1.860	0.022
Sweden	0.191 (0.146)	0.034 (0.053)	-0.009 (0.012)	1.182 (0.104)	0.397 (0.102)	0.81	1.988	0.213	0.021

^aS.E. = standard error of regression.

^bStandard error of coefficient estimates in parentheses.

^cN.d. = not defined.

Table 3
Estimated Average Lags

Country	Months
Belgium	8.04
U.K.	7.76
France	5.14
Canada	4.82
Germany	4.24
Netherlands	6.49
Japan	4.76
Italy	6.89
Sweden	1.81

CONTEMPORARY UNITED STATES—SOUTH KOREAN SECURITY RELATIONSHIP

Seunggi V. Paik*

Introduction.

In this paper, I shall endeavor to take a close look at the development of the United States-South Korean security relationship and to examine recent American military policies toward South Korea and the South Korean response. To be specific, I shall make an attempt to answer the following questions. Do American government leaders indeed believe that it is necessary to safeguard South Korean security from an external threat? If they do, then why? To what extent is the United States willing to support and guarantee South Korean security? What changes have taken place in Washington, especially the Executive and Congress, in their attitude toward South Korean defense? What are the alternatives South Korea can take in response to the United States policies?

Background of U.S.-South Korean Security Relation.

The establishment of the United States Military Government in Korea immediately after the Japanese surrender in 1945 marked the first heavy American political and military involvement in Korea. The United States, however, failed to establish a united Korea due to the disagreement with the Soviet Union, which then occupied the northern part of the Korean Peninsula. The United States supported the independence of Korea in 1948 within the area south of the 38th parallel.¹ The mutual security agreements between the United States and the Republic of Korea were created following the truce in 1953.²

Thereafter, South Korea has been closely related to the United States, relying on the United States for the preservation of its security. With Korea divided into hostile parts, in close proximity to the giant Communist powers of Russia and China, the people of South Korea have had an abiding sense of a constant threat to their national security. Consequently South Korean government leaders have been continuously anxious for United States reaffirmation of its commitment to South Korea.

In 1965, South Korea, at the request of the United States, dispatched combat soldiers to South Vietnam. This commitment of troops to the war in Southeast

* Dr. Paik was an Associate Professor of Political Science at Midwestern State University when this paper was presented. He is now President of Kyung Won College, Seoul, Korea.

¹U.S. Department of State Publication 3305, Far Eastern Series, 28, *Korea: 1945-1948*, October, 1948, pp. 3-4.

²U.S. *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. XXIX, No. 746, October 12, 1953, p. 484. Also see *ROK Treaty Series*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Seoul: 1956, pp. 166-167.

Asia gave the South Korean government a better bargaining position in subsequent negotiations between Seoul and Washington in regard to the mutual security agreements and United States assistance in modernizing South Korean armed forces.³ The South Korean involvement in the Vietnamese War also contributed to the economic growth of South Korea.⁴

These South Korean-American relationships, however, have not been quite satisfactory to South Korea. To the leaders in Seoul it appeared that the United States position did not always serve the best interests of South Korea. South Korean leaders were very much in disagreement when the United States agreed with the Soviet Union in partitioning Korea along the Thirty-eighth Parallel. During the course of the Korean War, the United States adhered to its policy of limited war. As such the United States was consistently criticized by South Korean leaders for not doing all that was possible to bring about the unification of Korea, even if it required a greatly enlarged scope of United States war efforts.

In spite of this unsatisfactory feeling, South Korea has remained as one of the most dependable allies of the United States in the region, and has fully supported United States foreign policy in general except for occasions such as President Rhee's anti-Communist prisoners' release in 1953 and General Park's coup in 1961.

In the late 1960's, the United States began to reevaluate its previous policy in the Far East which had been designed to contain Communism. The new policy under the Nixon Administration was designed to reduce the dependence of other countries on the United States for resisting the threat of Communism.⁵ Under The Nixon Doctrine, the United States reduced its troop strength in South Korea (20,000 soldiers out of 62,000, by 1971) as well as in South Vietnam and Okinawa. Emphasizing that the United States had entered into an era of negotiation, the Nixon Administration approached Communist China seeking a rapprochement, and it also stepped up its attempt to establish a better relationship with the Soviet Union.

Recent U.S. Security Policy toward South Korea.

An operational definition of a nation's foreign policy refers to the courses of action which official government policy makers determine to take, beyond the

³U.S. Senate Hearings before the subcommittee on U.S. Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad of the Committee on Foreign Relations, *U.S. Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad: Republic of Korea*, 91st Cong. 2nd Sess., part 6, Feb. 24, 25, and 26, 1970, pp. 1532-1534. Tong-won Lee, "Brown Memorandum and My Foreign Affairs Ministership", *Sedae*, November, 1970, pp. 159, 161.

⁴*Dai Wolnam Kyungje Jungchaik Kunue* (proposal on the Vietnam-related Economic Policy), the Korean National Chamber of Commerce, Seoul: 1968, p. 31.

⁵Department of State Publication 8572, East Asian and Pacific Series 1981, *The Nixon Doctrine: A Progressive Report* by Marshall Green, Washington, D.C.: February, 1971, p. 1.

territorial jurisdiction of the nation, in order to secure and advance the national interests of its people, and to enhance the power and prestige of the nation in world affairs.⁶ Some political scientists try to explain foreign policy by classifying it according to three distinct goals which it seeks to achieve as follows: (1) the preservation of a nationhood (the most basic existence), (2) the promotion of national interests (for prosperity), (3) the enhancement of national prestige (an advanced stage where national dignity or honor is important).⁷

I believe that this extended definition of the basic concept of foreign policy contributes to a better understanding of the United States-South Korean security problems. South Korean foreign policy stresses its preservation, whereas national interests and dignity are more important to the United States. Hence their foreign policies are quite different in the main objectives they try to achieve.

Let me first examine the advantages gained by the United States from the support of South Korean defense and then go on to explore the possible impact of the withdrawal of the United States combat forces from Korea from the point of view of what Washington seeks to achieve in its national security policy. In my opinion, the United States can benefit in three areas by helping to safeguard South Korean security. First, it can free itself from concern about threats from the Pacific coast by maintaining peace in the Western Pacific and East Asian region through supporting South Korean security efforts. The security of the Korean peninsula, which is essential to Japan's stability, has had the effect of restraining Japan from rearming (especially with regard to ground forces) for her own defense. It is my impression that the United States does not want to encourage Japan's heavy rearmament which might, in the future, be a new threat to the United States. Secondly, the United States can use the strategic location of Korea to check and maintain the balance of the Communist Chinese and the Russian forces.

The competitive power struggle between China and the Soviet Union could be stopped short at the Korean peninsula before it spreads out to the Western Pacific or the Sea of Japan. Peking's unwillingness to upset this balance has been manifested through its stance against the withdrawal of American troops from South Korea. In the past, the United States in its security policy in Asia made efforts to maintain the balance of power between Japan and China.⁸ The third benefit to the United States from supporting Seoul is that in doing so it might recover some of the credibility and dignity which was lost as a result of the war in Vietnam. We know that a number of Asian countries have turned toward nearby China from the

⁶Irish and Frank, *U.S. Foreign Policy: Context, Conduct, Content*, (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1975), p. 1.

⁷Among others, see A. F. K. Organski, *World Politics*, 2nd ed., (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968), pp. 61-85.

⁸For your reference, read John K. Fairbank, *China: The People's Middle Kingdom and the U.S.A.*, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1967).

United States after the fall of South Vietnam to Communism. The United States would have to risk further loss of credibility if it did not honor the United States-South Korea Mutual Defense Treaty commitment.

In March, 1977, President Carter reaffirmed his pre-election policy position calling for the withdrawal of American ground forces from South Korea within four or five years. Where then did above goals of the United States stand when the Carter Administration made the decision about the proposed withdrawal? The decision of the Carter Administration was based upon the assumption that the withdrawal of American ground forces would not effect the security of South Korea. A ranking official in the Administration stated as follows:

First, the Republic of Korea was capable of repelling an attack by the North without the assistance of American ground combat forces, provided the U.S. afforded timely air, naval, and logistic support to the Republic of Korea.

Second, all of the major powers -- the U.S., Japan, the USSR, and the PRC -- shared an interest in avoiding a renewal of conflict on the Korean peninsula.

Third, the dynamic growth of the ROK economy was gradually transforming the balance of power on the peninsula in the south's favor, and permitted the transfer of a larger share of the burden of common defense to the Republic of Korea, including responsibility for the entire ground combat role.

Fourth, by carefully staging the withdrawals over a period of four to five years, the United States could pace them to the increasing strength of the ROK.

Fifth, even when U.S. ground combat forces had been completely removed from Korea, the United States would retain a powerful and effective deterrent through continued deployment of air power on the peninsula. And we would have established a more sustainable division of labor with the ROK -- they providing the manpower for their own defense; the U.S. contributing technology -- intensive support, principally in the form of air and naval power. In addition, we expected to have some residual army units in

South Korea to perform logistics, communications, and other functions, and, of course, would retain a capacity to reinsert ground combat forces in the event of a crisis.⁹

President Carter made it clear, in his letters to Senator Robert Byrd and House Speaker Tip O'Neill in July, 1978, that he was willing to make adjustments to the troop withdrawal plan after consulting Congress, South Korea, and other allies in Asia, should there be a significant shift in the balance of power on the Korean peninsula. Preoccupied with domestic economic problems and in the wake of international developments over the past few years such as China-Vietnam conflict and the Iranian situation, the United States wished to turn its attention to its internal issues without having to concern itself over any additional international crises. Particularly the reassessment of North Korean military strength which confirmed that North Korean ground forces, armors, and mobility are considerably larger than previously estimated,¹⁰ has led the United States to acknowledge the need to give up or at least modify the withdrawal plan to maintain peace in the troubled spot.

The mood of U.S. legislators also played a role in the issue of South Korean security in the late 1970's. An aftermath of the Dong-Sun Park scandal, so called "Koreagate" in Washington, saw among members of Congress a temporary "stay-away-from-Koreans attitude" which has since diminished to some extent.

Representative Tom Harkin's proposal for an amendment, in response to human rights violations by the government of South Korea, to cut \$45 million from the \$280 million earmarked for military aid to South Korea was rejected by a 24 to 59 standby vote. Arguments against the motion stated that it could bring about (1) collapse of overall American foreign policy toward Asia, and (2) a setback in the administration's troop withdrawal plan. Thus military aid to South Korea was not reduced for the sake of the withdrawal of American combat forces stationed in Korea. A proposal introduced by Representative Bruce Caputo to slash economic aid to South Korea in agricultural and marine products by \$217 million was defeated by a narrow margin of 185 to 205 in June, 1977.¹¹ Although Congress approved the selling of \$275 million worth of weapons to Seoul, it voiced its concern over the violation of human rights in South Korea by adding to the bill the statement: "We express a deep interest in the disrespect for human rights in that country."

⁹Statement of Michael H. Armacost, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense before the subcommittee on Asia and Pacific Affairs, House International Relations Committee Concerning U.S. Policy in Korea, pp. 1-2.

¹⁰See Congressional Budget Office Report on U.S. Policy toward Korea, *U.S. Forces, Korea: Analysis of the North Korean Threat*, May, 1978.

¹¹*Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, 1977, p. 201

Senator George McGovern introduced a resolution in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee reaffirming and endorsing the Carter administration's original plan to withdraw ground troops from Korea in four to five years.¹²

When Representative Samuel Stratton, Chairman of the House Arms Service Investigation Subcommittee, opposed the troop withdrawal plan with the argument that it would run a very grave risk of war, Representative Lester Wolff, who headed the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, responded by emphasizing that it costs \$1.3 billion annually to maintain American armed forces in South Korea. He went on to assert that South Korea now had sufficient military and economic power to resist North Korean invasion. Faced with these U.S. plans for withdrawal, the government in Seoul requested \$2.3 billion for its Force Improvement Plan, which included approximately \$1.8 billion in the form of loans to purchase jet-fighters, missiles, field artillery, tanks, and destroyers to upgrade the ability of the South's armed forces to take care of themselves. Democratic leaders, like House Speaker Thomas O'Neill, unmoved by the request, declared that the request called for some hard selling. Representative Lester Wolff said "It is going to be quite tough to get Congress to vote that kind of money in today's climate."¹³ Representative Wolff did accompany Richard Holbrooke, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and Pacific, on his fact-finding swing through South Korea in the Summer of 1977.

Though the newly elected Congress projects a relatively conservative characteristic, especially with the new Republican majority in the Senate, it seems quite reluctant to make a move to get in on another war to help friendly foreign nations survive against aggression by Communists. Not much change is expected for the time being in the overall Congressional views on the South Korean security.

Now let us turn our attention to the views of American public on the defense of South Korea. Although we often find it difficult to survey public opinion, I would like to apply the Mood Theory which was developed by Professor Frank Klingberg to predict the general sentiment of the public toward foreign affairs. According to Klingberg's theory which is based on the analysis of the cyclical aspect of the mood of American government and the people, an extroversion period of twenty-seven years duration followed by an introversion period lasting twenty-one years has prevailed throughout American history. Major wars have broken out and been undertaken in extroversion periods.¹⁴ This Mood Theory has proved right so far and by his calculations and the United States has been in an introversion period since 1968.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 350

¹³Stephen Barber, "Congress eyes Carter's Plan," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, August 5, 1977, pp. 12-13.

¹⁴Frank Klingberg, "Historical Periods, Trends, and Cycles in International Relations," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. XIV, No. 4, December, 1970, pp. 506-508.

Thus, the United States will be more interested in domestic affairs than foreign affairs for approximately ten more years if his theory is correct. If so, we can presume the United States voting public should be sympathetic to the troop withdrawal plan for some years in the future.

The South Korean Response.

The announcement of the United States government decision to terminate its diplomatic relationship with the Republic of China by the end of 1978 together with its troop withdrawal from South Korea (4,000 soldiers out of 32,000 by 1980) has raised some questions about the ability and desire of the United States to protect the interests of foreign countries against the Communist aggression. There is the question of what the United States' role in Asia will be after it withdraws its military forces from Korea and other countries in the area. Many Asian leaders and prominent political analysts in these countries began to consider what the further steps the United States might take following its frustrating experience in Vietnam and the termination of its relationship with Taiwan. They are wondering if the United States would or could continue to play a prominent role in Asian affairs, or whether it would or should follow the footsteps of France and Great Britain and withdraw from the Pacific and Asian region, assuming only a minor role in the defense of these areas. A major South Korean reaction to the changing United States security policy towards the Communist nations is the belief that it represents an American error, certainly insofar as Seoul is concerned. Also it is believed to be not a single isolated error but one in a series of misjudgments which includes such events as the Chinese situation at the end of World War II, the failure to bring about reunification of Korea as a byproduct of the Korean War, and the unsuccessful endeavor to establish a neutral Laotian government.

There are, in a broad sense, two courses for Seoul to choose in this situation. The first is to build up its security posture without heavy dependence on and positive cooperation with the United States. The second is to undertake its security with the help of understanding and cooperation of the United States.

Let us review the first course. Despite financial difficulties, South Korea can modernize its armed forces and develop nuclear weapons independently.¹⁵ Secondly, there is a way for Seoul to continue its efforts to prevent war on the Korean peninsula, such as an attempt to reopen dialogues with North Korea which could eventually lead to a peaceful settlement. Thirdly, South Korea could develop the existing relationship with Japan which now is primarily one of economic cooperation, into one of cooperation for mutual security. The other way is to seek the improvement of relations with Communist China and the Soviet Union as a means of preventing provocations to war by North Korea. If there are difficulties for improving relations both with Peking and Moscow, South Korea can choose one of the two by availing itself of the Sino-Soviet conflicts. The ways which we have reviewed can

¹⁵ *Washington Post*, November 14, 1979.

be pursued simultaneously, and if any help is forthcoming from the United States, one can hope to see more beneficial results.¹⁶

Prospects.

At the very moment of finalizing this paper, an army-general-turned-civilian took the South Korean presidency. President Chun obtained an assurance for his nation's security from the Reagan Administration during his state visit in February, 1981. The Reagan Administration emphasized traditional anti-Communist approaches and showed its cordial attitude toward military-turned-civilian government in Seoul after four years of strain over its alleged abuses of human rights. President Reagan made it clear that the American troops in South Korea would stay there for some time and the South Koreans would receive arms on favorable terms from the United States.¹⁷

On the other hand, it seems quite evident that the United States has not been very successful in persuading the Korean leadership to adopt less repressive measures. I am afraid that the prospect does not seem bright for the United States to exert a positive influence on the establishment of democratic government in South Korea.

¹⁶See Seunggi Paik, *United States-South Korean National Security Relationship: 1945-1972*, Unpublished Ph.D Dissertation, University Microfilm, Ann Arbor, Michigan: 1973 pp. 163-174

¹⁷*Hankook Ilbo*, February 4, 1981

THE FAILURE OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF HOSIERY WORKERS IN BERKS COUNTY PENNSYLVANIA: A CASE STUDY OF INDUSTRY – LABOR CONFLICT

Kenneth E. Hendrickson, Jr.*

During the first half of the twentieth century the ladies full-fashioned hosiery industry, an important sector of the textile industry, centered in Pennsylvania. The largest number of mills was located in Philadelphia, but the largest individual mills were located in Reading and Berks County. Of these, the greatest of all was the Berkshire.¹ This paper deals with the problem of industry-labor relations between the Berkshire Mills and the other plants in Berks Co., Pennsylvania and the American Federation of Hosiery Workers during the 1930's. The union was Socialist dominated until 1935 and quite ably led, and it sought during this period to establish itself as the main representative and bargaining agent of the workers in the industry. The manufacturers were led by the men who controlled the Berkshire Mills – men who had always been among the leaders of the most virulent anti-union industrialists in the county. During the 1930's the union attempted persistently to establish itself as the legitimate bargaining agent for the workers, and through a series of strikes climaxing in 1936, it almost succeeded. But unfortunately, fate took a hand in the matter, and combining her forces with the not inconsiderable power of the Berks County industrialists, decreed that the union should fall. The struggle was long and very complex in all its facets, and it provides an illuminating glimpse of labor conflict during that crucial depression decade.

The hosiery industry was founded in Berks County by two German immigrants, Ferdinand Thun and Henry Janssen, who settled in Reading before the turn of the century, founded a partnership which they called the Textile Machine Works, and began the manufacture of textile knitting machinery. Soon, they expanded their

*Dr. Hendrickson is Professor of History at Midwestern State University.

¹J. D. De Haan, *The Full-Fashioned Hosiery Industry in the U.S.A.* (Mouton & Co., The Hague, 1957), 20-24. According to this authority, 1919 is to be regarded as the "take-off" year for the full-fashioned hosiery industry. Production increased 500% between 1919 and 1929. In the latter year the industry manufactured 31.1 million dozen pair which sold at an average price \$9.31 per doz. Also see: U.S. Department of Labor, *Collective Bargaining in the Hosiery Industry*, (1936), 2, a pamphlet located in the AFHW Collection, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin, hereinafter cited AFHW Collection. This document indicates that between 1914 and 1931, production of full-fashioned hosiery quadrupled twice. From 1931 to 1935 the trend continued. Philadelphia had 27% of the total productive equipment in the industry in 1935, much of which was manufactured in Reading. Also see: U.S. Department of Commerce, *Census of Manufactures, 1939*, Vol. I, 28, 46, 878-79, 896-97. There were 499 full-fashioned hosiery plants in the United States in 1939. They employed 97,000 persons and ranked eleventh most important of all American industries in this regard. Of the total 131 plants were located in the Philadelphia metropolitan area and 31 in the Reading area.

operations to include the knitting of ladies hosiery and in July of 1906, the Berkshire Mills were officially incorporated. The Thun-Janssen enterprises experienced a boom period beginning in 1914 when the war in Europe put an end to the importation of hosiery machinery from Germany. They received another boost in 1921 when strikes shut down most of the hosiery mills in Philadelphia for nearly a year. Since the Berkshire was a non-union mill, its owners were able to capture much of the business of the Philadelphia mills, and a good deal of it was never relinquished. During the decade which followed, the hosiery industry expanded dramatically, especially after 1925. New mills were established in Berks County and the Berkshire achieved predominance with respect to the entire industry. By 1930 it was generally recognized that the "center of gravity" of the hosiery industry was in Reading. The Berkshire Mills had become the largest single hosiery mill in the world and with the other plants in the county employed some 15,000 workers. In addition, the Textile Machine Works supplied most of the knitting machines used in the industry.² This condition prevailed until well after World War II, but by the end of the 1950's a number of factors which we shall have occasion to examine later combined to bring about significant alterations.

The American Federation of Hosiery Workers was first organized as an international union in 1913, and became affiliated with the A.F.L. in 1923. During the period from 1929 and 1939 it was led by Emil Rieve of Philadelphia who made it one of the most aggressive labor organizations in the country, widely acclaimed as a pioneer in the fight for industry-wide collective bargaining. Frequently, the union under Rieve and his associates was influential enough to effect wages and conditions in non-union mills, even those as powerful as the Berkshire. Frequently too, the union successfully countered the efforts of employers to reduce wages or carry out other policies detrimental to the workers. In the long run, however, the AFHW was unable to withstand the onslaught of technology and the shift in the center of the industry from Pennsylvania to the South. In 1965, beset with internal difficulties and a precipitously declining membership, the union voted itself out of existence and merged with the Textile Workers Union.³

With this background in mind, let us turn to the 1930's, the greatest and most successful era of organizational activity in American labor history. The great push to organize the hosiery industry in Berks County began in 1930. Conditions in the industry by that time were in an extremely dangerous state due largely to the overproduction which had characterized the boom period of the late Twenties. By early 1930, the American market for full-fashioned hosiery was glutted and the clear warnings from both the union and textile economists to cut production went unheeded by most producers. However, the manufacturers did begin to make drastic

²Berkshire Mills, Inc., Confidential Dun & Bradstreet Report, June 28, 1944, AFHW Collection.

³American Federation of Hosiery Workers, History, Prefatory Notes to the AFHW Collection, 1-2.

wage cuts. Led by the Berkshire Mills, they reduced hourly wages nearly thirty percent on the average by the end of the summer. They also resorted more widely than ever before to the two machine or "stretch-out" system which required one skilled knitter to tend two machines, assisted, if at all, by an unskilled apprentice. For his extra work the knitter received no extra pay.

At the Berkshire, indeed in all of Berks County, the AFHW had little influence at this time. The union had never gained much of a foothold there and the owners and managers of the mills were determined that it never would. They consistently fired workers who had any association with union men and they engaged in an elaborate system of industrial espionage which kept the union constantly off guard. Despite these great handicaps, the union leadership persevered. From Emil Rieve at the top down to Edward F. Callaghan and Luther D. "Fat" Adams, the leaders of Branch #10 in Reading, the AFHW officials were keenly aware that the Berkshire was the key to the industry. Until it could be fully organized, there was little hope that the union would ever achieve the level of power and prestige which they desired. Thus, in a way, the wage cuts and other unreasonable policies of management played into their hands, for the ill-feelings which these practices engendered among the workers gave the union men the chance for which they had been waiting.⁴

By the spring of 1930 it seemed apparent to many of the workers that they were to be required to pay for the years of bad planning and the over-production which had characterized the industry since 1925, and for the first time in many years they began openly to seek the support of the union. By July, Rieve reported to the membership that a "spontaneous" organizational drive had sprung up in Reading and the chances for success seemed better than ever before.⁵ Conditions grew continually worse and by October local organizer Edward F. Callaghan could write that "the economic folly of unrestrained competition is leading the full-fashioned hosiery industry to catastrophe." He predicted that a strike was imminent and he called upon the government to intervene.⁶

Washington responded by sending professional mediator Fred Keighly to the Reading district. Immediately upon his arrival Keighly met with the union men to hear their complaints. He found them to be thoroughly aroused and described the situation as "dynamite." On the other hand, he judged Callaghan to be "a conservative and intelligent leader" and reported that he was not likely to permit drastic action unless he had the support of at least eighty percent of those who would be affected. Keighly also conferred with the Socialist Mayor of Reading,

⁴Report on the Status of the Full-Fashioned Hosiery Industry, November 17, 1930, Record Group 280, Case Dispute File 170-5925, Federal Records Center, Suitland, Maryland, hereinafter cited, FRC.

⁵*The Hosiery Worker*, May 15; July 15, 1930.

⁶Edward F. Callaghan to Herbert Hoover, October 31, 1930, RG 280, File 170-5925, FRC.

J. Henry Stump, and found him to be extremely worried. Unemployment in the city was already serious, Stump explained, and a strike would be a disaster magnified by the fact that the local authorities could offer no relief. Nevertheless, the Mayor was sympathetic to the position of the union.⁷

On November 9, 1930 the unionists held a daylight mass meeting attended by nearly 1200 workers; and it was significant because it was the first such meeting held in Reading in many years. With the loud backing of those present, the union leaders threatened to call a strike at once unless wages were restored to their previous levels. On the same day Keightly met with Berkshire Superintendent Hugo Hemmerich who denied all the allegations of the union regarding wages and working conditions. Hemmerich charged the union leaders with fraud saying that wage reductions at the Berkshire had not exceeded fifteen percent during the year and had affected only about 2350 workers. Hemmerich also impressed Keightly with his firm belief that most of his employees were loyal and would not strike. The mediator, though impressed, was not sympathetic. "It is clear that they have a pipeline of information from within the employees group," he noted. After his meeting with Hemmerich, Keightly interviewed William C. Bitting, President of Rosedale Mills, the second largest hosiery manufacturer in the area. Bitting also informed the mediator that even though he had no particularly hostile feeling toward the union, he would not do business with it and could not be forced to do so by a strike.⁸

On Friday, November 17, the union held an early morning mass meeting in a downtown theater. About 1700 persons attended and were addressed by Rieve, Callaghan and others who informed them that the time had come for action. They scheduled a walkout for the next Monday morning, and all workers were invited to participate. The Union leaders also called for a demonstration of strength and solidarity at the municipal baseball field at 11 AM that day, but when the time came only about 200 workers appeared. Nevertheless, the union was now committed and re-issued the call for a walkout on the following Monday morning.⁹

The strike began on November 20 and was directed only against the Berkshire mill. It lasted for just one week and was characterized by violence on the part of the state police who were called in to "maintain order", a half-hearted response on the part of the workers, and a steely determination by the company to resist. The union discovered that against these obstacles it lacked the capacity to hold the

⁷Fred Keightly to H.L.K., November 8, 1930, in *ibid*. The statement concerning "80% support" must be assumed to have been based upon an effort by Callaghan to convince Keightly that he had matters under greater control than was actually the case. As a matter of fact, he called a strike shortly thereafter with less than 50% support. The U.S. Conciliation Service was organized in 1913 when the independent Department of Labor was created.

⁸Keightly to H.L.K., November 11, 14, 1930, in *ibid*.

⁹Keightly to H.L.K., November 17, 1930, in *ibid*.

workers out and within a few days many of them began to drift back to their jobs. As a result Rieve called off the strike officially on November 28, admitting complete defeat.¹⁰ In *The Hosiery Worker*, official publication of the union, he warned the workers that they should view the fiasco as a great object lesson. "There can be no further progress in this industry," he declared, "until a powerful union is forged."¹¹

In the months which followed the collapse of the 1930 strike, working conditions worsened in the hosiery industry as a result of further wage cuts and lay-offs. Thus it was not difficult for Rieve and Callaghan and their colleagues to convince themselves and their sympathizers of the need for further action, and there was soon underway a union drive which surpassed that of 1930. This movement was also encouraged by the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act in the spring of 1933, particularly Section 7 (a) requiring minimum wages and collective bargaining. "The greatest organizational drive ever is now underway," declared Rieve in *The Hosiery Worker*. "The union is determined to take advantage of the provisions of the NIRA."¹²

As a direct result of union activity, the new posture of the federal government in regard to labor, and the intolerable economic conditions which prevailed, the hosiery workers of Reading and other areas struck again during late June and early July of 1933. At first, the strike was confined to the workers in the smaller plants, with Berkshire and Rosedale remaining in full operation.¹³ Nevertheless, it was obviously a situation of great potential danger and within a week after the initial walk-out the government dispatched Dr. Benjamin Squires, an experienced mediator, to Reading to attempt a settlement. Squires held informal talks with union and industrial leaders and within less than forty-eight hours he announced a settlement. This three point agreement appeared to be a truly remarkable achievement. It provided that all workers were to return to their jobs under the conditions which prevailed at the time the strike began. In return the employers agreed to bargain collectively, and to submit all issues which could not be settled privately to an arbitrator. Com-

¹⁰ Keighly to H.L.K., November 20, 25; December 12, 1930; H.E. Rodene, Reading Chamber of Commerce, to James J. Davis, Secretary of Labor, November 21, 1930, in *ibid.* Also see: Reading *Labor Advocate*, November 21, 28, 1930. Estimates of the number of workers who walked off their jobs varied from that of Rodene who claimed that only a few hundred were affected, to that of Keighly who estimated the participation of approximately 50% of the total labor force.

¹¹ *The Hosiery Worker*, October 15 [sic], 1930. For some unknown reason this issue is dated prior to the event it describes.

¹² *Ibid.*, June 16, 1933.

¹³ *Ibid.*, June 23, 30, 1933.

menting that the employers had demonstrated a "liberal and cooperative attitude," Squires departed for his home in Chicago.¹⁴

The "settlement" lasted for approximately twenty-four hours. On July 4, Rieve announced that the strike was still in effect due to a "gross breach of the understanding" by the employers. What happened was simply that management categorically refused to agree to any workable procedure by which the workers could designate the AFHW as their bargaining agent. The union requested that the Labor Department send Dr. Squires back to Reading, but meanwhile the strike continued,¹⁵ and on July 6, its effectiveness seemed assured when the bulk of the employees at Berkshire and Rosedale walked off their jobs. At this point some 10,000 workers in Berks County were idle and only two mills in the area were in operation. Now the union for the first time was in a position to go on the offensive.¹⁶

Meanwhile, representatives of the hosiery industry met in New York City to consider the provisions of the NRA hosiery code, and during the second week of July they made their handiwork public. The tentative provisions of the code included minimum wages scales twenty to fifty percent below those of the union, and a mandatory forty hour week. The union found these provisions very disappointing. They had argued for higher wage scales and a thirty hour week, but more important, they demanded more precise wording in the clauses dealing with arbitration. Rieve and his colleagues assumed with good reason that the employers would never do voluntarily what they were not required to do by law, and they chose this moment to make collective bargaining the keynote of the strike, with even the issue of wages temporarily subordinated to it. Further, the union called upon the Director of NRA, General Hugh Johnson, to "get tough" with anti-union industrialists and force them to abide by existing federal regulations.¹⁷

During the same period local officials in Reading attempted without success to mediate the strike and on July 22, Dr. Squires and Fred Keighthly arrived and began new efforts to iron out the dispute. Both sides complained bitterly to Squires of bad faith on the part of the other and he promised to remain until they could reach an objective settlement. However, after only four days of effort Squires retired from the case claiming that no settlement was possible since the employers would discuss matters only on their own terms. At this point a resolution of the

¹⁴ *Reading Eagle*, July 2, 3, 1933.

¹⁵ *Reading Times*, July 5, 1933; *Reading Eagle*, July 5, 1933.

¹⁶ *The Hosiery Worker*, July 7, 1933. The number of strikers does not reflect union membership which amounted to only a few hundred workers in 1933.

¹⁷ *The Hosiery Worker*, July 14, 21, 28; August 14, 1933; *Reading Times*, July 14, 1933.

crisis seemed to be a very distant thing.¹⁸

Shortly thereafter, on August 4, 1933, President Roosevelt signed the legislation which created the original National Labor Board and both sides in the hosiery strike immediately announced they would cooperate with the new agency in search of a settlement. At the same time, the Chairman of the NLB, Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, announced that the hosiery strike would be placed first on his agenda.¹⁹ On August 10, after only four hours of negotiations, a settlement was reached and the hosiery workers were ordered back to the mills.²⁰ The substance of the agreement was that the strike was to end at once and all workers were to be permitted to return to their jobs without prejudice. Within one week after their return the workers were to vote for their bargaining agent in an election supervised by the NLB. Finally, any disagreement concerning the proper interpretation of the terms of the settlement was to be submitted to the NLB and both sides agreed to accept the decisions of the board in such cases as final.²¹ Since the agreement did not include a provision granting recognition to the AFHW, it did not receive the unanimous approval of the union leaders. Whereas Rieve was perfectly willing to accept the terms as stated, the somewhat more militant President of Branch 1 in Philadelphia, Alexander McKeown, desired to continue the strike until the employers granted outright recognition. McKeown was overruled, due to financial considerations, but as events were to prove, his was the more realistic view.²²

Within a few days the NLB sent Fred Wilcox of the Wisconsin State Industrial Relations Committee to Reading to supervise the balloting.²³ The hosiery workers voted on August 23, and indicated a preference for the AFHW by a ratio of approximately three to one. In only seven small mills in the entire Berks County area was union representation rejected. The AFHW leadership lamented that the victory was not as overwhelming as they would have liked, but they hailed it as a great step forward anyway,²⁴ and dispatched a routine request to the employers for a meeting

¹⁸Reading *Eagle*, July 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 1933.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, August 6, 7, 9, 1933.

²⁰Reading *Times*, August 10, 11; Reading *Eagle*, August 9, 11; *The Hosiery Worker*, August 11, 1933.

²¹National Labor Board to Richard Neustadt, Acting Secretary, NLB, Philadelphia Division, November 16, 1933, RG 69, NLB File, Box 180, National Archives, Washington, D.C., hereinafter cited NA.

²²*The Hosiery Worker*, August 18, 1933.

²³Reading *Eagle*, August 15, 16, 17, 1933. McKeown succeeded Rieve as President in 1939.

²⁴*The Hosiery Worker*, August 25, 1933; Reading *Eagle*, August 24; Reading *Times*, August 24, 1933.

in order to discuss the terms of new written agreements. To their astonishment the employers refused saying they had already met their obligation under the agreement by permitting the election. The union countered with a strike threat, but the NLB intervened ordering the union not to strike and the employers to negotiate. The union complied and the employers delayed, but after a second ruling from the NLB and a second strike threat, both in October, they capitulated and agreed to negotiate with the union. Rieve regarded this development as another significant victory and he called upon workers to take note of the fact that it took a serious strike threat to give teeth to the NLB ruling. The lesson should be clear to all, he said with a familiar refrain — a powerful union was essential to progress.²⁵

Each party now submitted a new proposal to the other. The AFHW called for recognition and promised there would be no strikes provided the employers should forego discrimination and the lockout, and permit the check-off, equal distribution of work during slack periods, and collective bargaining for wages and hours. The employers issued a counter-proposal which called for the parties to operate under the provisions of the hosiery code with wages conforming to the scale established by the industry. Selection and advancement of employees were to be based on merit without regard for membership in any organization, collection of dues on the premises (the check-off) was not to be permitted, there were to be no strikes or lockouts, and all disputes were to be submitted to a board chosen by the parties. These proposals were mutually unacceptable and since neither side appeared willing to give in, the deadlock remained. Representatives of the Philadelphia Regional Labor Board who were on the scene attempted to forge a compromise, but soon concluded that no further progress could be made through their intervention and appealed to Senator Wagner to issue a ruling.²⁶

The employers in Berks County, and those at the Berkshire Mills in particular, were by no means idle during this uncertain period. In addition to their refusal to give serious consideration to the AFHW proposals, they also began to form “employees associations” or company unions in an effort to weaken the AFHW further. At the Berkshire those workers who acted as recruiters for the association were given special privileges such as time off with pay and office space in the plant which gave them a great advantage over AFHW organizers. Also, the company union men at the Berkshire began the publication of a propaganda sheet, *The Hosiery Examiner*, designed to neutralize the effect of *The Hosiery Worker* published by the union. In response to efforts like these, the workers at Rosedale renewed the strike and many at the Berkshire threatened to do likewise. At the same

²⁵National Labor Board Report, The Reading Hosiery Strike, November 16, 1933, RG 69, NLB Files, Box 180, NA. Also see: *The Hosiery Worker*, September 1, 29; October 13, 1933; *Reading Times*, September 1, 28, 30; October 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 1933.

²⁶NLB Report, The Reading Hosiery Strike, November 16, 1933; Jacob Billikopf, Chairman, Philadelphia Regional Labor Board, to Robert F. Wagner, Chairman, NLB, December 7, 1933, RG 69, NLB Files, Box 180 NA.

time the leaders of the union intensified their demands that the NRA and NLB inaugurate a "get tough" policy against employers who defied or evaded the provisions of Sec. 7 (a) of the NIRA. They were beginning to lose their confidence in the willingness and ability of the government to protect their interests, but this development was checked to a degree when Senator Wagner issued a ruling calling for a forty hour, five day week, slight pay increases, and time-and-a-half for overtime. But, since there was still no clear-cut decision on collective bargaining, the union was not entirely satisfied.²⁷

The AFHW accepted Wagner's ruling as the best terms to be had under existing circumstances, but continued to demand that the government enforce them since there was no reason to believe that the employers would adhere voluntarily. This uneasiness was completely justifiable, it must be added, for during the months which followed the 1934 agreement the employers continued to ignore the union and encourage the "employees association." They also frequently violated the specific terms of the agreement and the representatives of the NLB found it virtually impossible to enforce compliance with the minimal powers they possessed. As if to emphasize this problem, Dr. George W. Taylor resigned as impartial chairman of the arbitration committee in May, 1934, saying he could no longer abide the "old fashioned dictatorial or Prussian attitude toward labor" exhibited by the employers, especially by the men at the Berkshire.²⁸

By mid-1934, then, it was clear that the existing machinery of the government for handling labor disputes was inadequate. Even Senator Wagner had lost interest in the NLB and was now busy with a new bill designed to provide a more satisfactory arrangement. Wagner submitted his "Labor Disputes Act of 1934" to Congress on March 1. In its original form the bill provided for a permanent NLB empowered to enforce its decisions through the courts. It could engage in mediation and arbitration of labor disputes, settle representation cases, and issue cease and desist orders against employers who engaged in unfair practices. Among the actions designated as unfair were discriminations against union members, interfering with the rights of workers to organize, and creating and supporting company unions. The Berkshire and many of the other plants in Berks County, of course, indulged in all these practices.

As expected, labor was almost unanimously enthusiastic about the bill and industry was just as vigorously opposed. Wagner had not expected, however, that the administration would be as lukewarm as it was, and as a result he was forced to accept certain modifications in order to get the bill through the Senate Education and Labor Committee. As amended, the bill was much less acceptable to labor. It provided that the board was to be under the Labor Department rather than inde-

²⁷*The Hosiery Worker*, December 7, 8, 22, 27, 2933; January 26; February 2, 1934. Also see: *Collective Bargaining in the Hosiery Industry*, 5, AFHW Collection.

²⁸*The Hosiery Worker*, February 2, 9; May 4, 25, 1934.

visions of the Wagner Act. Further, Hugo Hemmerich and his colleagues continued to encourage the company union and intimidate workers who preferred the AFHW. This, in turn, caused a significant decline in the size of the union by mid-1936. Simultaneously, the Berkshire expanded its business by significantly underbidding most competitors, even those in the South, and to compensate they continued to utilize the stretch-out and wage cutting. They also introduced an unpopular Saturday shift and gave workers no choice as to whether or not they would work on that day.³³ At the same time the company ignored the persistent efforts of the union to establish itself as the official bargaining agent of the workers. The requests of such local leaders as E.F. Callaghan and Luther D. Adams that Hemmerich meet with them to exchange views went unheeded. As a result of all these factors, the AFHW leaders concluded that they had no alternative but to call a strike. The union workers were ordered out on October 1, 1936 and thus began the climactic series of events in the struggle between management and labor in this vital sector of the American hosiery industry.³⁴

Although mass picketing began at the mill gates at dawn on the first day, a significant number of workers ignored the call and attempted to proceed to their jobs as usual. They were opposed by the pickets and violence erupted. At this point the state police arrived and precipitated further violence which continued until midnight. By that time 150 cars and buses were damaged scores of people were injured, with twenty-five sent to the hospital, and eighteen persons were under arrest. The union charged that the state troopers under the command of Captain Samuel Gearheart engaged in unprovoked brutality and they demanded that Gearheart be removed. He was, in fact, suspended by the Governor pending investigation of the charges, but was later cleared.

Efforts to resolve the disputes which caused the strike began at once. Governor George Earle sent Secretary of Labor and Industry Ralph S. Bashore to Reading to attempt conciliation, and from Washington came Michael D. Williams, an experienced representative of the United States Conciliation Service. It was clear to all observers, however, that a settlement would not be easy. Hugo Hemmerich refused to talk to the union leaders or even to sit with them in the same room. He branded all their charges as lies and declared that most of his workers were happy. The

³³Memorandum re: The Berkshire Mills Strike, October 5, 1936.

³⁴Luther D. Adams, President, Branch #10, AFHW, Reading, to Hugo Hemmerich, Superintendent, Berkshire Mills, September 22, 1936; Herbert W. Payne to Hemmerich, August 21, 1936, AFHW Collection. At this stage the AFHW had between 600 and 700 members at the Berkshire Mill.

³⁵Memorandum Re: The Berkshire Mills Strike, October 5, 1936, RG 280. File 182-1936, FRC; Reading *Times*, October 1, 2, 3; *The Hosiery Worker*, October 2, 1936.

strike, he contended, was caused by "outside agitators" and other millowners who were jealous of the Berkshire.³⁶

The conciliators found in Hemmerich an implacable foe of the union. William reported that Hemmerich was "a German of the Prussian variety" whose philosophy of life was to succeed with his plans at all costs. He characterized Hemmerich as a man willing to trample others under foot and destroy all his competition as well in order to secure a favorable position for his own company. Hemmerich was also an admirer of Hitler known to be favorably inclined toward the Nazi regime in Germany.³⁷

At the moment that efforts were beginning to end the crisis, the supreme tragedy of the strike occurred. On the morning of October 4, while attempting to report for work as usual, twenty-five year-old W. Earle Schlegel, a non-union knitter, was struck in the head and killed by a rock thrown through the windshield of his car. All parties were temporarily stunned by the horror of this event, but soon rallied to begin blaming each other. Naturally, many people held the union responsible and denounced it accordingly. On the other hand, the union men declared that it was impossible to determine whether or not one of their people had thrown the rock. Further, they predicted that the police and the company would use Schlegel's death as an excuse for further brutality. In the midst of these recriminations the District Attorney promised a full investigation declaring that he would bring the guilty party to justice. His investigation later resulted in the arrest and indictment of one Leslie B. Talley, a union picket who was nearby when the incident occurred and who had helped to carry Schlegel into the infirmary. Talley was tried and cleared and the union rejoiced, but the real culprit was never found.³⁸

By the end of the first week, the violence quieted and the strike became a war of attrition. Despite union claims to the contrary, it is probable that as many as ninety percent of the employees at the Berkshire remained on the job. However, since most of the strikers came from key departments, production was at least temporarily cut to about sixty percent of the desired level.³⁹ For the next five months the stalemate continued. Several hundred workers remained on strike, but

³⁶Reading Times, October 6, 1936; Samuel R. McClurd, United States Conciliation Service, to Paul A. Wenrich, Reading Chamber of Commerce, October 2, 1936, RG 280, File 182-1836, FRC. The reference to jealousy was apparently aimed at William C. Bitting, owner of the Rose-dale Mills. Hemmerich and Bitting hated each other and Bitting had declared a holiday on October 1 so that his workers could help picket the Berkshire if they wished.

³⁷Memorandum Re: Hugo Hemmerich, December 7, 1936, in *ibid.*

³⁸Reading Times, October 7, 8; *The Hosiery Worker*, October 9, 1936.

³⁹Memorandum Re: The Berkshire Mills Strike, December 8, 1936, Rg 280, File 182-1836, FRC; *The Hosiery Worker*, October 9, 1936; Reading *Labor Advocate*, October 23, 1936; Reading Times, October 9, 1936.

done to bring the two sides together, and he admitted that all these efforts had failed. Both Bashore and Williams considered their assignments officially ended as of January 15, 1937.⁴²

The union made little effort to portray the strike as a success after January 1, 1937. However, a good deal of space in *The Hosiery Worker* was utilized to describe the atrocities committed by various "thugs" and "hoodlums" in the pay of Berks County industrialists.⁴³ Meanwhile, as the union leaders examined their position, they concluded that the only remaining alternative was to call a general strike against all the mills in the Reading area. This was a desperate gamble since the unionists had no way to know in advance how widely the call would be honored, but at the same time, they had some cause for optimism since the great strike of the CIO Auto Workers against General Motors had just been successfully concluded. Also, one small mill in Berks County had just signed a union agreement and this was viewed as a hopeful sign for the future.⁴⁴

The general strike which began on March 1, 1937 had a significance which transcended the issues that immediately surrounded it, for it took the form of a sit-down and was thus a part of the great wave of sit-down strikes which swept the country during the first half of the year.⁴⁵ The union leaders exulted, feeling they now had the mill owners on the defensive, for even though the Berkshire was not effected by the strike, the sit-down technique seemed to bolster the confidence of the participants. "The tide had turned," wrote the editor of *The Hosiery Worker*, "a new psychological element is introduced when a striker is inside rather than outside on the picket line . . . We are going to win!"⁴⁶

The strike affected most of the mills in the county immediately except for Rosedale and Berkshire. The Berkshire management under the leadership of Hemmerich remained as intransigent as ever, but William C. Bitting of Rosedale consented to negotiate with the union and after two days of talks the parties reached an agreement. Bitting expressed his willingness to sign a union shop contract providing for union wage scales, collective bargaining, the check-off and arbitration of disputes; however, before the contract could actually be signed and its terms made public,

⁴²Michael D. Williams to Samuel R. McClurd, January 15, 1937, in *ibid.* Also see: *The Hosiery Worker*, January 22, 1937.

⁴³See for example: *The Hosiery Worker*, January 8, 15, 22, 29, 1937.

⁴⁴Memorandum Re: The Berks County Hosiery Strike, March 3, 1937, RG 280, File 182-1836, FRC. Also see: *The Hosiery Worker*, February 12, 19, 26, 1937; *Reading Labor Advocate*, February 26, 1937.

⁴⁵*Reading Times*, March 1, 1937.

⁴⁶*The Hosiery Worker*, March 5, 1937.

Bitting changed his mind. He never revealed his reasons, but the NLRB mediators on the scene were convinced that somehow the Berkshire men had pressured Bitting and frightened him into this decision. Shortly after the union announced the failure of the negotiations at Rosedale, the workers there sat down on their jobs and the plant ceased to operate.⁴⁷

Bitting was outraged by the use of the sit-down technique and immediately went to court seeking an injunction which would have forced the workers to vacate his property. Before a decision could be rendered in county court, however, Judge George A. Walsh of the Federal District Court in Philadelphia took over the case and barred eviction of the strikers pending a hearing.⁴⁸ Meanwhile, the representatives of the government, the union, and the affected mills held a series of conferences in an effort to settle the dispute. At first the attorneys for the owners held out for evacuation of the plants before discussion of the issues. They also indicated that some of the union demands such as the closed shop and the check-off were unacceptable, but after a period of about two weeks during which there were three conferences held under the direction of state and federal mediators, they began to give in. On March 25, Bitting indicated once again that he was ready to sign an agreement and this time he was true to his word. The new pact called for union recognition, collective bargaining, arbitration of disputes, the single machine system, and periodic wage adjustments.⁴⁹ It was a very significant agreement for it marked the first formal acceptance of collective bargaining by a major plant in the full-fashioned hosiery industry.

The agreement with Bitting ended the hearing in Philadelphia on the legality of the sit-down strike, for the Rosedale owner withdrew his injunction request, but nevertheless the technique continued to be an issue of significant proportions.⁵⁰ In American industry at large during 1937 there were 477 sit-down strikes affecting over 300,000 workers, and the matter attracted the attention of Congress as well as the courts. In Congress the conservatives attempted to condemn the sit-down as illegal, but encountered stern opposition. At length, the most they could accomplish was the passage of a concurrent resolution condemning both the sit-down and unfair practices by employers. Such a resolution, however, did not carry the force

⁴⁷Michael D. Williams to Samuel R. McClurd, March 6, 8, 17, 1937, RG 280, File 182-1836, RFC. Also see: *Reading Times*, March 9, 1937.

⁴⁸*Reading Times*, March 17, 18, 20; *Reading Labor Advocate*, March 20, 26, 1937.

⁴⁹Williams to McClurd, March 11, 16, 17, 18, 25, 1937, RG 280, File 183-1836, RFC.

⁵⁰*Reading Times*, March 26, 1937.

of law, and it was not until 1939 that the sit-down was finally declared illegal by the Supreme Court.⁵¹

The Rosedale agreement was the turning point of the general strike, but it was still nearly a month before agreements were reached in the other affected plants since they were not all willing to accept similar terms. The open shop employers, for example, held to a proposal which envisioned a wage scale determined by "majority rule" of the employers, prohibition of the closed shop and check-off; permitted the employers to avoid contracts after six months, and also permitted the two machine system.⁵² Despite the outright rejection of these terms by the union, negotiations continued at the insistence of the state and federal mediators, and on April 23, 1937, a settlement was reached which finally brought the strike to a conclusion. The terms of this settlement included a wage scale acceptable to the union, recognition, the check-off, and arbitration of disputes.⁵³

The union exulted in the outcome. "The victory," wrote the editor of *The Hosiery Worker*, "is to be viewed as the climax of the last major battle the union will need to fight in Berks County. We can now concentrate on building solidly." ⁵⁴ The AFHW leaders were convinced that even though the Berkshire was not a party to the new agreement it could be dealt with via the Wagner Act. With most of the other plants in the county fully organized or operating according to the terms of union agreements, complete victory seemed to be only a matter of time, but it was not to be.

To complete their conquest of the hosiery manufacturers in Berks County, the AFHW filed an unfair practices suit against the Berkshire Mills alleging violations of the Wagner Act.⁵⁵ Hearings on this suit began in Reading on December 1, 1937, and continued into February of 1938. Attorney Zachary Kriz acting for the NLRB in behalf of the union, attempted to show that the Berkshire had consistently followed a policy of unfair practices and discrimination toward the union and those who supported it. Using the Employees Association, industrial espionage, and intimidation as its major weapons, the company successfully prevented union growth and development while ostensibly complying with the letter of the law. To prove these charges, Kriz called scores of witnesses including not only union men but also

⁵¹ Sidney Fine, *Sit Down: The General Motors Strike of 1936-37* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1969), 332-335.

⁵² *The Hosiery Worker*, April 9, 1937.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, April 9, 16, 23; *Reading Times*, April 7, 8, 9, 10, 17; *Reading Labor Advocate*, April 23, 1937; Williams to McClurd, April 20, 1937, RFC.

⁵⁴ *The Hosiery Worker*, April 23, 1937.

⁵⁵ *Reading Times*, November 12, 1937.

many of their opponents such as Fred Werner, President of the Berkshire Employees Association, and Sheriff John C. Cook of Berks County, notorious for his anti-union bias. The testimony of such persons as Werner and Cook was especially damaging to the company since they were forced under oath to admit that most of the charges made against them were true. Moreover, the case of the company as presented by Attorney Wellington C. Bertolet, which consisted for the most part of unsupported denials, was very weak. When the hearings ended there was little question as to what the decision of the NLRB would be.⁵⁶

That decision was finally rendered in November 1939, after the board indulged in a lengthy perusal of the transcripts. The ruling supported the union in every respect. It held that the strike was caused and prolonged by unfair labor practices and the company was ordered to reinstate all workers not yet rehired and to make retroactive wage payments to all workers who lost time as a result of strike related lay-offs. The NLRB also ordered the company to dissolve the Employees Association and to desist from its efforts to prevent workers from joining the AFHW.⁵⁷

The ruling, unfortunately, did not end the controversy, for the Berkshire refused to comply and appealed to the courts. In August of 1944, some five years later, the Third Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia ordered the company to abide by the NLRB order. The Berkshire then appealed to the Supreme Court, but the high tribunal refused to hear the case in May, 1945, and at last all legal remedies were exhausted. The Berkshire was now required to make 525 retroactive wage payments which had been pending for nearly a decade, and also, to recognize the union. Recognition, however, meant only that the company was required to deal with the AFHW should the workers name it their bargaining agent, and therein lay a different problem. In the intervening period between the great strike and the Supreme Court decision, the cause of the union declined precipitously at the Berkshire, and there remained only a few hundred AFHW members within the plant. It was clear that if any advantage was to be made of the opportunity provided by the courts, a new organizational drive would be necessary. For all practical pur-

⁵⁶Reading *Labor Advocate*, December 10, 17, 24, 31, 1937; January 7, 14, 28, February 4, 1938; Reading *Times*, November 12; December 1, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 1937; January 5, 6, 11, 12, 13, 14, 20, 1938.

⁵⁷National Labor Relations Board Finding Re: The Berkshire Mills, November 4, 1939, RC 280, File 182-1836, FRC.

poses, the union was beginning again from scratch.⁵⁸

The drive opened in early 1945 under the direction of Edward F. Callaghan, now Second Vice President of the AFHW with offices in Reading. He appealed to the workers for their support on several grounds, the most important of which was wages. Since it was obvious that both the hourly and piece-work rates at the Berkshire were significantly lower than in unionized mills, and since the company could no longer use the excuse of War Labor Board Controls to keep them low, the union leaders hoped for a response from the workers on this issue similar to that which it produced during the 1930's. Added to this was the matter of fringe benefits such as over-time, paid vacations, annuities and health insurance. In some of these areas the Berkshire offered nothing at all, while in others their program was clearly inferior to that in unionized mills. Here again, through its publicity campaign, the union tried to show the workers how badly they were treated by their employer. Finally, the union attempted to capitalize on the resentment caused by the treatment meted out to returning war veterans at the Berkshire. Some returning servicemen found themselves placed on jobs inferior to the ones they had left and many others were required to work on the highly unpopular third shift which the Berkshire inaugurated in 1945. Both practices violated union rules and could not have occurred, claimed the AFHW, if the union had controlled the plant.

To communicate with the workers during the campaign, the union distributed a four page monthly publication entitled *Berkshire News* which was passed out at the gates of the plant from February, 1945 through July, 1946. They also held regular meetings for the enrolled union members and encouraged everyone to attend. They soon discovered, however, that their campaign was not succeeding. The most common response to the *Berkshire News* was to throw it away, the meetings were generally poorly attended, and worst of all, the number of application cards collected represented only a tiny percentage of the total work force. At length Callaghan was forced to conclude that it was impossible to obtain the number of applications required for an NLRB election, and he recommended the aban-

⁵⁸ James W. Batz, President AFHW Branch #10, Reading, to United States Department of Labor, July 12, 1944, in *ibid.* Reading *Times*, August 6, 1946; *Labor Record*, August 9, 1946; Reading *Eagle*, August 6, 8, 1946; Reading *Labor Advocate*, August 14, 1946; AFHW Press Release, August 5, 1946; John J. McCoy to William L. Rafsky, August 12, 1946; Rafsky to Callaghan, August 26, 1946, AFHW Collection. The 525 retroactive payments ranged from approximately \$33.00 to approximately \$3,900. The payments represented the difference between wages earned in new jobs and wages which would have been earned had the worker remained at the Berkshire. Only twenty of the workers who received these payments were AFHW members in 1946, and only six of these had paid up dues.

donment of the campaign.⁵⁹ With that there ended all serious efforts by the AFHW to organize the Berkshire although the union continued to harass the company as best it could for some years thereafter. Of broader significance, this event marked the beginning of a long period of general decline for the union which ended with its dissolution in 1965.

The failure of the AFHW at the Berkshire was a key factor in the more general failure of the union to establish itself permanently as the official bargaining agent for the hosiery workers of America. Clearly, the consistent and virulent anti-union bias of Hugo Hemmerich and the owners of the Berkshire, Herrn Thun and Janssen, was a very significant cause of the failure. Their implacable hatred of the AFHW inspired them to carry the fight to great and costly lengths causing long delays during which the union was virtually helpless and during which the company continued an effective counter-organizational campaign. In that regard the Berkshire followed a strategy which proved highly successful. Whenever it appeared necessary, they made slight concessions such as a small raise, the establishment of an annuity program, or the improvement of the vacation schedule. Despite the fact that these concessions seldom met union standards, they were apparently sufficient to aid in the prevention of the development of such pro-union fervor as swept Berks County in the period between 1930 and 1936.⁶⁰

It would be inaccurate, however, to attribute the union's difficulties entirely to the conflict with the Berkshire. There were other causes which were equally important. One of these was the substantial replacement of men by women in many skilled positions during the war.⁶¹ The increase in female employment was accompanied by a corresponding decrease in demands for wage adjustments. Women were simply willing to work for less than men and were also less attracted by the union thus compounding the difficulties of the AFHW in their efforts to organize the Berkshire. A more general, but nonetheless significant, factor was the migration of

⁵⁹*Berkshire News*, February-December 1945; January-July, 1946; Callaghan to Alexander McKeown, November 7, 1944; Callaghan to "Fred", November 21, 1944; Callaghan to William F. Rafsky, May 10, 23, 24, 31; June 1, 28; July 16; September 6; November 27; December 3, 1945; February 7; March 6, 7, 12, 29; April 9; May 9, 29; July 29; August 6; November 21, 1946; Rafsky to Callaghan, April 17, 1945; March 22; May 24; February 28, 1946; Callaghan to Alexander McKeown, President, AFHW, Philadelphia, January 4; August 7, 1946; Callaghan to "All Berkshire Workers," November 21, 1944; Callaghan to "All Berkshire Mill Returned War Veterans," March 20, 1946, AFHW Collection.

⁶⁰*Berkshire News*, March, April, June, July, August, September, October, November, 1945. A wage survey made by the union in August, 1944, showed that the rates at the Berkshire for all skilled jobs in full-fashioned hosiery manufacture were significantly lower than in unionized mills. In *ibid.*

⁶¹U.S. Department of Labor, *Postwar Employment Prospects for Women in the Hosiery Industry*, by A. W. Frazer and A. Ringel, Bulletin No. 835 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1945), 1-7.

the hosiery industry to the South in search of cheap labor. This migration was reflected in the fact that between 1935 and 1939 the percentage of knitting machines in use in the South increased from twenty-two percent to thirty-eight percent of the national total and the trend continued after 1939. It was extremely damaging to the union for a variety of reasons, but the foremost among them was the fact that low as they were compared to the industry-wide average, the wages of skilled hosiery workers in the South were higher than those of most other workers in that section. As a result, union organizers attracted very little attention there, and failure in the South hurt the AFHW everywhere.⁶²

At the Berkshire there was no migration during the thirties, although Hemmerich constantly threatened to move. In the post-war period just the reverse was true. Even though the company's managers constantly disclaimed any intention to leave Reading, their actions indicated otherwise.⁶³ Between 1950 and 1953 the Berkshire opened two new plants in the South, the first at Wytheville, Virginia, and the second at Andrews, North Carolina. Also during the early fifties the company expanded abroad. It acquired a plant in Northern Ireland, and built two more; one in South Africa and the other in Bogota, Columbia. All of these actions were well publicized and helped to keep the workers in Reading nervous and the union off balance.⁶⁴

Technological change played an important role in the defeat of the union. For many years prior to 1940 the machinery used to knit full-fashioned hosiery changed very little. It was complex and required the attention of skilled workers with a variety of specialties. By the opening of World War II era semi-automatic knitting machines which reduced labor needs by nearly one-half were available though not widely used. However, industry experts were already predicting that after the war the new type would become much more common making the long run employment potential in the industry very unfavorable.⁶⁵ This prediction came true at the Berkshire during the period from 1948 to 1952 when an extensive modernization pro-

⁶²Emil Rieve, *Report to the Twenty-Fifth Annual Convention*, AFHW (1936), 1-8; Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia, *Special Memorandum on the Full-Fashioned Hosiery Industry* (June 19, 1944), 3, 13, AFHW Collection.

⁶³*Daily News Record*, April 28, 1952. A high ranking management official is quoted as saying that the Berkshire will never leave Reading.

⁶⁴*The Knitter*, July, 1951; Dun & Bradstreet Report re: The Berkshire Mills, September 25, 1950. Also see collection of clippings, no titles, on Berkshire expansion, Series 4, Box 3, Folder 1, AFHW Collection.

⁶⁵U.S. Department of Labor, *Employment Outlook in Full-Fashioned Hosiery Industry*, By Ruth E. Clem, Serial No. R. 1377 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1941), 9-16; U.S. Department of Labor, *Recent Trends in the Full-Fashioned Hosiery Industry*, by Ruth E. Clem (Unpublished, restricted circulation, 1943), 40-44; U.S. Department of Labor, *Postwar Employment Prospects for Women in the Hosiery Industry* (1945), 9, 11-12.

gram was carried out. This retooling process not only reduced labor needs, it also contributed to over-production and this in turn had adverse effects upon the entire industry. Many companies were forced to liquidate during this period including the Rosedale Mills; formerly the second largest full-fashioned hosiery company in the world. The closing of Rosedale in turn dealt a mortal blow to the union, for this company had been a strong bastion of organization in Berks County.⁶⁶

Finally, the changing tastes of American women affected the hosiery industry. Whereas the full-fashioned style was for many years the most popular in the country, today few young adults even know what the term "full-fashioned" means. Beginning after World War II, this type of hosiery was gradually replaced in popularity by the seamless variety and this change had a significant effect on the labor picture. The AFHW had never paid much attention to seamless knitters, especially during the great organizational drives of the 1930's. They were less numerous and less skilled than the full fashioned workers and were considered to be of secondary importance. After World War II, when styles began to change, the union was already in decline, and as the seamless industry overtook full-fashioned in importance, it was too late for the AFHW to shift its emphasis.

Taking all the foregoing developments into account we can explain the failure of the AFHW in the full-fashioned hosiery sector of the textile industry. In a very real sense the union won its battle in Berks County but nevertheless lost the war. Despite the assistance of the government and the courts, despite able and dedicated leadership, the union failed. It failed because it reached its peak of potential growth and power at the very time then the full-fashioned hosiery industry was on the verge of cataclysmic changes which were perhaps predictable, but certainly uncontrollable.

⁶⁶For a chronicle of technological change at the Berkshire see the clipping collection, Series 4, Box 3, Folder 1, AFHW Collection. Also see: *Reading Eagle*, February, 1952.

